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HISTORY OF EUROPE (1453-1815)

**MA
[MAH-102]**



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INTRODUCTION

This book, *History of Europe (1453 - 1815)*, starts with the late Middle Ages and ends in the modern world. It reflects on the political, ethnic, trade and industrial, technological and religious transformations that changed Europe from a comparatively secluded medieval Christendom into a territory of fractious and sophisticated global power. The subject matter covered in this book covers the Renaissance and Reformation, global trade patterns, military revolution and the wars of religion, the Thirty Years' War, rise of the nation-state, republicanism and absolutism, the scientific revolution, the Enlightenment and the multiple revolutions that emerged and closed out during the period from 1453 to 1815 of European history. The course will also provide an introduction to fundamental historical skills.

This book follows the self-instructional mode wherein each unit begins with an *Introduction* followed by an outline of the *Objectives*. The detailed content is then presented in a simple and structured format interspersed with *Check Your Progress* questions to test the student's understanding. A *Summing Up*, a list of *Key Terms* and a set of *Questions and Exercises* is provided at the end of each unit for effective recapitulation.

This book is divided into five units:

Unit 1 paraphrases the process of transition from Medieval to Modern Age

Unit 2 emphasizes on the salient features of the Thirty Years War

Unit 3 explains the causes, course, effects, achievement and significance of the French Revolution

Unit 4 discusses the role of Napoleon in world history, focusing on his rise and fall

Unit 5 explains the formation of the Congress of Vienna and the associated events

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UNIT 1 TRANSITION FROM MEDIEVAL TO MODERN AGE

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

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

The emergence of capitalism and along with it the rise of the new middle class, the bourgeoisie, transformed the European cultural climate. There was a rise of great rivalry in the market as members of this capitalist class that controlled the means of production sought to outdo each other in producing goods that were cheaper and better than the other.

As a consequence, it became necessary to have greater knowledge, a deeper understanding of the processes of life at large, rather than a having a restricted outlook. This became fertile ground for the emergence of Renaissance, a cultural movement.

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Renaissance is therefore deeply entwined with the rise and growth of the market economy, capitalism and the bourgeoisie.

The age of humanism, as Renaissance is often termed, coupled with deep emphasis on economic expansion totally upturned the hitherto practiced and preached ideas of the Catholic Church. The medieval philosophy upheld in Western Europe laid all agency in the Lord. A just social order was considered beyond bounds in this world.

However, the enterprising middle class wrested all agency and emerged as the masters of their own destinies relying on their own capabilities and enterprise. Hence, God was displaced and the man became the nucleus of the newly emergent order. This change gained currency throughout Europe and soon the humanist philosophy came to be known as Renaissance or 'rebirth'. This 'rebirth' in fact signified an intellectual awakening.

The movement began in Italy and soon encompassed the whole of Europe. It was marked by revival of classical style in the artistic sphere with humanists seeking to imitate the genius of Romans and Greeks.

There emerged a greater engagement with scientific discoveries of the past and an effort to carry them forward. The humanist movement received a shot in the arm in the middle of fifteenth century when Johann Gutenberg discovered printing in Germany. Another stalwart during the early years of Renaissance was Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), a Florentine poet.

Coming at an age when the medieval beliefs were on the decline and the humanist movement was just gathering force, Dante became a defining figure. His *Divine Comedy*, written in Italian, was hugely acclaimed. That he chose to write a literary treatise in his native language highlighted an emerging trend i.e., the growing national consciousness amongst the humanist writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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

Art also reflected the humanist ideal of celebration of the individual and the world around him. Therefore, paintings and sculptures were marked by a realism that celebrated man both in body and in spirit. Famous names amongst the artists are Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, Velasquez, and Rembrandt amongst others. The third dimension of Renaissance was its scientific vigour. Great discoveries were made and with emphasis on empiricism the seed of many of the modern natural sciences was sown.

Valuable contributions were made by Galileo in astronomy and mechanics apart from natural sciences. Other major contributions were by Cardano in natural sciences, Leonardo da Vinci in mechanics, Copernicus in astronomy, Francis Bacon and Giordano Bruno in the materialist perspective on nature and Vesalius and Harvey in anatomy and physiology.

The political thought of the humanists demonstrated a rejection of the Catholic Church and the subservience to God that it embodied. They sought to overthrow the feudal setup of the Church where non adherence to a law was seen as a sin against

God. Instead they believed in the ability of the state to maintain law and order and consequently upheld centralized state control.

1.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Assess Renaissance and its impact on Europe
- Explain the meaning and causes of reformation
- Explain the concept of counter reformation

1.2 RENAISSANCE AND ITS IMPACT ON EUROPE

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

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

1.2.1 Causes of Renaissance

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

- **Turkey's capture of Constantinople:** Constantinople was of vital importance as it was the centre of classical learning in the eastern Roman Empire. In 1453, when the Turks seized control of Constantinople, there was a shift in the seat of classical learning. Greek scholars carried along with them rare manuscripts to the new centre of learning-Italy. Therefore, classical learning now flourished in Italy.
- **Decline of feudalism:** With the emergence of monarchy in England, France and Spain and the birth of nation states, feudalism as perpetrated by the church through imposition of taxes was fast losing ground. These rulers kept the forces of feudalism in check and around AD 1300 feudalism was on its way out.
- **Growth of towns:** Renaissance was marked by enterprise. Italy saw the spawning of large cities as trade and commerce flourished. Free from feudal overlords, the traders and craftsmen settled in the cities which become the new centres for learning. This spirit of enterprise and expansion ushered in Renaissance.
- **The crusades:** The crusades or the holy wars were the prolonged conflicts between Christians and Muslims for control over Jerusalem, the holy city. They also played a crucial role in transforming the European society.
- **The spirit of enquiry:** With the decline of the church and a rejection of age old beliefs, ideas of realism in art, empiricism in science and humanism in general gathered

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force. These new ideas that stressed on reason and observation ushered in progress in science. Humanism ensured that man was now revered as body and form.

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

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

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

The Renaissance engaged with the classics and used their ideas but only to promote an essentially secular society. Divergent view comes from a group of scholars like Rodney Stark, who believe that the source of Renaissance was Italian city states which were therefore, of more importance than the movement itself. Moreover these city states amalgamated a centralized state, church and capitalist culture successfully. It was the progress ushered in by the capitalism of Italian city states that paved way for the genesis of Renaissance. Quite contrastingly, other European states like France and Spain where monarchies while other parts of Europe were under the control of Church.

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

The Age of Discovery

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

The Portuguese explorers

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

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

1.2.2 Origin of Renaissance in Italy

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

1.2.3 Impact of Renaissance on Art, Literature and Science

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

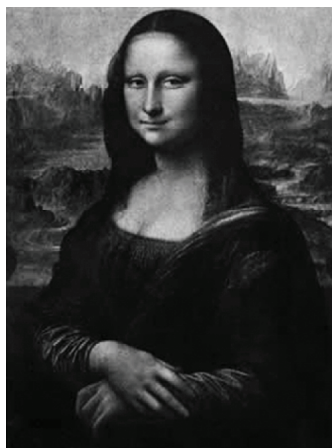


Fig. 1.1 Mona Lisa

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

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Fig. 1.2 Last Supper

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



Fig. 1.3 Michelangelo's David

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



Fig. 1.4 Madonna and Child

Renaissance and Literature

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

Renaissance and Science

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

- Roger Bacon (AD 1214–1294), who discovered uses of gunpowder and magnifying lenses. He also anticipated an improvement in ships with them becoming oarless and carriage that need not be horse drawn.
- Copernicus (AD 1473–1543), a Polish priest who faced much flak for suggesting that the Sun and not the Earth was the centre of the universe and that the earth and other heavenly bodies revolved around it. His discovery was in contention to the belief held by the church. He also suggested that the earth rotated about its axis.
- Galileo (AD 1564–1642) apart from being the inventor of telescope and studying the movement of heavenly bodies also proved the Copernican theory correct through his experiments and mathematical calculations.
- Johannes Kepler (AD 1571–1630) discovered that the earth and the planets revolve around the sun in elliptical orbit and not in a circular one as earlier believed.
- Newton, a British scientist, is famous for his theory of gravitation and laws of motion.

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- Halley theorized about the appearance of comets at regular periods.
- There was great progress in the field of medicine.
- Vesalius, a physician, wrote *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, a study of anatomy.

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1.2.4 Other Effects of Renaissance

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

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

Geographical discoveries

This was an era that embodied the spirit of discovery. Travel was patronized and people went far and wide to discover new lands, find new sea routes and carry on trade across different parts of the world. Hence, America was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492, the continent getting its name from Amerigo Vespucci, another explorer who was meant to perform this feat. In 1498, Portuguese sailor, Vasco da Gama, discovered an all new sea route to India via the Cape of Good Hope and reached Calicut. Another important achievement was the circumnavigation of the world by Magellan in 1519. The strait between America and Tierra del Fuego has got its name from him. While he lost his life near the Phillipine island, his crew carried on the voyage under del Cano and reached Spain in 1522. Seventeenth century saw the Dutch discovering Australia.

As a result of these discoveries and exploration of new lands, trade and commerce between different regions of the world flourished. The Mediterranean region was dominated by the Greeks and Romans for trade purposes. With the fall of Constantinople, the Turks gained control over Asia Minor and blocked land and sea routes to the east. As a result, Europeans had to discover alternative routes to carry on trade between the east and west. As early as 1418, the Portuguese started exploring African coast along the Atlantic succeeding finally in 1488. Christopher Columbus also set sail in 1492 with the aim of discovering the sea route to the Indies and trans Atlantic. However, he accidentally discovered America, the 'new world'. This region was divided between Spain and Portugal so that they may carry on explorations in regions discovered by them.

Vasco Da Gama

Having set sail in 1498, Vasco da Gama succeeded in reaching the coast of India having sailed around Africa and discovering a direct trade route for trade with Asia.



Fig. 1.5 Vasco da Gama, 1498

Vasco da Gama (1460–1524) started his journey eastwards from Lisbon in Portugal on July 8, 1497. Having circumnavigated the Cape of Good Hope of Africa on November 22, he stayed on course his voyage to India. He overcame hardships on the way, in the form of Muslim traders who did not want him to interfere with their established trade routes and finally reached Calicut on the Indian shore on May 20, 1498. The initial welcome extended to da Gama was soon withdrawn. He was subjected to high taxation and asked to leave all his goods in India. He finally set sail for Portugal on August 29, 1498 accompanied by Indian hostages apart from his goods, and reached there in 1499. He received great honour for his achievement and was sent on another expedition to India in 1502-03 by King Manuel I of Portugal. Twenty armed ships accompanied him on his second voyage, expecting Muslim traders to again create trouble. To demonstrate his power, da Gama now massacred hundreds of Muslims. He was later the Portuguese viceroy to India, sent by King John III after the death of King Manuel.

The success of the Portuguese and Spanish explorations inspired the French and the British to venture upon similar expeditions in 1495. The Dutch also joined the fray later looking for new trade routes to different parts of the world, to the north, in the Pacific region and finally to Asia via the Cape of Good Hope. This led to the discovery of Australia, New Zealand and Hawaii in 1606, 1642 and 1778, respectively. The Russians also established their control over Siberia from 1580s to 1640s.

Ferdinand Magellan

Ferdinand Magellan was the first person to circumnavigate the world with his Spanish crew. Meanwhile, other Spanish explorers were also discovering parts of America and islands of the South Pacific region.

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Fig. 1.6 Ferdinand Magellan

In the service of King Charles I of Spain, Magellan, a Portuguese by birth, sailed westwards in the quest of the Spice Islands, the Maluku Islands of Indonesia as we know them today. He set sail in 1519 and was the first man to cross the Atlantic and enter into the Pacific or the ‘peaceful sea’ and also the first to cross the Pacific Ocean. The region through which he entered the Pacific was called the straits of Magellan. While Magellan lost his life in the Battle of Mactan in the Philippines, the expedition reached Spain in 1522.

Marco Polo

Marco Polo travelled to east, journeying to China and Japan from Venice.

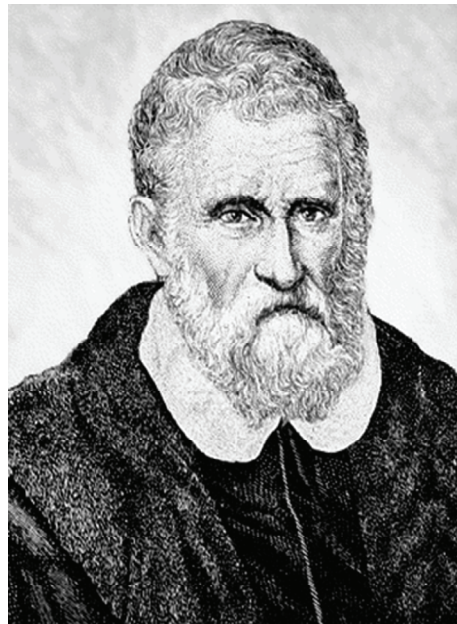


Fig. 1.7 Marco Polo

The age of discovery went hand in hand with the Renaissance movement marking a transition from the medieval to the modern age. This age was characterized by the rise of nation states, exploration of newer territories for trade purposes followed by the colonial expansion of the new found lands. The rise of printing press, accounts of travellers and the scientific advancements of the age produced a whole new social order.

1.2.5 Colonialism

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

Colonialism, Imperialism and Mercantilism

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



Fig. 1.8 The Opening of the Colonial Institute (now the Tropenmuseum) in Amsterdam by Queen Wilhelmina

Types of Colonialism

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

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

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

Colonial activity dates very far back into history with the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans all undertaking territorial expansion. 'Metropolis' has a Greek root meaning 'mother city' while the Latin 'colonia' meaning an agricultural land is the root for 'colony'. The Vietnamese were the first to establish colonies, but they were military colonies, from 11th to 18th century. Colonialism emerged in Europe simultaneously with the Age of Discovery as new territories were discovered for purposes of trade. America was divided between Portugal and Spain by treaties like that of Tordesillas and Zaragoza of 1529 and earlier by the papal bull *Inter caetera*. The seventeenth century brought with it widespread colonial activity as the British, French and Dutch established their empire. Sweden also established some colonies in foreign lands. There was a lull in colonial activity in the 18th and 19th century due the revolutionary wars in America and the War for independence. The end of 19th century saw heightened colonial activity as European nations scrambled to gain control over the resource rich Africa. Consequently, the German and Belgian empires were also formed. Several other empires existed around the same time like the Russian, the Ottoman and the Austrian empires but their sights were fixed on the territories of their neighbours rather than securing distant conquests. However, Russia did manage to gain control over some American territories beyond the Bering Strait. The Japanese also formed their own empire and America was not far behind in this respect once it gained territories post the Spanish American war. Post World War I, Germany and Turkey lost their territories to the victorious faction who classified them as per the League of Nation mandates depending on the feasibility of declaring their independence. However, the process of decolonization was carried forward by United Nation's special committee on decolonization (1962), also known as Committee of 24, after the end of World War II.

Neo-colonialism

The term neo-colonialism has been used rather fluidly. It largely signifies colonization through processes that are not limited to expansionism. Economic control over a territory but not residing in the colony or maintaining the colony, and meddling into the political affairs of the colonized are some such ways.

Colonialism and Geography

The supremacy in navigational skills of the European countries, aided by shipbuilding, cartography, explorations far and wide, not only increased their power and wealth, it also

instilled a deep racial superiority. J. Painter and A. Jeffery confirmed how these advancements aided the European imperialist agenda. For most of them, colonizing was seen as a favour they did to the colonized rather than as a hegemonic act. Those colonizers that settled down in these colonies served as the link between the natives and the colonizers. However, the strengths of the West and their ingrained notions of their own superiority created a deep rooted feeling of inferiority amongst the colonized and deeply entrenched racial discrimination in the society. Colonialism also found legitimacy through ideas of environmental determinism that some regions of the world were lagging behind due the physical conditions prevailing there. Cartography also became a tool in the hands of colonizers, with maps marking the lands that were awaiting colonizers and separating them from those that belonged to the powerful empires.

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1.2.6 Industrial Revolution

The term 'Industrial Revolution' was coined in the 1820s by French admirers of developments taking place in Britain which began in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Industrial Revolution stands for the changes that took place in Industrial production between 1750 and 1850, but its peak was between 1780 and 1830. The changes occurred in certain industries, which progressed from small scale production in domestic surroundings to large scale production in factories and foundries. This change was a result of new inventions, newer technical processes, as well as an increase in the use of machinery. This subsection will shed light on the causes of the Industrial Revolution and its effect. It will also focus on a number of inventions that revolutionized the textile, coal and iron industry.

Causes of Industrial Revolution

The causes of the Industrial Revolution have long been a source of debate among historians. The Industrial Revolution took place in Britain due to the following factors:

1. **Increase in Population:** Healthier living conditions and greater medical knowledge in the 17th and 18th century led to a fall in the death rate. This meant a demand for more food, more goods, clothes, houses and fuel. This demand required an increase in the production of these materials to sustain the population and as such, the industrial revolution was a natural outcome of the increase in population. A large population also meant a large labor force.
2. **Geographical Factors:** No part of England was more than seventy miles from the sea. There was a great deal of coastal shipping. While communication was poor in the Pre-Industrial Revolution era, when they improved, the pace of development was very fast and whatever weakness there had been in the movement of raw materials and manufactured products before was quickly rectified.
3. **Internal Peace and Tolerance:** Britain had enjoyed a long period of internal peace and was not divided by extreme religious or political feuds. The peculiar customs and laws of Hanoverian England allowed unusual freedom to the individual and little to discourage private initiative. There was no control of thought and religious tolerance left merchants to devote their energies to money making. Foreign merchants who moved to England were rich in trade secrets and industrial skill and hence also contributed. Moreover, after the storms of the seventeenth century, the English also started enjoying political stability. The country was in the hands

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of an aristocracy which respected commerce instead of despising it as some of the nobility of the Continent did. The English were also free from the disturbance of a foreign invasion. This stability was also seen in the nations of Portugal, Spain and the Netherlands, which allowed for the creation of a favourable atmosphere for the Industrial revolution in these nations.

4. **The Protestant Ethic:** There is also a controversial view held by some historians that the extreme Protestantism of Puritans encouraged an outlook that favored the development of wealth, commerce and industry. It has been argued that the Puritan characteristics of hard work and simple living led to the accumulation of money, which could be invested in new enterprises. Many early British industrialists were Protestants and included Non Conformists, i.e., old Puritan sects.
5. **Britain a Trading Nation:** Britain already had a well-developed commercial system capable of dealing with a growing industry. She had shipping, banks, cheques, insurance companies and exchanges. England, Scotland and Wales made up the largest free trade centre in Europe, in contrast to the innumerable customs barriers that divided up Germany, Italy and the Kingdom of France. There were few restrictions of state, municipality or guild in Britain.
6. **Favourable Climate of Economic Opinion:** Adam Smith, the Scottish economist in his book *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) had made out the case for abandoning whatever industrial and commercial regulations that still existed. This had convinced many politicians of the need for free trade. Adam Smith's follower's propounded Laissez faire, i.e., allowing industry and commerce to get on without government intervention.
7. **Capital in Plenty:** Britain had large amounts of capital to set up factories with expensive machinery. The seventeenth century had witnessed an expansion of trade that has been referred to as the commercial revolution. There was a lot of cash in England and it tended to fall into the hands of those likely to save and invest, partly because the rise in the national debt meant that heavy taxes were levied on every one so as to repay interest to the more moneyed people, who had lent money to the government. This also meant that there was a large amount of cash available for borrowing, leading to a drop in the interest rates. From 10 per cent in 1625, the rate fell to 3 per cent in 1756 and this made it possible to borrow cheaply for business purposes. Business expanded also because their owners showed a quite remarkable readiness to plough back profits into their own business, unlike the French who often preferred to buy a safe government job with their savings.
8. **Availability of National Resources:** Large resources of coal and iron made possible the industrial development of Britain.
9. **Scientific Development and Inventions:** According to the economic historian Prof. Ashton, "The industrial revolution was also a revolution of ideas – science had widened men's conception of the universe." Science absorbed the interest and curiosity of the times. Science offered not only an understanding of Man's environment but also a change to control it to enrich mankind. There were some who pursued scientific knowledge for its own sake, but there was also a strong interest in practical matters and those with such an interest saw the value of the great scientific revolution of the seventeenth century. Science had not yet become as specialized as it is today. The development of scientific thought led to the establishment of the Royal Society in 1662, whose members were engineers,

ironmasters, industrial chemists and instrument makers and scientists like Franklin, Joseph Priestley, Black, John Dalton and Humphrey Davy who were in close contact with the chiefs of industry. Science provided the inspiration and the inventive skill, without which the discoveries necessary to transform industry would not have been possible.

10. **The Agricultural Revolution:** In Britain, the agricultural revolution had already taken place which greatly transformed English society. It not only made available necessary raw materials to run the new industries but also provided a large number of agricultural labourers for employment in the new factories.
11. **Banking System:** In Britain, expansion had led to new 'private banking,' a new money economy, and trading organizations such as the Hanseatic League. Modern credit facilities also appeared, such as the state bank, the bourse, the promissory note, etc. This created an economic stimulus which in turn gave people more money to spend.
12. **Other Reasons:** The way for the Industrial Revolution was prepared by the first rapid improvement in the method of transport. From the beginning of the reign of George III, a network of canals was gradually extended over many districts, bringing to them benefits which London had always enjoyed. Canals were eventually made in all parts of the island. Those made in the mining and industrial districts of the North and Midlands served to connect these areas with the Thames valley and proved to be very useful. The canal system was known as the system of 'inland navigation' and in fact railways, when they came, were originally devised to link up the gaps in the canal system. The Duke of Bridgewater was responsible for planning and financing of the canals, while James Brindley was responsible for engineering these canals. The hard 'Macadamized' roads were another improvement. They were used by coaches and positions (another type of coach) moving at 12 miles an hour. Like the contemporary canals, the hard roads were the work of capitalist companies, who recovered their investments from passengers' toll-taxes.

Revolution in Textiles

The force of the Industrial Revolution was first widely felt in the textile industry. The textile industry was the largest after the agricultural industry in the seventeenth century. The chief material used in textiles was wool, though there were a few centres of silk and linen manufacturing in Ireland. Under the old system of textile manufacturing, the process began by separating the staples of wool from the raw material. This was done by women and children with a pair of hand cards and was known as carding. Spinning was also done by women at home, with the aid of a spinning wheel. Finally the continuous thread was woven into cloth, usually by men. This could have been done at home with a small hand loom or by the village weaver, to whom people took their home spun thread. British had been exporting finished woollen cloth rather than raw wool, because it was more profitable. Thus, there were a number of cloth merchants, who encouraged families to produce a surplus, by distributing the raw wool and collecting the finished cloth.

Inventions in Spinning

Flying Shuttle: John Kay's invention of the 'Flying Shuttle' in 1733 improved the loom. In the flying shuttle, the shuttle was struck by hammers and thus driven through the

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warp, which enabled one man to make an amount of cloth which previously could only have been made by two men. The invention threw many hand weavers out of work and there were many labour riots; in one of the riots, Kay himself was nearly killed and thus, he had to take refuge in France. The invention made the disparity between weaving and spinning greater and the whole textile industry was thrown out of gear.

Spinning Jenny: In 1765, James Hargreaves, a carpenter and weaver, invented a 'Spinning Jenny'. A Spinning Jenny was a small hand machine through which a worker could spin eight threads at once instead of just one thread on the old spinning wheel. Hargreaves made his invention public after some years. Subsequently the 'Spinning Jenny' started spreading. By 1788, there were 20,000 of them varying from 8 spindles to 80 spindles. The small ones were used in cottages and the larger ones began to appear in factories. One of the main results of this invention was to increase the importance of cotton.

The Water Frame: Richard Arkwright invented the Water Frame in 1769. The Water Frame applied water power to the spinning process and thus made possible the production of a fine thread, strong enough for warps as well as wefts. The machine led to the production of cotton fabric that satisfied all and also resulted in the establishment of the factory. Financed by wealthy Nottingham hosiers, Arkwright set up a mill at Cromford, on the river Derwent. Within a short while, he had secured the repeal of an old Act of Parliament, which forbade printed cotton goods. Then he established other premises at Derbyshire and Lancashire.

The Spinning Mule: Samuel Crompton invented the Spinning Mule in 1779. The Spinning Mule combined the features of the Spinning Jenny and the Water Frame and made possible the production of strong and fine yarn. Crompton had no business acumen; he was cheated by local manufacturers and thus died penniless. To others however, this invention turned out to be a gold mine. By 1812, it was driving five million spindles throughout the country. It was not long before mules and spinning frames were worked by steam power and spinning became a large scale affair in factories instead of at home.

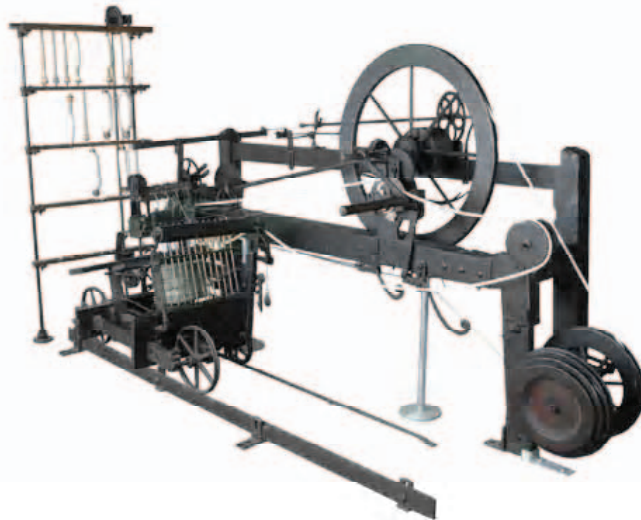


Fig. 1.9 Spinning Mule built by Samuel Crompton

Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Mule-jenny.jpg>

Inventions in Weaving

- **Power Loom:** Weaving followed spinning into the factories when Edmund Cartwright invented a power loom in 1784. Cartwright, a poet and a scholar, produced his first machine without even having seen a weaver at work. In 1787, he set up a factory with twenty looms, at first using animal power and then in 1789, a steam engine. In 1791, he made a bigger effort in partnership with a Manchester firm to run 400 steam looms, but this failed when angry hand loom weavers set it on fire.
- **Dressing Machine:** Cartwright's machine was improved by Radcliffe, who invented a dressing machine in 1803, and also by Horrocks, who became a pioneer in its large scale use. In 1813 there were 2,400 power looms in Britain. In 1833, the number had jumped to 100,000 and in 1850 to 250,000. This vast increase in the use of machines was itself made possible by Eli Whitney's invention of the 'Cotton Gin' in 1794 which immensely speeded up the cleaning of bales of raw cotton.

A single set of figures will serve to illustrate the extent of the revolution in cotton. In 1764, Britain imported 4 million pounds of raw cotton, and by 1833, it had increased to more than 300 million pounds. This industry was importing raw cotton from India, making it into cloth and then selling the cloth in India again at prices which the highly skilled Indian workers, still using hand machines, could not rival. The export of cotton goods rose from 19 million in 1830 to 56 million in 1870.

The same process spread to wool. Yorkshire took the lead and all the inventions were applied to the woollen industry, but the process took a generation. In 1835 there were only 5,000 power looms in Woollen factories and by 1850, no more than 42,000. The slow progress in woollen industry than in the cotton industry was due to legal restrictions and also because the amount of wool available was very limited.

The Iron and Coal Industry

Iron

Method of Iron Production in 17th Century

The annual production of iron in Britain in 1700 was about 20,000 tons. The demand for iron was increasing but British production was slowly showing signs of decline. Britain had great natural deposits of iron ore; however, they were not being mined. Thus, Britain was becoming increasingly dependent on iron from Sweden, Germany and Russia. The main problem for iron ore not being mined was the lack of fuel to smelt it. The fuel used in the main processes was charcoal, and the quantity of timber available for making charcoal was fast dwindling.

The main way that iron was produced in the 17th century was through smelting it in a blast furnace that was fed by charcoal and then raising it to a high temperature through blasts from large bellows, driven by water power. This took 14 days, at the end of which, the molten iron was run of either into moulds or into sand furrows. The main furrow was called a 'Sow' and smaller ones leading from it were called 'pigs'. When the iron cooled in the pigs, it was hard and brittle. By heating and hammering the pig iron, the impurities which had made the pig iron so brittle were removed. Charcoal then was

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the key in making iron and the need for Britain to get more charcoal or a different fuel was getting desperate. The industry also depended on water power, which was drawn from unreliable streams.

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- **The Darby Experiment:** The first successful attempt to break free of the need of charcoal was made in 1709 by Abraham Darby, a Quaker iron master from Shropshire. Darby developed a method of producing pig iron in a blast furnace fuelled by coke rather than charcoal. However, the iron that Darby produced could not be used by forges. Darby's process was further improved by his son forty years later. By the latter part of the century, Darby's process of producing iron process became widespread. The Cranage brothers in the 1760s nearly succeeded in making bar iron from coke smelted 'pig' by the use of coke.
- **Henry Cort:** Total success had to wait for the genius of Henry Cort. Cort put the pig iron not straight into the forge but into an intermediate furnace called a 'reveratory' or an 'air' furnace. The air furnace could be fed by coal as the sulphurous fumes did not affect it so badly, because workmen prodded the iron with iron bars through holes in the furnace. This stirring was called 'pudding', and caused the impurities to be burnt quickly away. The iron was then reheated and the remaining impurities removed by pressing it between iron rollers. This process resulted in iron being produced fifteen times faster than by the older methods. As a result of Cort's breakthrough, the iron industry moved nearer to the coal fields and the real 'iron age' began. With Darby's invention speeding up the production of pig iron and with Cort's process of turning pig iron, easily into bar iron, British production of pig iron rose from 750,000 tons in 1830 to 6 million in 1870.
- **Coal Industry:** There were a number of problems in the coal industry in the 18th century. The use of coke and coal for iron smelting resulted in coal being in great demand. Coal was also used as a household fuel and in other industries. Moreover, mining coal deep in the earth was dangerous due to the problems of bad ventilation, flooding and explosions. Thomas Savery invented a steam pump in 1698 to check flooding but it was not powerful enough. Thomas Newcomen's 'atmospheric' steam pump was more efficient. In Newcomen's steam pump, the water was drawn up by an ordinary pump connected to an engine. This had a piston in a cylinder and the piston was connected to a lever beam. The cylinder was alternately subjected to the entry of steam and then cooled by cold water poured on the outside. When the steam entered, it pushed up the piston, and when cold water was poured on the outside of the cylinder, the steam inside condensed and the decreased atmospheric pressure allowed the piston to sink to the bottom of the cylinder. This engine, after certain improvements, spread rapidly in mines and also for supplying water. But this invention suffered from the disadvantage of being totally wasteful of fuel. It was James Watt's Steam Engine which overcame this defect.

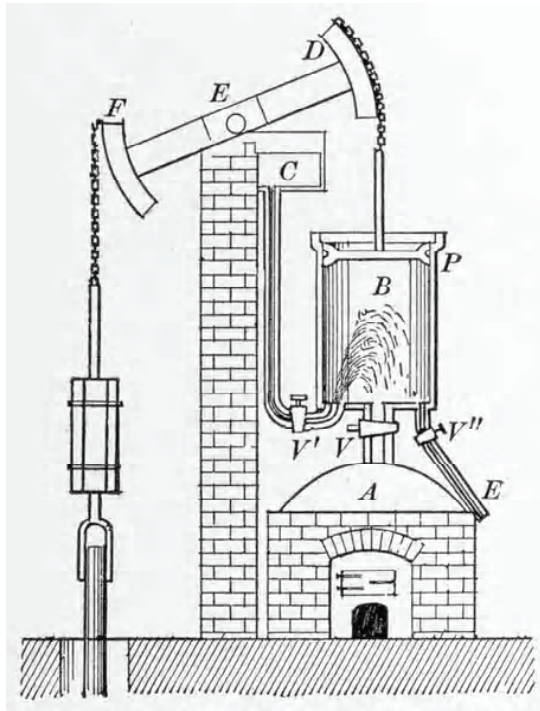


Fig. 1.10 Diagram of Newcomen Steam Engine

Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Newcomen6325.png>

The Steam Engine

James Watt in 1765 thought of the answer to the wastage of fuel in the Newcomen engine. In the small scale engine that Watt's built, the steam, instead of being cooled and condensed in the cylinder itself, rushed into another vessel to fill a vacuum and was condensed there. This did not lower the temperature of the cylinder, which still had its vacuum to work with, because of the exit of the steam. Many years of work were necessary before a satisfactory large engine could be constructed. Watt also invented supplementary devices to improve upon his engine. He put an air tight cover on the cylinder and pushed the piston down by the pressure of steam instead of the pressure of air, thus making it a steam engine. In 1781, he went on to convert the up and down motion to rotary motion and therefore he now had an engine capable of turning machinery. In 1782, he invented the double action rotative engine, in which the expansive power of steam was applied to both ends of the piston. In 1784, he invented the parallel motion. These were very significant inventions, because for the first time steam power could be used on a large scale to drive machinery and in an unlimited way, at any time or place. Watt's inventions transformed the lives of hundreds of thousands of workmen.

Inventions to Improve Mining

The problem of poor ventilation and explosions in coal mines was tackled by the invention of the exhaust fan. The exhaust fan was invented by John Buddle, a mining engineer and coal owner. To provide ventilation in a mine, Buddle sunk two shafts on different levels, the air being drawn down one and rising in the other. Buddle's exhaust fan sucked foul air out of the 'up-cast' shaft and caused fresh air to rush down the other. Buddle also helped establish a society for the prevention of accidents in mines and it was this body

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which commissioned Sir Humphry Davy to produce a safety lamp. The famous Davy's safety lamp was invented in 1815. The safety lamp, along with improved ventilation greatly reduced the danger of explosion in coal mines. Some economy was achieved in pit propping by substituting wooden props for great pillars of coal which had previously been left uncut. Advances were also made in colliery transport through the use of rails along which wagons were drawn by ponies, stationary engines or later locomotives. Hauling the coal up from the mines was another problem. Women and girls had been used to carry it up in baskets through a series of ladders. Watt made steam haulage possible in 1783 but the ropes hauling coal kept on breaking. In 1840, with the invention of wire ropes, steam haulage replaced human carrying. The result of all these improvements was that British coal production increased from 6 million tons in 1770 to 55 million tons in 1850 to 110 million tons in 1870.

Results of Industrial Revolution

As a result of the Industrial Revolution, Britain became an industrial country in place of an agricultural country. However, the greatest achievement of the Industrial Revolution was the establishment of trade and industry. Due to the revolution, Britain's foreign and internal trade increased day by day, and thus, her aim objective became colonial expansion to capture the world market. Moreover, on account of the all round development of the Industrial Revolution, not only did Britain's National income increase, but her social status also progressed.

Revolution in Transport

The increase in production due to the Industrial Revolution led to a demand for improvements in methods of transportation. The civil engineer and architect Thomas Telford (1757-1834) showed great skill in building roads and bridges. He built 1200 bridges and nearly 1,000 miles of good roads. Another person responsible for the revolution in transport was the Scottish engineer John McAdam. McAdam built up his roads through a process that has come to be known as 'macadamisation'. In this process, successive layers of broken stones were laid with each layer composed of smaller stones than the ones beneath it. These stones were pressed down by the passing traffic.

Later on, the development of the railways after the invention of the steam engine totally revolutionized modes of transportation. In the 18th century, railroads were also built to link up stretches of canal or to provide a passage for the usual horse drawn public wagons. The Steam locomotive was an application of Watt's steam engine. The first locomotive, 'Captain's Dick's Puffer' was constructed by Richard Trevithick in 1804. The first public railway on which steam locomotives were used was between Stockton and Darlington in 1825. The Liverpool – Manchester Railway (1830) showed the full possibilities of the new means of transport. From 69 miles in 1830, British railways grew to 15,557 miles in 1870. This was due partly to technical improvements like the 'signal post' replacing signaling by hand.



Fig. 1.11 Trevithick's 1804 locomotive

Source: <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/f/f3/Trevithicks Engine.jpg/640px-TrevithicksEngine.jpg>

Effects of the Industrial Revolution

The industrial revolution completely transformed society as we know it. Some of the results of the Industrial Revolution were as follows:

- Tremendous increase in production
- Shifting of population
- The growth of industrial working class
- Ruination of artisans and craftsmen
- New inventions
- Mass immigration
- Disfigured towns and cities

1.2.7 Imperialism

Imperialism and colonialism are interrelated. The former is the domination of one nation by another. The concept of imperialism has been mentioned in the ancient histories of Rome, Greece, the Persian Empire, China, the Ottoman Empire, the Islamic Caliphate, India, Egypt, Africa, the Aztec Empire and many other regions. Though the practice of imperialism has existed for thousands of years, the term 'Age of Imperialism' refers to the Scramble for Africa.

European Imperialism in Africa

By 1875, European possessions in Africa comprised some forts and trading posts along the coast and a few small colonies. However, between 1880 and 1910, Africa was split up among the European powers. For the next 50 years, decisions concerning the African continent and its people were taken not in Africa, but in London, Paris, Lisbon and other

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Check Your Progress

1. What does the term Renaissance mean?
2. What led to complete fragmentation of the society after the decline of the Roman Empire?
3. Name two famous personalities who gave birth to notions of realism in art, depiction of human emotions and concept of the 'Renaissance man'.
4. What were crusades?
5. When did Germany and England get their first printing press?
6. In which year did Vasco da Gama discover the sea route to India, via the Cape of Good Hope?
7. Name one masterpiece of Leonardo da Vinci.

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European capitals. France acquired a massive empire in North and West Africa. The areas that were ruled by France were:

- Algeria
- Tunisia
- Morocco
- Ivory Coast
- Dahomey
- Mali
- Areas in West Africa

Britain's colonies were dispersed throughout the African continent. Though the French controlled the maximum territory, Britain ruled the greatest number of people. The regions under the British rule included—Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Nigeria, South Africa, Rhodesia, Uganda, Kenya, Egypt, Sudan, Eritrea, a large part of Somaliland and Libya. By contrast, Southwest Africa, Tanganyika, Togoland and Cameroon were ruled by Germany until its defeat in World War I. By 1914, there were only two independent countries left in Africa—Liberia and Ethiopia. And in 1935, even Ethiopia was taken over by Italy. Italy controlled Ethiopia until 1942 when the British drove them out.

Reasons for Imperialism

There are a number of reasons why the European nations competed with each other to gain colonies in Africa. They all wanted to gain power and prestige. The more territory that they were able to control in Africa, the more powerful and important they thought they could become. Africa was tremendously rich in natural resources. The Europeans thought, and rightly so, that these resources could be brought to Europe and turned into manufactured goods. They also needed markets for their manufactured goods. These goods could be sold in Africa for large profits. Often, a European nation would take over a territory in Africa with no other reason than to prevent another European country from taking it.

Spread of Imperialism

The rule of the European powers spread in the African continent in many different ways. Sometimes, a European trading company made agreements with African chiefs, who allowed the company to trade and keep order in the area. The traders then put pressure on their governments in Europe to take over the entire region in order to protect them. In a few cases, tribal chiefs voluntarily asked for the protection of one European nation in order to avoid being taken over by another European nation. Sometimes, the Africans even asked for European protection against other African tribes. Treaties were signed by the African chiefs in which they gave the European company or government the right to keep order (govern) and take over the land and resources in their area. Thousands of treaties were signed by African rulers giving away most of their rights to the Europeans; however, the Africans never really understood these treaties and did not realize what they were giving away.

Colonialism and Imperialism

As you have already read, colonialism is interrelated to imperialism. The initial assumption is that colonialism and imperialism are interchangeable; however, Robert Young, a widely written commentator on imperialism and post-colonialism, suggests that imperialism is the concept while colonialism is the practice. Colonialism is based on an imperial outlook, thereby creating a consequential relationship between the two. Through an empire, colonialism is established and capitalism is expanded; by contrast, a capitalist economy naturally enforces an empire.

1.2.8 Nationalism

During the second half of the 19th century, mercantilism evolved into economic nationalism. Nationalism is a belief that assemblages of people are bound together by territorial, cultural and (sometimes) ethnic associations. Several nations accepted protectionist policies in reaction to the Great Depression of the 1930s. The ideas of liberalism and nationalism were spread all across Europe by the impact of the French Revolution and Napoleon. These ideas were soon established and led to many outbreaks of revolutions in the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s. Among these, the revolutions of 1848 were most severe. Even though many of these revolutions failed, they continued the spread of liberal and nationalist ideas. In addition, they gave reformers a better idea of what it would take to attain their goals. The revolutions of 1848 particularly influenced the people of Eastern Europe under the Hapsburg and Ottoman rule and the people of Italy and Germany in Central Europe.

Nationalism evolved in the 19th century and resulted in some of the most remarkable events of the 20th century. It developed as an ideological reaction to a number of the social, economic and political uncertainties of the contemporary world, and was frequently used by political activists to mobilize citizens against their sovereigns, particularly when these were 'foreigners', as in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Nationalism sometimes refers to defining oneself in terms of a shared ancestry, common language and common religion. Generally, it includes a belief in national greatness, a vision of a glorious past, and a conviction in the divine task of the nation state. Mussolini's fantasies about a new Roman empire based around the Mediterranean led to the invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935. It is a good example of rampant nationalism. Nationalism also played a key role in Germany's participation in two World Wars (and particularly in Hitler's politics). It was witnessed in the Versailles Peace Conference where the Allied powers sat together to establish new states, for example Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, out of the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In addition, it resurfaced when the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 resulted in the independence of former Soviet-dominated states, for example Romania, Poland and Czechoslovakia. In the last decade of the 20th century, aggressive nationalistic feelings resulted into the civil war in the former Yugoslavia.

Eastern Europe

In particular, the Balkans in the Southeast Europe witnessed national independence from the foreign rule, instead of national unity, as the critical issue. The acceptance of nationalist ideas among the Slavic people there, after the revolutions of 1848, along with the sound decay of the Hapsburg and Ottoman empires, resulted into the creation of a

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particularly volatile situation. These led to the development of widespread nationalist movements that destabilized the already collapsing Hapsburg and Ottoman empires. To cause difficulties even further, Russia became more and more involved in the Balkan politics, posing as the defender of Slavic liberties and nationalism against the Turkish and Austrian masters of the Slavs. This increased tensions between Austria, Turkey and Russia and later provided the spark to set off World War I.

Central Europe

Particularly, Germany and Italy had been divided into several states, a situation that came about due to centuries of foreign intervention, conquests and wars in both nations. Here also, the revolutions of 1848 in addition to German and Italian frustration over the circumstances led to emergence of strong sentiments for national unification in both nations. The middle classes in Italy and Germany in particular supported national unification under strong governments, ones that could end internal tolls, support new industries and build national railroads.

Both Italy and Germany were fortunate enough to have brilliant prime ministers to lead them through unification: Camillo Cavour from Italy and Otto von Bismarck from Germany. Both men proficiently combined strong internal developments of their particular states with opportunistic diplomacy and warfare to unify Italy and Germany by 1871. You will read about the unification of Italy and Germany later in this book. Both nations would also strive to industrialize in the latter 1800s. Germany proved especially successful in this endeavour. However, the presence of two unified nations in place of a multitude of little states, particularly that of a strongly industrialized Germany, critically upset the balance of power in Europe, which would also lead to World War I.

1.2.9 The Commercial Revolution

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

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

Geopolitical Factors

The fall of Constantinople in 1453 necessitated the discovery of new trade routes as Turks controlled the Mediterranean region. The English altered their laws to the advantage of their navy so that their mercantile aspirations would not be hampered. A consequence of this was that the Hanseatic League that carried on trade in the northern region of Europe became dysfunctional. Spain remained a dominant force throughout this period because of its martial culture owing to the Reconquista and carried on its expansionist policies. However, competition grew between the European nations in their quest for wealth and greater power.

Monetary Factors

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

Technological Factors

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



Fig. 1.12 Modern World Economy

Modern World Economy

The sixteenth century was a period of great transformation as it was the beginning of the modern era. The world was changing and no sphere of life—from the religious to the

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political, economic and social remained untouched. With trade and commerce flourishing, there was the rise of the new middle class. Economic expansion, acquisition of colonies and capitalism were the order of the day. There were great technological advancements like the printing press and gun powder, the latter altering the way battles were fought. The Bible was translated in vernacular languages in order to reach the masses at a time when the spirit of enquiry was at its peak.

The economic growth in Europe was not uniform, though there was expansion and a return to the prosperity that existed before 1350. There was a spurt in population. Economies became interlinked as the business of nation affected that of another. The traders had to keep themselves aware of the socio political situation around them, the conflict in the church, as well be in the know of developments taking place in the ruling families as if affected their business. Also they had to be abreast with all the explorations, discoveries and inventions. The explorations of the European empires enabled them to replace the Italian city states on the Mediterranean with the Atlantic coast. Soon the warring Italian city states fell under the control of western powers, especially Spain. Spain had a huge inflow of gold and silver from its colonies that it closely guarded. With these metals gaining so much importance in the sixteenth century, Spain had to protect its treasure arriving from Peru and Mexico with a fleet of warships. It was just the daring Francis Drake who managed to intercept the Spanish cargo in the Pacific and Central American region.

1.2.10 The Reformation

The most sweeping changes across the European society came with Reformation. The established authority of the church and the privileges that it had hitherto enjoyed were overthrown. There was the rise of secular society which brought about socio political changes. The nature of governance also underwent change. The initial prosperity was reflected in the rise of population and decent wages. However, the middle of the century saw inflation with population exerting pressure and a decrease in wages.

Homelessness, Poverty and Class Struggle

Reformation brought with itself the ills of capitalism. The peasants were deprived of their land and ownership of property was largely in the hands of the upper sections of the society. While the bourgeoisie lined their pockets, the poor were left in penury with very little hope of coming out of it. This led to a growing unrest among the peasants. In contrast was Calais, a port city that had trade relations with several European countries, that was flourishing. The first half of this century saw many cultural developments and a growth of the humanist trend. It was towards the second half of this century that struggle for power altered the nature of the European nation states.

Capitalism

Emergence of the capitalist mode of production

The middle ages were dominated by guilds that controlled production and ensured that there was even distribution of resources so that one did not grow wealthier than the other. They were against technological advancements and preferred to carry on their small-scale techniques as they had always been. But there was a growing need to enhance production and this was most required in the textile industry, cloth industry of

Gent, Bruges and Ypres and also silk and wool industries of Florence that were catering to the native as well as the foreign markets. New production techniques were employed that enhanced the labour productivity which in turn meant more production. It became necessary to organize industries better. As a result, the process of production was divided into parts and entrusted to separate guilds so that they may handle them better and increase the efficiency, as happened with the Florentine textile industry. There was a guild for spinners, dyers and weavers separately. Gradually merchants entered the business by purchasing the produce of a guild in bulk and then selling it off in markets. They took upon themselves the task of efficient organization and completed the purchase to sale task themselves. Slowly, the guilds became increasingly dependent of these merchants as they became the suppliers of raw materials as well as the tools and machinery required in the industries. However, there were restrictions on the guilds in medieval times ensuring that they did not become totally dependent on merchants. As a result, the merchants now channelized their energy towards the villages and supplied raw materials and implements and bought finished goods so that they could sell these at high prices, relying on the village craftsmen only for their labour. The pay that these craftsmen received was very meagre. Moreover, they charged high interest on the raw materials supplied. They also gave raw materials and tools as loan and compelled the craftsmen to sell the finished goods to them so that they may maximize their own profits. The value of the finished product was enhanced several times over as it involved human labour. Of what these merchants, a very insignificant percentage was paid to the craftsmen as wages while the rest was pocketed by the merchants. The cost of labour which was appropriated by the labour was called 'surplus labour' and it was the profit that the merchant made that allowed him to assert his authority over the craftsmen. While the merchant had not yet become the direct supervisor, he was already their master paying them wages that were far lesser compared to their labour power. The entrepreneurs were merely interested in enhancing their own profits or surplus value. The price that a merchant had to pay for the labour of a craftsman was called the latter's wages. All the investments made by the merchant into the business were known as capital. The chief aim of all capitalist investment was however, to generate surplus value, i.e., the maximization of profits.

The manufactory

The capitalist assumed greater responsibility by taking upon the role of suppliers of raw materials as well as providing implements. Finally they undertook the task of supervision of the production houses as well. This was done with the motive of maximizing their profits. The entrepreneurs did not establish immediate control over craftsmen. Instead they initially brought under their supervision, a job that was difficult to carry out or involved expensive tools, by asking the artisans to work in their premises. This gave way to all activities regarding a particular type of production being concentrated in one place that is directly under his supervision. This marked the origin of the manufactory that spread throughout Europe between the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. It was the prototype of the capitalist model that was to emerge later. Since most work was performed by the artisan with his hands with very little dependence on tools, this phase was referred to as the 'manufacfacio' or 'I make by Hand'. The manufactories were of two distinct types based on the kind of control the entrepreneur exercised. If he had everything that went into the production of goods under his direct control and himself oversaw the

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production, the arrangement was called centralized. If on the other hand, the owner employed several individuals who carried on their work in respective workshops, the functioning of the manufactory was called a scattered one. Another type was a mixed system where a number of artisans functioned from their workshops and the others under the supervision of the capitalist.

The whole purpose of capitalism was to make profits by exploiting the labourer and paying him as little wages as they could, however, squeezing out the maximum amount of work from them. The poor labourers who could barely sustain themselves were forced to sell their labour to these capitalists at extremely low prices. Poverty was a boon for the capitalists, as the more poor people there were, the more there was the availability of cheap labour. Capitalists also introduced the principle of specialisation, whereby which a particular worker was trained to use the same tools and perform only a particular task allotted to him. This would increase his efficiency and repeatedly performing the same action would reduce the time that he would take. Division of labour was a principle that was completely new to production organization. In the middle ages a labourer had to perform all functions that went into the making of a product himself. The advancements in tools and machinery that aided a worker also helped in improving labour productivity. Trained to use a particular machine and to carry out the same specialized task, a worker could finish his job quicker and produce more. Therefore, the capitalists invested in getting improved implements in order to serve their interests as it helped them increase their profits. Manufactories multiplied as the wealth of capitalists grew. There was great competition in the market to produce cheaper and better goods and hence, the use of the best implements and techniques was made in order to stay ahead of rivals. The advancements made in this field were an integral feature of the new mode of production. Soon it dawned upon the capitalists that if they replaced the hands employed in the manufactory with machines, there would be more profits as the work would not only be done quicker but also be free from human errors and hence have greater accuracy. Now the manufactory was replaced by the factory, a huge technological advancement. Machines were introduced. Labourers were trained intensely to perform their jobs better and use machines gradually advanced implements were introduced. The evolution of new methods of production altered the course of history. Labourers in villages and towns were deprived of the traditional tools of production and forced to sell their labour into the service of the mercenary capitalists.

Primary accumulation of capital

There was just one way to make the artisans and craftsmen sell their labour- it was by depriving them of the means of production. This would leave them with no other means to sustain themselves and would be forced to offer cheap labour in factories. This was the method of the capitalist control in the world. The capitalist class used to its advantage the helplessness of the vast number of the poor, appropriated not just what belonged to them but also forced them to sell their labour at lowest possible cost.

Accumulation of capital can be seen clearly in Europe. It took the more classical route of capitalist development. For long England had been engaged in the production of textiles from wool. As the demand for these textiles shot up and prices of wool increased, manufactories found their way into England by the 15th century. Sheep rearing became an important activity for production of more wool. The elite drove out peasants from

their lands in order to use a greater area for sheep rearing, enclosing such obtained land and depriving its use for any other purpose. Those peasants who were so displaced had to seek refuge in manufactories built in towns to find a method of sustenance for themselves.

Expropriation of the peasants

Thomas Moor, an English scholar of the sixteenth century, pointed out that in England 'sheep are eating people' highlighting the displacement of a vast population for the purposes of rearing of sheep. Due to such policies of the elite, the peasantry had completely vanished by the 18th century. Feudal society emerged with landlords hiring labourers and farmers for cultivation of land. Capitalism and economic progress was achieved in England by digging the graves of artisans and craftsmen. Those who could find work at manufactories were lucky because after a point these were saturated and a number of workers were left unemployed. They resorted to pilferage and for the misdeeds that arose out of their misery, they were subject to extremely harsh punishments. Edward VI introduced draconian laws in 1547 according to which avoidance of work was punishable by enslaving them, flogging and branding them for vagrancy. Absenting oneself from work for two weeks without leave entailed slavery for life and branding of his body, and finally, if he ran away, he was to be treated as a criminal and hanged.

The ruin of the craftsmen

The lot of craftsmen was no better than peasants. They now had to compete against machines that were swifter and produced goods of superior quality. With manufactories becoming ubiquitous, the craftsmen were forced to shut shop and look for alternate means of survival. If luck would favour them they would be able to join one of these manufactories that were the reason for their own decline.

Colonial plunder

After having milked the lower classes of their own population, the English now set sights on distant lands. The Spanish and the Portuguese earned the dubious distinction of being the earliest colonizers filling their coffers with the wealth of colonized lands. Their growing riches lured the English as well who set sights on North America fleecing its native population while Spain and Portugal plundered Central America. The Dutch in the 17th century became the perfect example of all the ills that were associated with colonialism—looting, plundering, massacring ruthlessly. To increase the population of slaves owned by them they even kidnapped men on the island of Celebes. With colonialism, not just trade accelerated but also manufactories as the colonized lands became markets for finished goods. There was greater accumulation of capital as these markets were monopolized by colonizers. The plundered wealth was used to acquire new capital and to exploit the colonies reducing them to utter poverty. To ensure their unquestioned dominance, the colonizers saw to it that the colonized lived in poverty and ignorance of their lot. They had a deep rooted belief that the more poverty people lived in, the lesser the colonizers would have to pay them as wages. Thus industrial development was withheld in colonies, and they were chiefly viewed as suppliers of raw materials and market for finished goods. This trend continued till the modern times where only the face of the colonizer underwent a change, not his policies. The Spanish, English and Portuguese colonizers were replaced by American ones.

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The origin of mercantilism, the earliest form of capitalism, was in Rome. It was characterized by the purchase of goods at a particular place and selling it off at another place in order to gain maximum profits. Thus it can be defined as the displacement of goods from one place to another for profit making purposes. The rise and subsequent decline of the Roman Empire had a corresponding effect on mercantilism. When the empire grew, so did mercantilism and by the fifth century when the empire was at its nadir, mercantilism had very little presence left in Europe, and by 700s European economies had become localized. However, it was still a very dominant part of the Arab world, as the Arab world was part of the thriving trade network of Egypt, Persia and Byzantium. By 1300s, the expansionist tendencies had set in and mercantilism was on the rise again in Europe as they began exploration of newer lands. These explorations were completely driven by trade interests.

With the Spanish treasure of gold and silver and its growing demand, inflation was peaking again. As gold and silver became a part of the economy there was an increase in prices. This was realized during the latter half of the century by quite a few thinkers. Amongst the earliest men who researched about this was Jean Bodin of France, and others associated with the Spanish University of Salamanca; and explained how inflation was the result of increased supply of money. While a number of reasons have been identified for inflation in the 20th century apart from increased money in circulation, it is true that gold and silver played their part in price revolution. The unprecedented increase in population is another major reason for inflation. Spain is an appropriate example of how increase in money supply is not the only reason. Also, a number of agriculture and industry dominated countries that are not engaged in excessive defence expenditures have shown how influx of money has given a boost to the economic activity. Though even in such cases it has been the capitalists who have benefitted far more than the working classes. As capitalism continued to grow in the 16th century and spread in many spheres, its effects were not uniformly distributed. Different regions experienced it differently and in different phases. Capitalism for us is a system in which the means of production are not owned by the working class. History is littered with examples of capitalism, amongst the earliest being the guilds of Florence that existed much before the rise and spread of capitalism in the 16th century. Italy and other European nations have shown capitalist tendencies too prior to 16th century. Enterprises that required great investments, like ship building or foreign trade, and involved high risks, were also capitalist ventures. Printing industry that emerged in the 15th century in Europe and mining were also capitalist ventures. The all pervasive nature of capitalism and its deep penetration in the European way of life can be traced by agriculture succumbing to it. Agriculture in economy belongs to the category of traditional sector that would not respond to drastic economic changes. However, the 16th century saw agriculture also falling into the hands of capitalists.

The enclosure movement in England is a testimony to this. Enclosures referred to the practice of fencing lands and fields for purposes of sheep grazing. The great demand that English wool has generated precipitated this enclosure movement. Guided entirely by capitalistic interests and profit motive, rather than basic human concern, this movement generated opposition from the likes of Thomas More who in his work 'Utopia' described a land where men are eaten by sheep, a metaphor for the policies of those times. Enclosures created a vast number of vagabonds as peasants who had been deprived of

their lands had nowhere to go. As sheep grazing required fewer men, a lot of peasants lost their jobs. Unable to sustain themselves they took to petty thefts and other such activities for which they were subjected to the harshest possible punishments.

Since the 13th century, raw wool had been the chief constituent of England's exports. This was processed in foreign markets for the production of textiles. However, by 1500, things had begun to change. England was gaining self sufficiency in processing of raw wool and now woollen cloth manufactured in the native industries constituted the bulk of English exports. Antwerp was the major port via which all woollen cloth reached the continent. A group called the Merchant Adventurers that comprised English merchants handled this. The major port for whatever export of raw wool that still took place from England was Calais. It was managed by Merchants of the Staple. The Spanish were also prospering in trade of wool. It was the Merino sheep that had been brought from North Africa circa 1300 to Spain, which provided high quality wool. The rural economy in Spain had been dependant on Mesta. The manufacturing sector comprised a large share of wool production. European economies were dependent upon it for their trade, like the Florentine economy and textile production remained dominant. Often origin of words can be traced to the names of places that they were produced at originally. For example 'gauntlet' has its origins from the city of Ghent in France that specialized in making gloves.

The enclosures were owned by capitalist called enclosers who drove off farmers from their own lands to utilize them from sheep grazing. These capitalist had a group of labourers employed for production purposes. They sold the produce in international markets and earned huge profits. In England capitalism emerged differently. The English system was called the putting out system where the capitalist was in fact a merchant. This merchant purchased the raw materials and then administered his labourers as they set about their specialized tasks in the production of the finished good. The merchant then sold this product off at high rates and earned great profit. Since most of the craftsmen worked from their homes, this system also earned the moniker of domestic system. In contrast to this was the factory system like the one prevalent in Florence, where workers had to assemble in workshops and participate in textile production. These different systems were formed due to the nature of guilds. In England, guilds were largely local in nature and not directed towards expansion of trade but rather elimination of competition. Florence instead had guilds like Arte della Lana, that were capitalistic in nature and large enough to exercise influence in the socio political life of the state.

1.2.11 Development of Trade and Commerce

The capitalists in the city were required to work within certain restrictions that the guilds imposed upon them. In order to get round these, they turned their eyes to the rural areas that were virtually free from any intervention of the guilds. As a result, in cities where the capitalists had been in the tight noose of guilds, guilds began to decline and towns started to prosper. However this was not the norm. In certain places, guilds still maintained their stronghold. For example, in 16th century France, it was a royal decree that all craftsmen should adhere to guilds. This period was also marked by the decline of serfdom, an important socio economic change. Serfdom declined because the capitalists had in pursuance of their expansion towards the east had to induce peasants by granting them freedom. With the rise of towns serfs freed themselves and settled down in the shelter

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Check Your Progress

8. What does Leonardo da Vinci's masterpiece, The Last Supper depict?
9. Which Polish priest faced much flak for suggesting that the Sun and not the Earth, was the centre of the universe and other heavenly bodies revolved around it?
10. What is Newton, the British scientist, famous for?
11. How did Christopher Columbus discover America?
12. What inspired the French and the British to take up exploration expeditions in 1495?
13. Who was the first person to circumnavigate the world with his Spanish crew?

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Check Your Progress

14. Define the term colonialism.
15. What privileges does a colonizer enjoy?
16. What is Neo-colonialism?
17. What difference between colonialism and imperialism did Robert Young point out?
18. When was the first atlas published?
19. Which was the only way used by capitalists to make artisans and craftsmen sell their labour?
20. Which draconian laws were introduced by Edward VI in 1547, against craftsmen and artisans?

that town offered. Demand for labour grew after Black Death because of which more labourers could negotiate for their independence. Another important factor was the growing wealth of the lords who freed the peasants from their services and instead kept them as tenants who had to pay rent in lieu of services that they had been freed from. The owner of the property now took upon the role of a landlord and the peasant was in his service. The influx of money in the economy enabled the peasant to pay his rent. This was advantageous and profitable for the newly emergent class of landlords too as they could hire labourers to do their work as opposed to the times of serfdom. Consequently, serfdom declined radically and especially in those areas that had registered the highest economic growth. In stark contrast to this was the condition of peasants in East Europe and places like Russia where landowners were suppressing peasants ruthlessly owing to the agrarian nature of economy. The growth of the financial sector and banks brought about a transformation in industrial, agricultural and commercial sectors as well. Fluggen in Augsburg was the most dominant financial leader in 16th century. Its growth mirrors the condition of economy in Europe in those times. The upcoming nations faced an economic crisis as their needs far outgrew their resources. It was a tough job for them to manage their economic policy as they lacked funds to meet their requirements. It showed that the newly emergent states could not be governed by the same method as the states of decentralized feudal society had been. Merchants and rulers alike were in the pursuit of peace; overcoming restrictions imposed by guilds to ensure greater mobility of goods and in checking the nobility. By this time another trend was on the rise- the sale of titles. As one achieved financial success, he could climb up the social ladder and his money would buy him the tag of aristocracy. This trend was prevalent in France. The ill effect of the increasing aristocracy was a reduction in revenue collection as the aristocracy was exempt from taxation. Therefore, a lot of people who could contribute a portion of their wealth to the state coffer evaded taxation owing to the privileges that they enjoyed being a member of nobility.

Governmental involvement in commerce was high. Exports and imports attracted custom duties to serve the dual purpose of trade regulation and contribution to the economy of the state. Merchant organizations were encouraged by the government and state officials participated in them by making investments. The government also granted charters to these organizations establishing their trade monopoly in the newly acquired territories in different parts of the world. The joint stock principle that was adopted in 16th century in north Europe for dealing with the companies of merchants' had been in practice in Italy for a very long time. This entailed division of ownership into shares. A shareholder could purchase shares in proportion to the company he old. These could be bought either in bulk or time to time in small quantities as well. The shareholder then employed a number of persons for purposes of administration on his behalf. A major positive of this system was that it incorporated a lot of people who otherwise did not enjoy the means to be part of it. The organizational nature enhanced the capital involved and greatly reduced the risk factor for an individual. In the age of growing trade and expansion, Europe had a number of crucial networks of economic relationships to maintain. Antwerp was the hub of European trade during a greater part of the century, reflecting the shift in trading activity from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. New centres of trade emerged after the decline of Antwerp due to the Dutch war for freedom. Amsterdam took the coveted place followed by England as the centre of trading activity.

1.3 REVOLUTION IN AMERICA AND AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

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 1.10). The important cities were Boston in Massachusetts, New York, Philadelphia, the colonial capital of Pennsylvania, and Charleston, the capital of South Carolina.



Fig. 1.13 American Colonies at the Time of War of Independence

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

One of the busiest and most important ports in the English speaking world was Boston. The American colonies shared a rocky relationship with the British crown. There were many conflicts between the governors in the service of the crown and the assembly of elected members of colonies over matters of taxation. The French dominance in Canada along the St. Lawrence region as well as the western part of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia also affected the relationship between the crown and its colonies adversely. The British forces registered important victories and the assertion of their dominance that followed led to the beginning of American Revolution in 1763. In order to eke out the cost involved in the maintenance of their empire, they subjected the people to the payment of direct taxes and imposed such other laws that were demonstrative of their superiority. Since English residents of colonies did not enjoy representation in the British Parliament, they were deeply discontented with the laws and considered it a violation of their rights. Seeking to voice their opinions, they formed The Committees of Correspondence in 1772, with the agenda of having their own congresses in the provinces

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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.

1.3.1 Influences 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. Amongst those who advocated republican values were:

- Samuel Adams
- Patrick Henry
- George Washington (Figure 1.11)
- 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. 1.14 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.

1.3.2 Causes of the American Revolution and War of Independence

Some 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 halfhearted 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.

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Check Your Progress

21. State whether the following statements are true or false.
 - (a) The American Revolution started with the Battle of Lexington.
 - (b) One of the busiest and most important ports in the English speaking world was Boston.
22. Fill in the blanks.
 - (a) _____ pamphlet ‘Common Sense’ was widely received and was a huge success amongst the people.
 - (b) _____ was the major political ideology of the American colonies during 1775.

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- 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. The 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 harbor 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 harbor, 60 men, disguised as Native Americans, boarded the ships and dumped the entire shipment of tea into the harbor. That event is now prominently known as the Boston Tea Party (Figure 1.12).



Fig. 1.15 The Boston Tea Party

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- 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 Harbor 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 complain 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 famed 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.

1.3.3 Course of the 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

Check Your Progress

23. State whether the following statements are true or false.
 - (a) The French and Indian War was fought between Germany and France.
 - (b) In 1767, the British Parliament passed the Townshend Acts.
24. Fill in the blanks.
 - (a) In January _____, the British parliament passed the Coercive Act.
 - (b) To complaint against the Intolerable Acts, the representatives of well-known colonies gathered in _____.

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.

1.3.4 Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Paris

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

The 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.

The 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 1.13). 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.

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Check Your Progress

25. Fill in the blanks.
 - (a) The America Revolution began in _____ 1775.
 - (b) In 1776, the British sent _____ troops to North America to suppress the revolt.
26. State whether the following statements are true or false.
 - (a) The colonial troops caused apparently unbeatable British army men to flee in confusion in the initial stages of the Battle of Germantown.
 - (b) In April 1783, the British House of Commons passed a bill to declare the end to the war with the American colonies.

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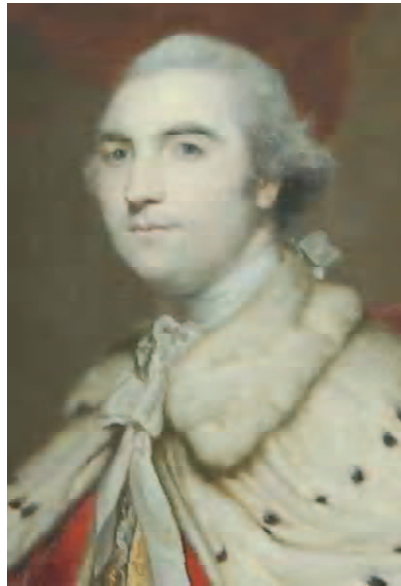


Fig. 1.16 Lord Shelburne

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.

1.3.5 American Revolution: Results and Significance

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.

Check Your Progress

27. Fill in the blanks.
- (a) The Second Continental Congress chose _____, a southerner, to control the troops besieging Boston in the north.
- (b) The last set of British forces abandoned _____ in _____ November 1783.
28. State whether the following statements are true or false.
- (a) Following the Treaty of Paris, British Prime Minister North resigned and was replaced by Lord Shelburne.
- (b) After the Treaty of Paris, the United States agreed to permit British troops still in America to leave peacefully.

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 first president of United States.

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'

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Check Your Progress

29. Fill in the blanks.
- (a) As the alliance of the states in a confederacy did not seem adequate, a new constitution was framed in _____, which remains in effect to this day.
- (b) The _____ suffered immensely due to the formation of United States.
30. State whether the following statements are true or false.
- (a) The American revolution led to the abandonment of ties between American and European churches, principally English churches.
- (b) The First Amendment prohibited the federal government from naming any religion as the new nation's 'state church'.

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.

1.4 REFORMATION, ITS IMPACT AND COUNTER REFORMATION

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

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

1.4.1 Meaning of Reformation

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

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

1.4.2 Causes of the Reformation

The causes of the reformation were as follows:

- **Influence of the Renaissance:** The Renaissance had brought about remarkable changes in the European society. With the intellectual awakening, cultural changes, rise of humanism and generation of spirit of enquiry, there was irreverence for authority and meaningless dogmas that were upheld by the church. The scientific and geographical advancements, the crusades, the emergence of printing press and educational reforms all brought about a change in the perception of people.
- **Corruption in the church:** Classical studies were not banished by the Catholic Church. The Church was aware of the all richness and value that these texts contained that would help men transcend their own mental boundaries. There were apprehensions from certain quarters about pagan associations plaguing the minds of the youth but by and large these were dismissed. Origen, St. Clement of Alexandria, St. Gregory of Nazianzen, St. Basil, and St. Jerome were among a few of the Catholics who encouraged their followers to engage with classical text leading to the early efforts to bring together the religious and the secular, i.e., classical culture and Christian beliefs. The fall of the Roman Empire and the proceeding Dark ages saw a changing scenario when classical studies were relegated to Britain, Ireland and the western Isles. The Carolingian reform resurrected these dying classics and gave them a new lease of life in the continent. Soon compilations of classics emerged in schools and colleges; however the glory days of classical literature were gone. The reform now was directed towards philosophy and not as it had been in the twelfth century, when it was directed towards classics supported by men like John of Salisbury. Consequently, classical languages like Greek and Latin fast started disappearing from the school curriculum in Western Europe. There was now a thrust of rationality and logic amongst the scholars rather than beauty of expression and literary grace. The neglect was confined not just to the languages but also to monuments and other architecture. As a result there was widespread decline. Scholasticism suffered as the successors of St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure lacked the ingenuity to hold the interests of the scholars who chose to now engage themselves in other intellectual pursuits. Religion had been reduced to mere formalism in the absence of learned teachers. The world order was now slowly undergoing transformation as religion was fast losing its sway and making way for more secular order. With religion and philosophy not being on a pedestal anymore it was but natural to make a return to the classics and salvage what one could. There was a decline of the social order, a corruption of men, and intoxication of power as seen through the examples of tyrants like Agnello of Pisa, the Viscontis and Francesco Sforza of Milan, Ferrante of Naples, and the de Medici of Florence. It went against the Christian notion of morality and justice. So seeped were they in the temporal pleasures that it was but natural that the Pagan Rome and the literary masterpieces that it produced would be more suited to their tastes rather than the piety enjoined upon people by the Catholic Church. Therefore, Reformation was a movement to overthrow the limitations that the Catholic Church had imposed upon the people. The decline of Italy and Rome aroused deep anger in Petrarch. He believed that the absence of Popes from Avignon was a cause of the downfall. Encouraged by nationalist feelings he supported Cola di Rienzi when in 1347 the latter announced the formation of Roman republic. He sought to protect the remaining pagan

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monuments and to bring alive the relics of the past to arouse nationalist sentiments among his fellow countrymen. Virgil was his inspiration in poetry. Most of his writing were in Italian but incorporated in them the ideals of Renaissance, the celebration of beauty as opposed to the self restraint practised in the middle ages. While his work *Africa* is a glorification of ancient Rome and full of nationalist zeal, Petrarch has received great acclaim for the *Canzoni* or his love songs. Petrarch however, did not see religion and paganism in conflict. He may have attacked the church at times in his nationalist fervour but he never sought a confrontation with religion and rather believed in confrontation. His disciple, Boccaccio (1313–1375) too reverted to the classics and had even acquired knowledge of Greek but unlike Petrarch he was chose paganism over Christianity. His works, including the famous *Decameron*, betray the pagan in him. His harsh criticism of the clergy, accusing them of hypocrisy put his followers in conflict with the religious minded. Yet he did not do this to promote paganism in the garb of promoting literature. He still believed in Christianity and in the later years of his life realized the mistakes he had made and bequeathed his library to the monks whom he had earlier taken pleasure in reviling.

- **Influence of economic changes:** The flourishing trade and commerce changed the outlook of the people during Renaissance. The educated middle class began to question the authority that the church exercised over the common man. New trade routes were discovered, and as exports grew, the wealth of the mercantile class increased manifold. With irreverence towards the church on the rise, it was a matter of time that the humanist and the scholars of religion came at loggerheads. The corruption in the church made the humanist advocate not only a revival of the classical but went a step ahead to call for a revival of paganism itself. On the other hand the scholastics were determined to wipe out all pagan influences in Christian learning. Though a middle path was possible for revival of culture, those who supported this were far too few. They aimed at harmonizing religion and culture by respecting the place that the Church had given to the classics in its own domain. However, they could not bring about the two warring sections to reconciliation. The humanists took the opportunity to shed the yoke that Christianity had required them to carry in the form of piety and restraint. Laurentius Valla (1405-57) in his work, *De Voluptate*, preached excesses that were in direct conflict with the teachings of the Church. He advocated indulgence and gratification of sensual desires as against self-restraint. His epicurean theory was accompanied by a rejection of the Pope and his authority. If this was not enough, Beccadelli went a step ahead and entirely devoted himself production of distasteful work against the Church. Others who unleashed polemic against the church were the likes of Poggio Bracciolini who wrote *Facetiae*, and Fileflo. These men undermined Renaissance as a cultural movement and reduced it a glorification of paganism to triumph over the church. Morality was now in shreds and these works were lapped up in Florence, Venice and Siena. In the later stages, a number of schools though bearing Christian names betrayed pagan influence. However, most of the times it was not suspected as a rejection of religion but rather just their sophistry. What was apparent although was that Christianity was losing its followers. There were also a number of renowned people who made no effort to hide their leanings towards paganism. They were Carlo Marsuppini, Chancellor of Florence, Gemistos Plethon, who propounded the Platonic philosophy, Marsilio Ficino, Rinaldo Degli Albizzi, and the members of the Roman Academy (1460), under the leadership of

Pomponius Laetus. It was the moral degeneration of the age that prevented the suppression of these ideas in Italy.

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

1.4.3 The Counter Reformation

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

1.5 MARTIN LUTHER KING

Martin Luther King (1483–1546) was the voice of the German middle class. He raised a protest against the developments in the economic sphere and severely criticized the Roman Catholic Church and papacy for corruption prevalent through its ranks. He also called for an end to the supremacy of the church and demanded that it be subjected to the secular authority of the state.

His views were widely accepted in Germany and more and more people were attracted to the beliefs of Martin Luther. However, their interest was not limited to overhauling the church but also in bringing about social reforms in the feudal society. The more radical amongst the people sought to modify and govern the society on the basis of the ideas of German proletariat, this way also adhering to 'God's justice' and striving to attain social equality.

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Check Your Progress

31. Which types of countries were amongst the first to break away from the Catholic Church and how did they do it?
32. What do you mean by the term 'reformation'?
33. What did Laurentius Valla (1405-57) preach in his work, *De Voluptate*?
34. Why was Counter Reformation launched?

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Martin Luther King was a German priest and theologian. He was the first to make the call for the protestant revolution and under him the movement gathered momentum. He soon acquired leadership of the reformation movement in Germany as his influence grew. A strong critic of the church's practise of selling indulgences, he firmly believed and propagated that one's sins do not get washed away by paying money to the church. Monetary compensation was no means of escaping God's punishment for one's sins. He also declined the withdrawal of all his inflammatory writings at the demand of Pope Leo X in 1520 and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V at the diet of Worms in 1521. As a result the pope excommunicated him and the king declared him a renegade.

Though Luther's father was came from the peasantry, he achieved success in mining because of which he was able to educate his son very well. Luther's schooling began at Ratschule in Mansfeld after which he probably attended the Cathedral School at Madgeburg. Here he got associated with the Brethren of the common life who deeply influenced him. His early education culminated at the Georgenschule in Eisenach after which he enrolled in the University of Erfurt in 1501. He graduated in 1502 earning a B.A degree and finished his M.A in 1505. Seeking to fulfil his father's wishes, he was pursuing a law degree. However, a brush with death during a thunderstorm changed the course of his life. In 1505, he vowed to become a monk. Luther delved deep into the study of theology at Erfurt. He was sent to Wittenberg in 1508 to deliver a lecture at the newly opened University of Wittenberg on moral philosophy. Back from there to Erfurt, he continued his studies and delivered several lectures in theology. At Erfurt, the nominalist theology of William of Ockham and his disciple, Gabriel Biel was upheld. This school emphasized on attaining salvation through one's own free will and was opposed to reason as a means of arriving at religious truths as did traditional scholasticism. A trip to Rome in 1510–1511 greatly disillusioned Martin Luther. The clergy's moral bearings or rather the lack of them left him very unhappy. Sent to Wittenberg in 1511, he completed his doctoral studies in theology in 1512. He also earned a permanent appointment to the chair of Bible at the university in the same year.

Martin Luther propagated the idea that salvation cannot be attained by doing good deeds. Instead it is God's grace upon mankind and one has to keep faith in God in order to receive this. He contested the Roman Catholic Church's notions of supremacy and exaltation of the papacy by saying that the Bible was the sole source of divine knowledge as opposed to sacerdotalism and the claims of these churches to holy priesthood. Luther's followers came to be known as Lutherans.

1.5.1 Early Life of Martin Luther

Martin Luther was the son of Hans Luder and his wife Margaret. He was born a Catholic on 10 November 1483 in Eisleben, Germany, then part of the Holy Roman Empire. He was baptised on the feast day of St. Martin of Tours. In 1484, his family shifted to Mansfeld. His father was in the mining business, holding a lease of copper mines and smelters. He was also one amongst the four citizens elected as representatives of the people to the local council.

Martin Luther's father ensured that he provided him the best possible education within his means. He went to the University of Erfurt at the age of 18. Having graduated, he began to pursue a degree in law. However, a near death experience when he narrowly escaped alive in a thunderstorm made him vow that he would become a monk. He was

ordained at the monastery of the Augustinian Hermits at Erfurt in 1507. He made trips to Wittenberg and Rome, and finished his doctoral degree in theology in Wittenberg. He also became a professor of the Bible and he held the prestigious position as a permanent member. He visited Rome in 1510 and was appalled by the callous nature of the clergy there and the corruption of the church.



Fig. 1.17 Portraits of Hans and Margarethe Luther by Lucas Cranach the Elder, 1527

Though he had a profound knowledge of the scholastic beliefs of his day, he was deeply interested in the epistles of Saint Paul in particular. He believed that his ideas were divergent from the mainstream Catholic Church and its traditional teachings. While Luther believed that the only means of achieving salvation was keeping faith in god and hoping to receive the gifts of god's grace, the Catholic Church had all along emphasised that one's good deeds were the path to salvation. He also believed that the only mediator between God and man was Christ and the church had no role to play in this. For the Church, Luther's ideas were an attack on their authority. Confrontation was bound to happen and these differences led to reformation eventually.

Luther joined the University of Erfurt in 1501. He was dissatisfied with the place and critics it in harsh terms later calling it a beer house and a whorehouse. The regimen of waking up at four in the morning and performing spiritual exercises also seemed redundant to him. Having completed his graduation, he went on to pursue a degree in law but opted out pretty soon because it did not offer to him the stability and certainty that he was seeking. He was in the quest to understand the profound truths of life and his search found its destination in religion and philosophy. Works of Aristotle, William of Ockham, and Gabriel Biel provided answers that he had been looking for. Other major influences on him were his tutors, Bartholomäus Arnoldi von Usingen and Jodocus Trutfetter from whom he learnt that one must not accept even the words of greatest thinkers as true till one verifies it by his own experience. Philosophy, he discovered soon, did not satisfy him. Its emphasis on reason, as also preached by Aristotle, was not acceptable to Luther as it did not help attain god. He believed that reason could be used to judge human activities and people themselves but it could not be directed against god. He also believed that the only way of knowing God was through the divine revelations in the form of scriptures. As a result, he now relied on theology as a means of comfort for his heart and mind. His gradual interest in religion turned to complete devotion when he

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narrowly escaped a thunderbolt when he was returning to his university after having paid a visit home. This experience altered him completely. The fear of death and god's judgement was deeply instilled in him and in 1505 he joined a friary to become a monk. Some friends of his attributed this change to the demise of his two friends. Luther himself was deeply saddened while his father viewed this shift as Luther wasting away all the education that he had received.

Famous Quotations of Martin Luther King

- "I still have a dream, a dream deeply rooted in the American dream – one day this nation will rise up and live up to its creed, 'We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal.'"
- "Faith is taking the first step even when you don't see the whole staircase."
- "We must learn to live together as brothers or perish together as fools"
- "Nothing in all the world is more dangerous than sincere ignorance and conscious stupidity."
- "We must learn to live together as brothers or perish together as fools."
- "I have decided to stick with love. Hate is too great a burden to bear."
- "Our lives begin to end the day we become silent about things that matter."
- "We are not makers of history, we are made by history."
- "Human progress is neither automatic nor inevitable... Every step toward the goal of justice requires sacrifice, suffering, and struggle; the tireless exertions and passionate concern of dedicated individuals."
- "Freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed."
- "A genuine leader is not a searcher for consensus but a molder of consensus."

1.5.2 Dispute over Indulgences

Luther was deeply angered by the Catholic Church's sale of indulgences which trivialized important aspects of religion like sin and repentance for it. Indulgences entailed that one could have his sins forgiven by confessing to a priest. The church sold these indulgences raking in a great amount of revenue by taking advantage of the guilt of people. A sale of indulgences was sponsored by the archbishop of Mainz, Albert of Brandenburg himself in 1517, in order to show his gratitude to the Pope for appointing him to Mainz and for the construction of Saint Peter's basilica in Rome. Johann Tetzel, a Dominican priest was assigned the task of selling indulgences. In opposition to Tetzel's arrival in Saxony to proceed with the sale, Luther on 31 October, 1517, nailed his 95 theses on the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg. His theses were meant to raise subjects for discussion while some parts of it contained outright rejection of papacy. As Luther's ideas spread, they created a huge upheaval through the length and breadth of Europe. In the following years Luther defended his beliefs and sought support from other Augustinians. He also had a public debate with theologian Johann Eck who was opposed to the ideas of Luther. The Church came down heavily upon him and the Saxon Dominican accused him of heresy requiring him to appear before Cardinal Cajetan, the papal legate in Augsburg. Luther refused to submit to the authority of Church and escaped to Wittenberg, expecting the support of the elector Frederick III of Saxony. Here he was supported not just by the faculty at Wittenberg but also Frederick who kept him in his protection and declined to extradite him to Rome where severe punishment awaited him.

1.5.3 Reforms

Countries that had developed along the capitalist lines brought about widespread changes in the Church for the feasibility of the bourgeoisie. They split from the Roman Catholic Church and also subjugated the church to such temporal powers as kings and governments. This was mainly to preserve the interest of the rising middle class. A well known figure in the reformation period was Jean Calvin who preached that a prosperous business ensured a merchant of salvation in the next life. He also said that labourers should work diligently and sincerely for their masters since this way they could become owners of property themselves. Not laying a great store by moral scruples, he upheld slavery, colonialism and all the other vices that expansionism entailed. The capitalist economies adopted Protestantism as it suited their material and economic aspirations. This new religion soon became widespread in Europe where it was adopted either in the form of Lutheran church in Germany which was in favour of monarchy or the teachings of Zwingli, a Swiss reformer whose teachings were directed towards the preservation of the interests of the bourgeois class. The Catholic Church, much as it tried could not gain its former position in the lives of people. The Jesuit order which was founded in 1540 could also not salvage the Roman Catholic cause. It was successful only in a handful of countries like Germany, Poland and Lithuania where it succeeded in bringing back a few people to the fold. Luther's views found words in his three works that were published in 1520 and became hugely successful. In his Address to the Christian nobility of the German Nation, he urged the German princes to bring about reforms in the church; in A Prelude concerning the Babylonian captivity of the church, he severely criticized the policies of the church and finally in the Freedom of a Christian man, he gave his views on good deeds and justified his beliefs.

For all the heresy that he was accused of, Luther was asked to recant within a period of sixty days by the bull of Pope Leo X Exsurge Domine. He was also excommunicated by the Decret Romanum Pontificem of January 3, 1521. The Holy Roman Emperor Charles V summoned him at the diet of worms in April, 1521 and gave him an opportunity but Luther was adamant and refused to give in to any authority. He sought protection in the Wartburg castle and lived in isolation here translating into German the New Testament and also authoring a series of pamphlets. He returned to Wittenberg in March 1522 in order to restore peace and subdue the iconoclasts who were on a rampage vandalising altars and crucifixes. During these years he also wrote a number of hymns, tracts, biblical commentaries, translated Bible into German and wrote a book called the Small and Large Catechisms. Evangelical churches were organized by Luther with the aid of Philipp Melancthon and others, in those parts of Germany where he had the support of the princes. Amongst the reforms that he introduced, there was an end to the practice of confession and private mass. Celibacy as a virtue not encouraged and monasteries and convents shut down. Priests were encouraged to marry. This period was marred by several other conflicts. Luther's call for suppression of the Knights' Revolt (1522) and the Peasants' War (1524-26) disappointed some of his followers. The Eucharist split of 1529 happened in the reform movement as Luther and Zwingli failed to reach an agreement. Through all this, Luther had the comfort of a stable marriage (1525) to a Cistercian nun, Katherina von Bora, with whom he had six children.

Luther's ideas and beliefs deeply impacted the western world. His principles like justification by faith and supremacy of the Bible found many believers and till date they

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are practised by several protestant strands. He is a towering figure not just in the reformation movement but also in the history of Christianity and western civilization.

1.5.4 Period of Struggle

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The harsh regimen of the church which required numerous spiritual exercises, constant confessions as well as a strict adherence to the monastic tenets were a difficult time for Luther. From 1507-1512, he towed the tightrope that he was made to make on in the quest for salvation. The popular perception coupled with nominalism during this time, made it appear to Luther that man had to strive to be righteous. His interactions with the vicar general of his order, Johann von Staupitz and reading the works of Augustine and the scriptures helped him change his view. He achieved a breakthrough when he realized that it is justification by faith that is required. This 'tower experience' has often been attributed to the year 1517 however, recent study points out that it may have not have happened till the end of 1518, near the end of Luther's life. Luther's belief marked a shift from a nominalist understanding of salvation to an Augustinian view. Earlier, he had believed that the path to salvation lay in one's own self through one's own good deeds. However, he later realized that salvation is a gift of god's grace and one can only keep faith in god to be able to attain it.

The Lutheran belief was that a sinner attained salvation from God not because he was righteous but because Jesus Christ had atoned for the sins of mankind. This idea was published in 1518 in his sermon *Of the Threefold Righteousness*. Reformation began in 1517, with Luther criticising the church's practice of selling indulgences. His ideas published in the 95 theses received widespread support. They were translated into German and created uproar across Germany. As the sale of indulgences began to decline, the church singled out its enemy, Luther, and sought to put his activities under check. At the first confrontation in Heidelberg on 26 April, 1518, he successfully used the platform to propagate his ideas and in fact managed to get a number of people in to his fold. Summons came from Rome in 1518 accusing him of heresy though he had not criticized any medieval practices at all. Prince Frederick was certain that chances of a fair trial in Rome were slender and hence asked the papacy to send its representatives to try Luther in Germany. Cardinal Cajetan in 1518 and Karl von Miltitz in January, 1519, failed to elicit an apology from Luther, although he treated the papacy with great degree of respect.

At Leipzig in July 1519, during a debate with Johann Eck, Luther asserted that only the scriptures were supreme and called into question the authority of the papacy and its organs. Irked by this Johann Eck likened him to Jan Hus, a Bohemian heretic of the 15th century. After this debate, Luther became more explicit in his views and spoke more openly against the church. In 1520 he wrote three famous treatises, the first called the *Christian nobility of the German nation* that called upon the princes to bring reforms in the church, the second called the *Babylonian captivity of the church* attacked the medieval church and its doctrines like the seven sacraments, transubstantiation and the sacrificial mass. Luther said that baptism, the Lord's Supper and penance were the only valid sacraments. The third pamphlet called the *freedom of the Christian man* was not meant to be an attack on the church but rather his explanation of his views on justification by faith. Luther returned to Wittenberg in 1522 to take control of the turmoil that the place was in and here he spent the rest of his days residing here after his marriage too.

1.5.5 Luther's Reaction

Luther used the power of his words, often a little too forcefully to express his views. For example, in 1525, in opposition to the peasants of South Germany who were not ready for a peaceful settlement of their grievances, he lashed against them through a pamphlet called *Against the Murdering Horde of Peasants*. The protestant movement split in 1529 at a meeting in Marburg when Zwingli and Luther could not reach an agreement over the Lord's Supper. All his life, Luther kept himself deeply engrossed in his writings, shaping the new church and spear heading the German reformation movement. His famous religious discourses include the *Smalcald Articles* published in 1538 which were meant to highlight the differences between his beliefs and that of the Roman Catholic Church. However, Luther never saw himself as a pioneer of the new church. He devoted himself to the reformation of the church and centralising his doctrine of justification by faith in the theology. In 1522, when his followers used his name to give an identity to their sect, he wrote: 'Let us abolish all party names and call ourselves Christians, after him whose teaching we hold . . . I hold, together with the universal church, the one universal teaching of Christ, who is our only master'.

Luther met his end in Eisleben on 18 February 1546, while he was on his way to settle an issue between two Lutherans. He was laid to rest at Castle Church, Wittenberg.

1.5.6 End of Luther's Life

Luther had initially not found supporters for his doctrine of justification by faith. However, when the *Ausburg Confession* was presented to Charles V and the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 by the Evangelicals, everyone including princes and theologians accepted Luther's doctrine. The whole of northern Europe was under the influence of Evangelical churches and had rejected Catholicism by the time of Luther's death. Luther strained himself while travelling to arbitrate between two people in Eisleben. He met his end the day after the dispute was settled.

1.6 HULDRYCH ZWINGLI

In the Swiss Protestant Reformation, Huldrych Zwingli was the most outstanding of all reformers and the only significant one of the 16th century whose pressure group did not develop into a church. Similar to Martin Luther King, he acknowledged that the authority of the scriptures was the highest. However, he utilized it more thoroughly and expansively to all principles and practices.

Early Life and Career

Zwingli's father was a free farmhand who was a village magistrate. One of his maternal uncles was the Abbot of Fischingen in Thurgau and another one, Bartholomäus Zwingli, was a priest of Wildhaus and later became the dean of Wesen. Huldrych did his schooling at Wesen, then at Basel (1494) and later in Bern (1496), where his master, Heinrich Wölflin, was his inspiration to turn him into an enthusiast of classics and create in him a deep interest for music. The Dominicans liked his musical presents and they nearly persuaded him to get into a convent. However, he was advised against it by his father and uncle and contrary to the expected, he proceeded for university studies at Vienna (1498) and then Basel (1502), from where he graduated in 1504.

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Check Your Progress

35. What idea of salvation was propagated by Martin Luther King?
36. What was the Lutheran belief of salvation?

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With the help of teaching, as an aid, he became a student of theology and the lectures of the teacher and Reformer Thomas Wyttenbach had a strong impact on him. Meant to be a priest, he went to Glarus in 1506, where he proved his skills of pastorship, he motivated people to pursue education and also began to learn Greek and Hebrew. He was compassionate toward the Renaissance movement and cherished his association with Erasmus. As a result of his work as chaplain in the Swiss Army, he landed in the faction that opposed the mercenary system. His point of view was taken as a provocation that triggered antagonism at Glarus and in 1516 he took up a new position at Einsiedeln, where he had the privilege of gaining both, broad spectrum prospects for sermonizing many pilgrims and superior facilities for studying at the convent. Later on, Zwingli dated his evangelical knowledge of the holy book from the era of conversion to Einsiedeln. The problems faced by him at Glarus made this evolution academically important.

Beginning of Reformation

Soon, Zwingli started preaching his new belief. Separate from contemporary condemnation of abuses, initially he did not attack conventional stances, being satisfied to talk about the usual Gospel chapters. A trivial predicament of immoderation occurred in 1518. However, Zwingli's clever criticism of the abuse found ecclesiastical support and ultimately, an ostensible honour by the papacy, which also gave him his chaplaincy pension.

In 1518, in spite of hostilities, he accepted appointment as people's priest at the Grossmünster (Great Minster) at Zürich. This position was not very paying in terms of money or official clout, but it provided very wide scope for preaching. He began to preach a sequence of expositions of the New Testament made livelier with relevant application. He got some loyal ministers as a result of the onslaught of a critical plague in 1519 followed by his own sickness and recovery and his brother's demise in 1520. These incidents intensified the religious and theological constituents in his thoughts and teaching that had earlier been influenced to a certain extent by humanistic beliefs. In 1520, he was permitted by the city's governing council to deliver sermons with genuine divine scriptures and this preaching played an important role in propelling revolts against fasting and priestly celibacy that was the corner stone the Swiss Reformation (1522). In pursuit of his belief that the scriptures are the most divine, Zwingli preached his popular teachings at the Oetenbach convent and although the locals were opposed to most of his views, the bishop gave him the authority to carry on with his sermonizing. A tract *On Meats* and a printed version of the Oetenbach addresses, *The Clarity and Certainty of the Word of God*, appeared in 1522.

Victory of the Zürich Reformation

The year 1523 was critical for the Zürich Reformation. In the grounding for a debate with the vicar general of Constance (Konstanz), scheduled for January in the town hall of Zürich, Zwingli sent his challenging *67 Artikel to print*. His key assertions were agreed to by the majority of the priests in the district and as a result, the celibacy of clergy came to be defied, ritualistic reforms started and a strategy for transformation of the Grossmünster was outlined. The highlight of his programme was transformation of the cathedral school into a grammar school as well as a theological seminary for providing training to reformed pastors. The issue of taking off images from the walls of churches resulted in a second conflict in October, in which Zwingli and his best friend and comrade reformer, Leo Jud, achieved success. Consecutive steps were taken in the years 1524

and 1525 for taking off the images, abolishing the use of musical instruments, suspension of houses of religion, replacing the mass by a simple communion service, reforming the baptismal office, introducing Bible readings, restructuring the ministry and preparing a native version of the Bible (the *Zürcher Bibel* appeared in 1529). Zwingli did not just use his sermons to promote the movement but he also used his literature for the same—e.g., *On Education*, *On Baptism*, *On the Lord's Supper* and more importantly, the far-reaching *Commentary on True and False Religion* (1525). He married Anna Reinhard on 2 April 1524, in a public ceremony.

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Famous Quotations of Huldrych Zwingli

- We cannot but admit that not even the least thing takes place unless it is ordered by God. For who have ever been so concerned and curious as to find out how much hair he has on his head? There is no one. God, however, knows the number. Indeed, nothing is too small in us or in any other creature, not to be ordered by the all-knowing and all-powerful providence of God.
- ...that realm is best and most stable which is ruled in accordance with God's will alone, and the worst and weakest is that which is ruled arbitrarily.
- Whereas the jurisdiction and authority of the secular power is based on the teachings and actions of Christ.
- Christ is our justification, from which follows that our good works, if they are of Christ, are good; but if ours, they are neither right nor good.
- If it be inquired, then, by what things chiefly the Christian religion has a standing existence amongst us, and maintains its truth, it will be found that the following two not only occupy the principal place, but comprehend under them all the other parts, and consequently the whole substance of Christianity: that is, a knowledge, first, of the mode in which God is duly worshipped; and, secondly, of the source from which salvation is to be obtained. When these are kept out of view, though we may glory in the name of Christians, our profession is empty and vain.
- Almighty, eternal and merciful God, whose Word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path, open and illuminate our minds, that we may purely and perfectly understand thy Word and that our lives may be conformed to what we have rightly understood, that in nothing we may be displeasing unto thy majesty, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.
- And whence have the sheep such discerning knowledge of Christ that they take no one else's voice for His? From the fact that they are known by God [Gal. 4:9]; from the fact that the Father draws them (for no one comes to Christ save him whom his Father draws [Jn. 6:44]; from the fact that all are taught of God [Jn. 6:45]. Therefore it follows that only those sheep do not err who know the voice of their shepherd so well that they receive absolutely no other.
- Therefore those who hear are God's sheep, are the church of God, and cannot err; for they follow the word only of God, which can in no wise deceive. But if they follow another word, they are not Christ's sheep, nor flock, nor church; for they follow a stranger. For it is characteristic of the sheep not even to hear a stranger.
- Thy purpose fulfil: nothing can be too severe for me. I am thy vessel, for you to make whole or break to pieces. Since, if you take hence my spirit from this earth, you do it so that it will not grow evil, and will not mar the pious lives of others.
- Almighty God, eternal and compassionate, whose word is a lamp to our feet and a light to our path, open and enlighten our hearts, that we may understand purely and clearly thy words: may they transform us according to this exact understanding, that we may never be displeasing to thy divine majesty, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.

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- No person is to strike another to death without the legal right or the command of God. Therefore, the angry, ill-tempered Christians are unjust if they think that, according to the word of Deuteronomy 13, one should strike them. Rather one should leave them to God. He will arrange it as He wants to have it.
- (Christians) suffer as in a Babylonian Captivity until God with His own hand redeems us. For that which we... endure is not a disadvantage but an embellishment of our robes and crowns.
- If we are able we should never suffer the wolf in the place of the shepherd. If we cannot, then we must wait for redemption. For the gracious example of Christ [in John 8: 3-11] is far more effective for me than the rough punishment of Moses.
- We learn that all these things are changing and destructible, but that he who conjoined them ... is necessarily unchanging and immutable.
- If we desire wisdom or learning, we are taught to ask it of Him alone.
- Where God works, you need have no fear that things will not be done rightly.
- First consider the fact that Christ gave himself up to death on our behalf and became ours: therefore we ought to give up ourselves for the good of all men, not thinking that we are our own, but that we belong to others.
- A man who is inconsistent in his speech cannot be trusted.
- If we have to reprove or punish, we ought to do it wisely and wittily, and so good humouredly and considerately that we not only drive away the offence but win over the offender, binding him more closely to us.
- One who is redeemed by him learns clearly and purely the word of God and by his spirit is drawn to him and transformed into him.
- Of good works: Since Christ is our righteousness, our works are good only insofar as they are of Christ.
- If magistrates go against the rule of Christ they may be deposed.
- That kingdom is best and soundest which is from God and in God.
- If poverty, illness, childlessness, slighting and defeat are our portion and we attribute them to Providence, what comfort we receive in such adversity!
- You are God's tool. He wills to wear you out by use not by idleness. Oh happy man, whom He calls to His work!
- Magistrates may take the lives of those guilty of public offense.
- Faith exists in our hearts by the spirit of God and we are sensible of it. That there is an inward change of heart is not an obscure matter but we do not come to it by means of the senses.
- In the things of this life, the laborer is most like to God.
- Those who say that the Gospel is nothing without the confirmation of the Church err and blaspheme God.

Zwingli's Theses

From Zürich, the movement rapidly took over the canton of Zürich, along with its surrounding cantons. With all support from the scholarly Roman Catholic theologian, Johann Eck, the five forest cantons of Luzern, Zug, Schwyz, Uri and Unterwalden strongly opposed the new movement. However, key centres like Basel and Bern acknowledged Zwingli. Zwingli himself, supported by his colleague, Swiss reformer Heinrich Bullinger, participated in a debate at Bern (1528) that formally launched the philosophy of the Reformation in that city. His main hypotheses were:

- (1) that the Word of God gave birth to the Church and it was headed only by Christ;
- (2) that its laws are obligatory only to the degree that they are in agreement with the Scripture
- (3) that man should only follow the virtues of Christ;
- (4) that the Holy Scripture does not preach that Christ was physically present in the bread and wine at the Lord's Supper;
- (5) that the mass is a disgusting offence to the sacrifice and death of Christ;
- (6) that the bible has no clause for arbitration or intercession of the dead, for purgatory, or for images and pictures; and
- (7) that marriage is legitimate for everyone. In addition to the friendly cantons of Basel and Bern, Zürich collaborated a Christian Civic Alliance (or League) on the basis of the treaty by which Basel had been permitted entry into the Swiss confederacy, also in addition to a common profession of faith.

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Controversies

Since 1525, conflicts hindered Zwingli's work, both, in Switzerland and with the Lutherans outside. In Zürich itself, an extremist radical group soon became disgruntled with the Zwinglian programme and wanted the titles to be eradicated, the state connection to be disengaged, a pure or gathered church of true believers to be set up (comprising people who had never been converted before, according to ethical values and guidelines of the New Testament) and ultimately, an end to infant baptism. Leaders of the Anabaptist group were consulted in January and March 1525. However, these consultations were fruitless. The initial phases of rebaptisms took place in February and extensive propaganda was kicked off. Considering this as a defiance of its authority, the council jailed the leaders and lastly, following an additional useless disputation in November 1525, which resulted in a capital sentence for them. In theological repudiation of the movement, Zwingli penned a distinctive work, *On Baptism* (1525), wherein he focused on the significance of water in Baptism as a sign of pledge. During the years that followed, he wrote a lot on the subject, concluding in his *Tricks of the Catabaptists* (1527).

Relations with Luther

In the meantime, his thoughts and practice in terms of the mass attracted strong criticism, along with Martin Luther. Both of them were of the same opinion, when it came to rejection of the Eucharistic sacrifice. They were also in agreement, when it came to rejection of medieval notion of modifying a substance in the sacrament. Luther, nevertheless, felt himself bound by the words 'This is my body', to teach the actual existence of Christ's body and blood not as a substitute, but in addition to bread and wine. On the contrary, Zwingli, convinced that the word 'is' has the force of 'signifies', did not uphold an actual existence but merely the divine presence of Christ or his being there for the believers by the power of the Holy Spirit, as indicated by the elements. He wrote about his views in two Latin tracts (1525) and his more popular work, *On the Lord's Supper* (1526). The response of Luther and those who supported him was more hostile, adamant on ignoring the Swiss movement, as a genuine work of evangelical reformation. Through the good offices of Philip the Magnanimous, landgrave of Hesse, the Colloquy of Marburg (1529) was structured as an effort to reconcile; All the three; Luther, Zwingli, and Martin Bucer took part in this. The majority of the issues were

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Check Your Progress

37. In which year did Huldrych Zwingli accept appointment as people's priest at the Grossmünster (Great Minster) at Zürich?
38. Who was the Swiss reformer who supported Zwingli's participation in a debate at Bern (1528)?
39. Which work penned by Zwingli, focused on the significance of water as a sign of pledge in Baptism?
40. Which book of Zwingli was directed towards Francis I of France, as an effort to clarify misinterpretations and secure his consideration?

amicably agreed upon. However, a crucial schism, in terms of the sacramental presence, failed to dissolve and Luther refused to accept Zwingli and Bucer as his fellows.

There was no doubt that Zwingli would have hailed the agreement with Luther for advantages in terms of both, politics as well as theology, because he anticipated the risk of isolation of the Reforming cantons. The forest cantons pitted themselves against the coalition, and there was the danger of imperial intervention looming. In a defensive assault, the alliance launched an attack on the forest cantons at Kappel, 10 miles south of Zürich in 1529, and imposed conditions on the conflicting districts. Efforts were also made to associate with Strassburg and similar reforming towns, though these did not succeed initially, though they were supported by Hesse. The consequences of the divide were apparent at the Diet of Augsburg (1530), where the evangelical groups presented three different confessions, including Zwingli's *Fidei Ratio*.

Missing his friends, Zwingli focused on Venice and France, to an extent, because of their political opposition to the empire and also in hope of coercing the rulers to accept evangelical views. His *Exposition of the Faith* (1531) was directed towards Francis I of France, as an effort to clarify misinterpretations and secure his consideration. This project died away, however, and in 1531 Zwingli stressed upon further lessening of forest cantons. Alternatively, Bern kicked off a hopeless policy of economic sanctions that merely annoyed the foresters to launch an offensive on Zürich in October 1531. In the resulting Second War of Kappel, Zwingli supported the Zürich forces as chaplain and was killed in the battle, the spot where he died, now has an inscribed boulder.

Contributions

Although, in the later years, Zwingli was preoccupied with ecclesiastical politics, it should not cloak his genuine contribution to faith and order. He agreed to the absolute authority of the Scriptures, though he applied it meticulously to all principles and practices. He placed influential emphasis on the divine power, though this was tempered by a more gentle vision of original sin and a wide hope of salvation. His denunciation of the sacraments as a way of gaining grace and as way to intervene between the soul and God motivated the profound notions of other reformation leaders like Bullinger, Pietro Martire Vermigli, and John Calvin. Had he accepted amateur authority in church governance as put forth through the council, his personal influence would have avoided both, the subservient Erastianism (the supremacy of lay authority in ecclesiastical matters) of Lutheranism and fatiguing discord, as at Geneva. Evident flaws of incoherence and intellectualism are reflected in his writings. A more careful read would however, reveal an open, tender and welcoming outlook and they represent a confident effort to reconsider all Christian doctrines in consistently biblical expressions.

1.7 JOHN CALVIN

John Calvin lived in the period between 1509 and 1564. His father was a lawyer. He was a Frenchman, whose birth took place in Noyon, Picardy. Calvin was very attracted to academics, learning and literature. In 1523, he enrolled in the University of Paris to study theology. For his sustenance and to support his studies, Calvin worked as a chaplain assigned to the Noyon Cathedral. In 1528, he moved on to Orleans, for studying law and after a year, he went to Bourges for further study of law. He was forced by his father to

pursue law. However, in 1531 his father passed away, which gave Calvin the opportunity to get back to his religious studies. In the year his father passed away, Calvin got himself enrolled in the College de France in Paris to study Greek. This college was well-known for its Renaissance humanism's style of learning. Actually, every college that Calvin attended had humanistic method of study and its impact on Calvin was not unexpected. He turned into an enthusiast of Erasmus.

In the midst of the years 1528 and 1533, he suddenly decided to get converted to Protestantism. 'God subdued my soul to docility by a sudden conversion' was how Calvin described this experience. A large number of historians regard the period between 1531 and 1533 as a significant for Calvin, since this was the first time that he had moved out of his father's grip. Calvin expressed strong criticism towards the insults meted out against the French Catholic church, though he was sure that he was the person selected by God to be a key factor in the divine revival of the world.

During this period in the history of France, his ideas would have been unorthodox, particularly after the Day of the Placards episode, when Francis 1st felt a personal threat from the Protestants and united with the Sorbonne and the Parlément of Paris to separate and single out preachers and advocates of heresy. This was an unsafe period for heretics, following which, in 1533 he escaped to Paris. In the next year, 24 heretics were lynched at the stake. In the period from 1533 to 1536, he wandered through France, Italy and Switzerland.

In 1536, the first edition of *Institutes of the Christian Religion* went to print in Basle. It underwent several revisions and the latest edition was published in 1559. This book described his religious beliefs in a lucid manner. The versions that followed, presented more elaborately the manner in which his church should be organized. In July 1536, Calvin travelled to Geneva, which functioned as the hub of his work. He tried to go to Strasbourg, but the onslaught of the Habsburg-Valois wars forced him to divert his journey to Geneva, where an ardent Protestant named Guillaume Farel, persuaded him to stay.

Geneva was the only city of Switzerland where French was spoken. When Calvin arrived, Geneva was in the midst of the struggle for independence, from two authorities that were fighting for control of the city. These authorities were the Dukes of Savoy and the Bishop of Geneva. At that time, Geneva was still not a part of Switzerland (until 1815) and the city played an ally of the cantons of Bern and Fribourg against Savoy. The bishop escaped from Geneva, which resulted in the defeat of Savoy in 1535.

In May 1536, the city assumed the following religious reforms:

1. Dissolution of monasteries
2. Abolition of mass
3. Renouncement of papal authority

However, within Geneva itself, a struggle was going on between people in favour of mild reforms (such as no mandatory church presence) and those wanting implementation of radical reforms, like Calvin and Farel. The schism was extensive. The mild reformists were known as Libertines and they wanted the clergy to be under strict control of magistrates. Calvin wanted the entire city to be under the control of the clergy—a theocracy. In 1538, the Libertines were victorious; following which Farel and Calvin escaped from the city and went to Strasbourg.

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During the period between 1538 and 1541, Calvin lived in Strasbourg. Here he learnt a lot about the beliefs of Martin Bucer; who was a moderate German Protestant reformer. Bucer's beliefs on the church, as an organization, more importantly captured Calvin's interest. In the year 1540, Calvin attended a Catholic/Protestant conference at Hagenau and in the year that followed, he attended similar conferences at Worms and Regensburg.

In September 1541, Calvin came back to Geneva after the Libertines had lost power in 1540. Calvin spent 14 years before he was able to completely impose his version of public worship, doctrine, organization of the church and moral behaviour. Calvin's services were basic and easy. He focused significantly on the sermon. His sermons were very rational and enriching. Although he himself was a music lover, he did not approve of it in religious services because he believed that it was a distraction for people from matters of higher significance—prayer and the reverence of God. A ban was imposed on the presence of musical instruments in churches, even though singing in choirs was allowed, because this was both, popular and effective in spreading the message. Since scriptures were the source of all worship - so psalms replaced hymns in services.

Church Government

In 1541, with support from the city council, Calvin drew up the Ecclesiastical Ordinances. He discarded the organization of the Medieval Church saying that it was a contradiction of the New Testament. He demanded that the functioning of the church be based on that of the same during the Apostolic times. There was no existence of bishops. Every minister was equal to the other. They had to sermonize, manage the sacraments and take care of the religious wellbeing of the people. Ethical discipline was also advocated by the ministers - but they were assisted by elders.

Elders comprised civilians (laymen) who subsisted within the congregation and were nominated by the city council. Though Calvin was not very much in favour about this, it linked the Church with the state. The elders and deacons (also laymen who were in charge of the development of the poor and destitute) were appointed on popular demand and concerning that, they launched a vital constituent of democracy into the church. All officers within the church belonged to the consistory and the result of a power struggle between the ministers and the laymen would establish whether the church became Erastian (i.e., a follower of Erasmus) or the state would run on the tenets of theocracy, i.e., the church takes control of every aspect of life. Ultimately, Geneva became theocratic.

Calvin strongly believed in behaving as God wished. Any immoral deed became the target of harsh criticism. However, initially, with the consistory was not very effective. Its effectiveness increased as the appointed ministers outnumbered the elders. Also in 1555, the city council gave the consistory the power to expel wrongdoers from the church. Following this, a stringent moral code was imposed and all sins were regarded as crimes, e.g., Sunday was considered a holy day, when no one was allowed work or pleasure; lavishness in dressing was disallowed. Excommunicated led to exile from the city. Blasphemy was punishable by death; the punishment for lewd singing was piercing of the tongue.

Famous Quotations of John Calvin

- A dog barks when his master is attacked. I would be a coward if I saw that God's truth is attacked and yet would remain silent.
- The torture of a bad conscience is the hell of a living soul.
- There is no worse screen to block out the Spirit than confidence in our own intelligence.
- There is not one blade of grass, there is no color in this world that is not intended to make us rejoice.
- However many blessings we expect from God, His infinite liberality will always exceed all our wishes and our thoughts.
- You must submit to supreme suffering in order to discover the completion of joy.
- God preordained, for his own glory and the display of His attributes of mercy and justice, a part of the human race, without any merit of their own, to eternal salvation, and another part, in just punishment of their sin, to eternal damnation.
- Seeing that a Pilot steers the ship in which we sail, who will never allow us to perish even in the midst of shipwrecks, there is no reason why our minds should be overwhelmed with fear and overcome with weariness.
- Every one of us is, even from his mother's womb, a master craftsman of idols.
- Man's mind is like a store of idolatry and superstition; so much so that if a man believes his own mind it is certain that he will forsake God and forge some idol in his own brain.
- I consider looseness with words no less of a defect than looseness of the bowels.
- No man is excluded from calling upon God, the gate of salvation is set open unto all men: neither is there any other thing which keepeth us back from entering in, save only our own unbelief.
- Is it faith to understand nothing, and merely submit your convictions implicitly to the Church?
- For there is no one so great or mighty that he can avoid the misery that will rise up against him when he resists and strives against God.
- We must remember that Satan has his miracles, too.
- Knowledge of the sciences is so much smoke apart from the heavenly science of Christ.
- God tolerates even our stammering, and pardons our ignorance whenever something inadvertently escapes us - as, indeed, without this mercy there would be no freedom to pray.
- There is no work, however vile or sordid, that does not glisten before God.
- Yet consider now, whether women are not quite past sense and reason, when they want to rule over men.
- All the blessings we enjoy are Divine deposits, committed to our trust on this condition, that they should be dispensed for the benefit of our neighbors.
Augustine does not disagree with this when he teaches that it is a faculty of the reason and the will to choose good with the assistance of grace; evil, when grace is absent.

It was Calvin's belief that the church and state be separate, but the consistory be given the authority to put moral and religious offenders on trial. Two affiliates of the consistory, along with a minister, made sure that every parish taken care of and that people knew that they were being watched. The state was obliged to work according to the preaching of the church. It was compulsory to recite prayers before public meals. It

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was not unexpected that all this did not gain popularity. Even Calvin was aware of the fact that he had exceeded limits and pubs were reopened.

Let us see whether Calvin got complete support in Geneva? One needs to remember that he had introduced a much regimented code in the city and that this code in fact controlled people's lives. There was a lot of opposition to Calvin and he never felt completely secure till Geneva's most influential families supported him. These 1,500 people had the power to elect the city council that governed the city's 13,000 strong population. Most of the people did not like intrusion of their privacy, although a moral code to uphold standards was established. Calvin ensured that every person living in the city came under this code—something that was not liked by everyone. However, the tables turned in favour of Calvin, when a Spanish scholar named Michael Servetus came to Geneva in 1553. He raised doubts on the authenticity of the Trinity which is fundamental to all Christians. The Libertines united with Servetus against Calvin, but when he was put on trial and burnt as a heretic, Calvin got a chance to take the Libertines to task. They escaped from Geneva. In May 1555, the Libertines tried to take control of Geneva. This proved to be disastrous for them as their instigators were taken into custody and executed, which made Calvin more powerful.

Calvin's beliefs

The basis of Calvinism was total power and supremacy of God. God made this world so that man would know about him. It was Calvin's belief that man was full of sins and the only way he could revel in God was through faith in Christ and not through mass and pilgrimages.

Calvin believed that the purpose of creation of New Testaments, baptism and the Eucharist was to provide man with consistent spiritual guidance when seeking faith. According to Calvin, man, is corrupt and is confronted by the supreme (all powerful) and universal (present everywhere) God, who before creating the world, predestined some of his people for eternal salvation (the Elect) while he destined others to suffer never-ending damnation (the Reprobates).

The selected few were under the protection of the operation of the unchallenged heavenly grace that cannot be work for by Man's merits. One may consider one's life to be perfectly lived, but if one was a troublemaker, he would continue to be innately crooked and God would know of it even if the person would not. Nevertheless, an evil person could achieve an inner conviction of salvation by changing his deeds. On the other hand, an elect could never fall from grace.

However, God remained the judge and lawgiver of men. Predestination continued to be a fundamental faith of Calvinism.

We call predestination God's eternal decree, by which He determined what He willed to become of each man. For all are not created in equal condition; rather, eternal life is ordained for some, eternal damnation for others. (Institutes)

Calvin and Europe

The basis of the tenets of Calvinism was the strength of character. A person was in control of his/her own righteousness on Earth and this was dependent on the depth of inner faith. This was individual conviction, which was not based on the whims of a single

pope or relics, excesses, etc. One may have been a sinner for God and not be aware of it this and so he/she should lead a life prescribed by God to be fully aware of it.

During the Protestant movement, Geneva was highly influential, as a city. It was an example of a city where religion had undergone true reforms and changes. John Knox, the Scottish Protestant leader, addressed Geneva as 'the most perfect school of Christ'. The massive influence Geneva that had on Europe was because:

1. Calvin did not intend to limit his belief to one region and stop it from spreading and at the same time, he did not want Geneva to become a safe haven for runaway Protestants.
2. His plan was to make the city the heart that pumped Calvinism to the entire European world. This, he wanted to base on a new system of education that was established in Geneva.

Both, primary and secondary schools were established and in 1559, an academy was set up, which was to become the University of Geneva. French was/is the language spoken in Geneva and it was also the language spoken by Calvin. It was anticipated that a large number of French Huguenots (Calvinists in France were known as Huguenots) would move to the university to receive missionary training. This was the prime objective of the university. In 1559, the number of students it had was 162. In 1564, the number crossed 1500. Majority of these students were of foreign origin. Fortune favoured Calvin, in terms of his teaching staff, as a lot of teachers moved to Geneva for a better salary and financial security, following their dispute at the Lausanne University.

Following their studies at Geneva, the missionaries were given a French-speaking congregation in Switzerland. This gave them a platform that would help them hone their skills before moving on to France itself. The ease with which ministers could get into France was an additional benefit for Calvin. Nevertheless, the size of the country was a positive as well as a negative aspect for Calvinists.

1. France

The first Huguenot (Calvinist) ministers landed in France in 1553. By 1563, the number reached 90. This rapidity of growth was surprising, even for Calvin.

Henry II of France was a staunch catholic and he had set up a body known as the *Chambre Ardente* in 1547, to check and hunt out 'heresy' in France. However, it was not successful and was dissolved in 1550. Henry I's father (Francis I) had used Protestantism to gain power against the Parlement de Paris. Henry, on the other hand, had no desire to have any links with the Protestants.

In 1555 the first Huguenot congregation with a permanent ministerial candidate was established in Paris. By 1558, this congregation began its worship openly, protected by armed sympathizers. In 1559, the first synod (national council) was held in Paris. 72 domestic congregations were represented by elders from every congregation. In a few of the regions of France, ministers had travel, though this was never a major problem as the organization of the church was so firm. Numerous Huguenot communities were attached to each other so communication was never a hindrance. Calvinism attracted educated merchants. The reason for this was the effect of the Renaissance and as a reaction to the rigidity of the catholic Church.

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A number of noble families adopted Calvinism although there was no common way to define their conversion. Every family had a reason which differed from the other. Ironically one of these reasons may have been nationalistic. Catholicism was associated with Rome and since the Concordat of Bologna, the French had always associated their religion with national issues. By linking oneself to Calvinism, a person would indirectly be indicating that France should have no links to Italy.

The Huguenots were focused primarily on the western coast (La Rochelle) and in the south-east. They had their own cavalry and candidly worshipped in their own churches. The sheer size of France helped them, such that it was not easy for the royal government in Paris to openly declare its authority. The way in which the Huguenots were organized thwarted any attempt by the authorities to crush them. Added to this was the simple fact that La Rochelle was a long way from Paris.

By 1561, the number of Huguenot churches in France reached 2150 and 10 per cent of the total population (1 million people) was Calvinists. A factor worth remembering is that the first Calvinist ministers only got to France in 1553. Followers of Calvinism in France became a large minority.

2. The Netherlands

Calvin gained significantly in this state. Ministers initially came here in the 1550's, supported by Huguenot preachers who were escaping from France. In the beginning, the progress was slow. Lutheranism was already firmly established, as had Anabaptism. This was a challenge for Calvinism in an already crowded field. Protestants in general, were also persecuted. In 1524, Charles V began to be inquisitive about this religion and in 1529 and 1531, new edicts were introduced ordering death to followers of Lutheran or simply sheltered them or help Lutherans spread their beliefs.

In 1550 Charles V took authority from the city councils to put heretics on trial. He believed that city judges were too easygoing and that the provincial courts that took over this charge from them would exercise more control than the city magistrates. These procedures did curb the spread of Protestantism but Calvinism was the most triumphant of the three and the best outfitted for survival.

Its system of non-religious governments by elders permitted it to function, despite the authorities. The Anabaptists were too dependent on the task of the individual as opposed to strength in numbers and organization while the Lutherans were inadequately managed and more vulnerable to harassment from the authorities.

By 1560, the spread of Calvinism was not as expected because the authorities were very involved against it. In general, Protestants made up 5 per cent of the total population in the Netherlands out of which the Calvinists were a fraction. No upper-class nobles showed interest, as they were too worried with their political clout and financial comfort. They knew that the Catholic Church was crooked but the Calvinists came across as far too authoritarian as the church governed people's lives and even their daily affairs. Most Calvinists were from Antwerp, Ghent and regions around Germany.

3. Germany

Calvinism became famous as a movement in NW Rhineland and Westphalia - both neighboring towns of the Netherlands. These were the only regions to experience

conversion. In 1562, Frederick III fashioned churches in his region, based on the Calvinist model which was contrary to the 1555 Religious Settlement of Augsburg that declared that churches could only be Catholic or Lutheran. Heidelberg became a foremost academic centre but the spread to other places was very not much because of Lutheranism and the influx of Calvinism into Germany. This served to dissolve the Protestant movement and help the Catholic Church in counter reformation.

4. Poland

German was the language spoken in west Poland. This had helped Luther. However, Poland had a history of patriotism and a longing to be autonomous and this did not help Luther, who had not put in sufficient efforts to organize his church. Calvinism first came to Poland in 1550 and the nobles adopted the idea of using civilians and offering them little power limited only in religious terms, to use it to increase their own power. Two foremost nobles (Prince Radziwill the Black and John a Lasco) dynamically helped the spread of Calvinism as did two kings (Stephen II and Stephen Bathory). In spite of this, Calvinism did not spread much.

Majority of the Polish people did not speak German and therefore the language hindered Calvinism because this made it difficult for Calvinist preachers to communicate with the public. In addition to this, there were many Protestant religions already being practiced in Poland (Bohemian Brethren, Anabaptists, Unitarians, etc.) and most of the people who could be wooed had already been done with.

In 1573, at the Confederation of Warsaw, both, Catholics and Protestants agreed upon religious tolerance, according to the Constitution, to be part of the swearing in ceremony of every succeeding king. However, rifts between Protestants directly increased the power of the Catholic Church in the country and during this period, it was nicknamed, 'Spain of the north'.

1.8 SUMMING UP

- Renaissance originated from the Latin word *renascere*, which indicates being born again. The period of Renaissance was that in which King Henry VIII legally made it permissible for priests to marry.
- Renaissance significantly influenced Europe in the fields of arts and literature. This was the period that brought fame to William Shakespeare through his literary works. During this period, three great men became famous in the field of arts; Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo and Raphael.
- This was the period between the 14th and 15th century, when in Italy the foundation of modern civilization was formed. It was largely through the restoration of ancient learning that new scientific principles first began to bring down traditional religious philosophies.
- People began to adopt a new realistic and tangible authentic methods and most important of all to revive the individual significance.
- However Renaissance importantly contributed to the manner in which various important personalities, through their rational eye-openers, managed to reduce the power of the Catholic Church.

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Check Your Progress

41. In the midst of which years did John Calvin decide to get converted to Protestantism?
42. Why do a large number of historians regard the period between 1531 and 1533, significant for Calvin?
43. In which year did the first edition of Institutes of the Christian Religion printed in Basle?
44. Which was the only city of Switzerland where French was spoken?
45. What were the reforms that Geneva underwent in the May of 1536?
46. When and where did Calvin learn about the beliefs of Martin Bucer?
47. Why did it prove disastrous for the Libertines to try and take control of Geneva in May 1555?
48. What was the basis of Calvinism?
49. What was the purpose of the creation of New Testaments, baptism and the Eucharist, as believed by Calvin?
50. What was the fundamental faith of Calvinism?

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- Renaissance affected scholars to write for the common men and focus on areas of common human interest.
- In terms of art, Renaissance gave rise to new forms of paintings, sculpture, architecture, music, etc. and thus provided beneficial advantages to the development of fine arts.
- Science and art were closely linked during the period of Renaissance. Eminent artists, like Leonardo da Vinci, would learn anatomy to get a clearer understanding of the body so that they would be able to create better paintings and sculptures.
- The period of Renaissance was famous for discoveries of routes to new lands:
 - Vasco da Gama sailed to India through the Cape of Good Hope, in 1498.
 - Ferdinand Megellan sailed around the Atlantic ocean to reach the Pacific
 - Marco Polo travelled to east, journeying to China and Japan from Venice.
- The lengthy process of colonization started during the Renaissance period. It was stimulated by the opening up of new frontiers and discovery of new lands.
- The increase in trade due to crusades or holy wars brought about a commercial revolution, which in turn introduced Renaissance.
- The American War of Independence was the first of a series of wars of independence that was the beginning of the end of European control on both, North and South America.
- Reformation means an effort to bring about a change. In the context of European history, it emerged in the 16th century, as a movement against the increasing corruption within the Catholic Church, the evil practices and rites and rituals that it imposed upon the people in order to maintain its supremacy.
- By posing a challenge to the power of the Church and stressing upon the authority of individual ethics (it was more convenient for people to read the Bible in the language known to them), the Reformation lay the base for the value that modern culture gives an individual.
- Counter Reformation rose essentially as a response to the Protestant Reformation; it was also known as the Catholic Reformation.
- Counter Reformation was guided by conservative forces with a twin purpose to reform the church and protect its traditions against the modern theories of Protestant theology and against the more easy consequences of the Renaissance.
- In 1517 a German theologian and monk, Martin Luther, questioned the authority of the Pope and ignited the Protestant Reformation.
- Huldrych Zwingli was the most outstanding among the Swiss Protestant Reformers. He propagated his belief that nothing was higher than the supreme authority of the Scriptures.
- John Calvin was a powerful French theologian and member of the clergy at the time of the Protestant Reformation. He was an important personality in the advancement of the system of Christian theology, which was later known as Calvinism.
- Calvinism is a Christian set of beliefs that is based on the teachings of John Calvin and that emphasizes on God's authority and moral weakness of human beings.

1.9 KEY TERMS

- **Renaissance:** The period of European history between the 14th and 17th centuries when there was a new interest in science and in ancient art and literature especially in Italy.
- **Feudalism:** A social system that existed in Europe during the Middle Ages in which people worked and fought for nobles who gave them protection and the use of land in return.
- **Reformation:** The 16th-century religious movement that led to the establishment of the Protestant churches.
- **Counter Reformation:** A reformation designed to counter the effects of a previous reformation.
- **Expropriation:** The action of the state in taking or modifying the property rights of an individual in the exercise of its sovereignty.
- **Serf:** A member of a servile feudal class bound to the land and subject to the will of its owner.
- **Platonic:** A relationship without romance.
- **Presbyterian:** Characterized by a graded system of representative ecclesiastical bodies (as presbyteries) exercising legislative and judicial powers.
- **Excommunicate:** To disallow (someone) to continue being a member of the Roman Catholic church.
- **Bourgeoisie:** Members of the middle class.
- **Evangelical:** Relating to a Christian sect or group that stresses the authority of the Bible, the importance of believing that Jesus Christ saved you personally from sin or hell, and the preaching of these beliefs to other people.

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1.10 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Renaissance means rebirth or renewal.
2. After the decline of the Roman Empire, false beliefs and blind faith, perpetrated by the Church as well as a feudal setup led to complete fragmentation of the society.
3. Men like Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo gave birth to notions of realism in art, depiction of human emotions and concept of the ‘Renaissance man’.
4. Crusades or the holy wars were the prolonged conflicts between Christians and Muslims for control over Jerusalem, the holy city.
5. Germany got its first printing press in 1455 while England got the same in 1477.
6. Vasco da Gama discovered the sea route to India, via the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1498.
7. Among the masterpieces of Leonardo da Vinci is Mona Lisa.
8. Leonardo da Vinci’s masterpiece, *The Last Supper* depicts the calmness of Christ in comparison to the reactions of his disciples, when he shares with them his knowledge of the fact that one from amongst them would betray him.

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9. Copernicus (AD 1473–1543) was a Polish priest who faced much flak for suggesting that the sun and not the earth was the centre of the universe and that the earth and other heavenly bodies revolved around it.
10. Newton, a British scientist, is famous for his theory of gravitation and laws of motion.
11. Christopher Columbus set out in the sea in 1492 with the aim of discovering the sea route to the Indies and trans-Atlantic. In the course of this voyage, he accidentally discovered America, the ‘new world’.
12. The success of the Portuguese and Spanish explorations inspired the French and the British to venture upon similar expeditions in 1495.
13. Ferdinand Magellan was the first one to circumnavigate the world with his Spanish crew.
14. Colonialism is the expansionist tendency of a territory by which it seeks to exercise domination over the other, acquiring and administering it according to its own rules and methods.
15. A colonizer enjoys unquestioned sovereignty over the colonized penetrating all spheres of the life of the colonized and completely uprooting them from their territory.
16. The term neo-colonialism largely signifies colonization through processes that are not limited to expansionism. Economic control over a territory but not residing in the colony or maintaining the colony, and meddling into the political affairs of the colonized are some such ways.
17. Robert Young pointed out that imperialism is more of a theory while colonialism is that theory put into practice.
18. The first atlas along with 53 other maps was published in a collection called *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* in 1570.
19. To make the artisans and craftsmen sell their labour, the capitalists deprived them of the means of production.
20. In 1547, Edward VI introduced draconian laws against artisans and craftsmen, according to which avoidance of work was punishable by enslaving them, flogging and booking them for vagrancy. Absence from work for two weeks without leave entailed slavery for life and branding of their bodies and finally, if they ran away, they were to be treated as criminals and hanged.
21. (a) True, (b) True
22. (a) Thomas Paine’s, (b) Republicanism
23. (a) False, (b) True
24. (a) 1774, (b) Philadelphia
25. (a) April, (b) 75,000
26. (a) True, (b) False
27. (a) George Washington, (b) New York
28. (a) True, (b) True
29. (a) 1787, (b) Natives
30. (a) True, (b) True

31. Capitalist countries were amongst the first to break away from the Catholic Church. They subjugated their churches to the control of their rulers thereby; depriving the church of the supremacy that it had long enjoyed. Moreover, they altered religious discourse in a manner that served the interests of the rising middle class.
32. Reformation, the term, means an effort to bring about a change.
33. Laurentius Valla (1405-57), in his work, *De Voluptate*, preached excesses that were in direct conflict with the teachings of the Church. He advocated indulgence and gratification of sensual desires as against self-restraint. His epicurean theory was accompanied by a rejection of the Pope and his authority.
34. Since the Reformation movement targeted the Roman Catholic Church and enlisted support of the middle class, it became necessary for the Catholic Church to take measures to salvage it. Hence, Counter Reformation was launched.
35. Martin Luther King propagated the idea that salvation cannot be attained by doing good deeds. Instead it is God's grace upon mankind and one has to keep faith in God in order to receive this.
36. The Lutheran belief was that a sinner attained salvation from God not because he was righteous but because Jesus Christ had atoned for the sins of mankind.
37. Huldrych Zwingli accepted appointment as people's priest at the Grossmünster (Great Minster) at Zürich in the year 1518.
38. Zwingli was supported by his colleague, Swiss reformer Heinrich Bullinger, when he participated in a debate at Bern (1528).
39. Zwingli's distinctive work, *On Baptism* (1525), focused on the significance of water in Baptism as a sign of pledge.
40. Zwingli's book *Exposition of the Faith* (1531) was directed towards Francis I of France, as an effort to clarify misinterpretations and secure his consideration.
41. John Calvin decided to get converted to Protestantism in the midst of the years 1528 and 1533.
42. A large number of historians regard the period between 1531 and 1533 significant for Calvin, since this was the first time that he had moved out of his father's grip.
43. The first edition of *Institutes of the Christian Religion* went to print in Basle, in the year 1536.
44. Geneva was the only city of Switzerland where French was spoken.
45. In May 1536, Geneva assumed the following religious reforms:
 - (i) Dissolution of monasteries
 - (ii) Abolition of mass
 - (iii) Renouncement of papal authority
46. Calvin lived in Strasbourg during the period between 1538 and 1541. There, he learnt a lot about the beliefs of Martin Bucer.
47. In May 1555, it proved to be disastrous for the Libertines to try and take control of Geneva as their instigators were taken into custody and executed, which made Calvin more powerful.
48. The basis of Calvinism was total power and supremacy of God.

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49. Calvin believed that the purpose of creation of New Testaments, baptism and the Eucharist was to provide man with consistent spiritual guidance when seeking faith.
50. Predestination was the fundamental faith of Calvinism.

1.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Which new trade routes were discovered between the east and the west during the period of Renaissance?
2. What was the impact of Renaissance on art?
3. What was the impact of Renaissance on literature?
4. How are colonialism, imperialism and mercantilism linked?
5. What do you understand by commercial revolution?
6. List the salient features of the American War.
7. What factors led to the American War of Independence?
8. What was the influence of economic changes on Renaissance?
9. What were Luther's views on indulgence?
10. Give a brief account of Zwingli's hypotheses on the philosophy of reformation.
11. What were the beliefs of John Calvin?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the impact of Renaissance on Europe.
2. List and explain the causes of Renaissance.
3. Give a detailed account of the famous explorers and geographic discoveries during the period of Renaissance.
4. Describe the effects of the commercial revolution.
5. What factors triggered the American War of Independence and how was this war a turning point in the history of Europe and America?
6. Summarize the consequences and far-reaching results of the American War.
7. Discuss the causes of reformation.
8. Write a note on the life and struggles of Martin Luther King.
9. What were Huldrych Zwingli's contributions to the Protestant Reformation?
10. What impact did the ideas of John Calvin have on Europe during that time?

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UNIT 2 THIRTY YEARS WAR

UNIT STRUCTURE

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Objectives
- 2.2 Causes of the Thirty Years War
- 2.3 Phases and Effects of the Thirty Years War
 - 2.3.1 The Bohemian Period (1618–23);
 - 2.3.2 The Danish Period (1624–29)
 - 2.3.3 The Swedish Period (1629–35);
 - 2.3.4 The French Period (1635–48)
 - 2.3.5 Significance of the Thirty Years War
- 2.4 Parliamentary Institutions in England
 - 2.4.1 Origin of Parliament System
 - 2.4.2 Civil War (1642–49), Cromwell (1649–1658) and Parliament
 - 2.4.3 Charles II (1660–1685) and Parliament
 - 2.4.4 James II (1685–1688) and the Glorious Revolution
- 2.5 Development of Constitutional Monarchy
 - 2.5.1 Nature of Monarchy;
 - 2.5.2 Development of Parliamentary Institutions
- 2.6 Summing Up
- 2.7 Key Terms
- 2.8 Answers to ‘Check Your Progress’
- 2.9 Questions and Exercises
- 2.10 References and Suggested Reading

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2.0 INTRODUCTION

The Thirty Years War (1618–1648) was a succession of battles mainly fought in Central Europe, in which the majority of European countries took part. It was one of the longest and most devastating wars in the history of Europe and one of the lengthiest incessant wars in contemporary history.

The genesis of the war and objectives of the member countries were multifarious and no sole cause can be exactly depicted as the key motive for the warfare. To begin with, it was fought principally as a holy war between Protestants and Catholics in the sacred Roman Empire, even though disagreements over in-house politics and the balance of power within the kingdoms played a noteworthy role.

As time passed by, it transformed into a more wide-ranging clash that involved a large number of powerful nations of that time. In this general stage, the war became purposely less inclined towards religion and more towards persistence of the Bourbon–Habsburg animosity for the political superiority of Europe, resulting in further battles between the French and the Habsburg powers.

The main outcome of the Thirty Years War was that regions were completely destroyed, and stripped by the invading armies (*bellum se ipsum alet*). Starvation and epidemics drastically reduced the population of the German states, Bohemia, the coastal areas of North West Europe and Italy; the majority of the fighting countries were liquidated. Although the divisions within every army were not stringently mercenary, in that they were not elements for hire that switched priorities in every battle, only a few individual soldiers that made up the regiments were mercenaries. The issue of discipline was made more complicated by the *impromptu* nature of 17th-century financing of the armed

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forces; armies were expected to be mostly self-financing, by means of booty taken or tribute extorted from the colonies they operated from. This promoted a type of anarchy that forced harsh adversities on the residents of the occupied territory.

The Thirty Years' War was ended with the treaties of Osnabrück and Münster, part of the wider Peace of Westphalia. A few of the quarrels that incited the war remained unsettled for a much longer time.

2.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- List the causes of the Thirty Years War
- Discuss the phases and effects of the Thirty Years War
- Describe the working of early Parliamentary Institutions in England
- Discuss the development of constitutional monarchy

2.2 CAUSES OF THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The active counter-reformers were the Jesuits, vigorously supported by Ernest of Wittelsbach. The supporters included Archbishop of Cologne (1583–1612), his nephew Maximilian of Bavaria (1598–1651), and Ferdinand of Styria, who later became emperor in 1619. Under the influence of these powerful men, the minor Catholic rulers still left in

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the Empire began to expel Protestants from their dominions, as the Treaty of Augsburg entitled them to do. The bishops of Bamberg and Paderborn began the process in 1595; it was continued by the three electoral archbishops. Then Ferdinand of Styria carried on the process in the three duchies (Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola) that he administered. Emperor Rudolf allowed the Jesuits to harry the Protestants from Austria, Bohemia and Moravia. Max of Bavaria, of course, thoroughly purified his duchy. Never was such a furniture-removing. The resurgent Catholics, moreover, in the flush of success, began to take measures to recover the secularized properties of the church, and the bishoprics improperly taken over by renegade chapters.

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

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

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

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

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

the representatives by surprise, and overawing them by a great display of force; Matthias compelled them to:

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

The Diet with inexplicable and almost incredible weak as Matthias commanded them, and went back home to, consider how they could obviate the consequences of the act of suicidal folly. Nothing but rebellion remained. Having secured this diplomatic triumph in 1617, Matthias at once handed over the administration of Bohemia to the heir-presumptive. Ferdinand, being fully occupied in his own duchies and in Hungary, placed the government in the hands of regents who proceeded to repress Protestantism and foster Catholicism to the best of their power.

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

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

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

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

2.3 PHASES AND EFFECTS OF THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

The Thirty Years' War began with the Bohemian revolt in 1618 and ended with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, as told in detail by German historians like Schiller and

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Check Your Progress

1. In which year did Charles V formally resign the imperial crown?
2. What was the outcome of the Peace of Augsburg (1555)?
3. Who was Ferdinand's successor?
4. Who were the supporters of the active counter-reformers?

Gindely, or even as summarized by English writers like A.W. Ward and S.R. Gardiner, is one of infinite complexity and indescribable dreariness. The war passed through four main phases which may be distinguished as:

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

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

2.3.1 The Bohemian Period (1618–23)

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

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

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

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

The basic consequences of these formidable developments were as follows:

- (i) The Palatinate was overrun by the Spaniards
- (ii) Bohemia was invaded by the army of the Catholic League, which on 8 November 1620 completely crushed the forces of Frederick in the battle of the White Mountain outside Prague
- (iii) The winter king fled to Holland, and he remained a wandering exile for the rest of his life. His electorate was transferred to the victorious Maximilian of Bavaria
- (iv) The Calvinistic Union was dissolved (1621)
- (v) Desultory fighting continued for two more years

- (vi) Mansfeld was still rampant in the Palatinate; he was joined by Christian of Brunswick and other minor German Protestants. But by 1623, they were all defeated and Catholicism was triumphant

2.3.2 The Danish Period (1624–29)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Simultaneously, Tilly and the forces of the Catholic League, after their victory at Lutter, overran Holstein and actually invaded Denmark, until finally they were brought to a halt at Gluckstadt, which they failed to take. By 1629, Christian IV of Denmark had more than enough of the war. He had been beaten in battle; his lands had been ravaged by relentless foes; the English subsidies had remained largely unpaid. He had come off

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badly. Hence, taking advantage of the successful resistance of Stralsund and Gluckstadt, Christian IV sued for peace, and secured the not unfavourable Treaty of Lubeck (May 1629). He was to withdraw from the war, and not to meddle in it again; he was to surrender all his secularized ecclesiastical lands; but he was to recover his hereditary dominions. Thus the Danish period of the war came to an end. Once more there was an interval of apparent tranquility, and once more the joint cause of the League and the Emperor seemed to be decisively victorious. So secure, indeed, did Ferdinand feel in 1629 that he ventured to promulgate the Edict of Restitution which has been described as ‘the most radical and dangerous document that has ever been issued in all the long course of German religious history’.

The later phases of the war

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

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

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

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

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

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

In 1630, the active mover Richelieu, the consummate master of statecraft, with uncanny skill carried on simultaneously two sets of negotiations, both crowned with complete success. On the one hand, through the agency of a clever Capuchin, Father

Joseph, he worked up Maximilian of Bavaria; and the other leaders of the Catholic League, who were assembled in the Diet of Regensburg (1630), to demand and insist upon the dismissal of the impious and ambitious Wallenstein.

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

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2.3.3 The Swedish Period (1629–35)

On 24 June 1630, Gustavus landed at Usedom on the Baltic coast at the head of 13,000 men. They were veterans; for the Swedish king—a military genius of the first order—who had already waged successful wars against Denmark (1611–13), Russia (1614–17) and Poland (1617–29). A fortnight after the unopposed disembarkation of the invader, the Diet of Regensburg met and compelled Ferdinand to dismiss the only man capable of contending against the new champion of Protestantism.

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

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

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

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

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

During the summer of 1632, the two masters of war played the great game against one another. Gustavus, deep in hostile country, strove to bring his opponent to early battle. Wallenstein, with time on his side, did all in his power to delay the inevitable clash until he had an overwhelming superiority of force. Finally, Gustavus ran Wallenstein

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down at Lutzen in Saxony (16 November). There the crucial conflict took place—it was a battle of giants, for long the issue was undecided. In the end, Wallenstein had to admit defeat; but Gustavus had been killed. Bernard of Saxe-Weimar took over the command of the victorious host.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Austrian Hapsburgs were fairly well insulated by the now-independent Protestant princes of north Germany. But Spain still threatened France from Rousillon and Cerdagne, from Franche Comte and the Belgian Low Countries. The two particular

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

2.3.4 The French Period (1635–48)

Under Richelieu's supreme direction, until his death in 1642, French armies contended against Hapsburg forces in the Netherlands, in Alsace; in Italy, along the Pyrenees; the Weimerian Army held the Rhinland and harassed Spanish land communications; the Swedish Army made good its hold over Western Pomerania; the Dutch fleet was brought in to isolate the Netherlands from Spain by sea. After Richelieu's death, Mazarin took up the work and carried it to a triumphant conclusion.

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

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

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

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

2.3.5 Significance of the Thirty Years War

The peace treaties signed in October 1648, known as Peace of Westphalia, established the principle of non-interference as a pillar of international relationships. The conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia marked the end of the Wars of Religion; henceforth, commerce, colonization, and command of the sea were the main subjects of contest. It also marked the establishment of the modern state system based on the principles of territorial

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sovereignty, theoretical equality, and internal autonomy. It signaled, too, the extinction of the mediaeval idea of a *Respublica Christiana* administered by a Holy Roman Emperor and a Holy Roman Pope.

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



Fig. 2.1 Peace of Westphalia, October 1648

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

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

The terms of this extremely important settlement are as follows:

1. France was to acquire Roussillon and Cerdagne, Artois and portions of Hainault and Luxemburg.
2. The young Louis XIV was to marry Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV—a fateful marriage.
3. The principle '*cuius regio, eius religio*' was to be maintained.
4. Calvinists were to enjoy the same rights as Lutherans.
5. Ecclesiastical lands were to remain as on 1 January 1624.
6. Catholics and Protestants to have equal representation in the *Reichskammergericht* (the sovereign court of the old German empire), as per the Second Territorial Settlement of Germany.

7. The Elector-Palatinate to recover the Lower Palatinate and to receive a new electoral hat.
8. Max of Bavaria to keep the Upper Palatinate with the old electorate.
9. The Elector of Saxony to receive Lusatia and part of Magdeburg.
10. The Elector of Brandenburg to receive the remainder of Magdeburg, together with various other bishoprics and duchies as per the Third Settlement of External Claims.
11. The Swedes to acquire western Pomerania, Bremen and Verden, with representation in the Imperial Diet.
12. The French to secure Austrian Alsace with Breisach, but excluding Strasbourg, the fortresses of Phillipsburg and Pinerolo, together with confirmation of their possession of Metz, Toul and Verdun.
13. The independence of the city of Bremen was clarified.

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2.4 PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS IN ENGLAND

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

During this period of evolution, England passed from absolute monarchy to modern constitutional monarchy. Prior to that, there was no parliament and the king ruled with the help of a privy council, even though he was not bound by its advice. The first formal body, which can be regarded as the forerunner of the modern parliament, was formed by King John (Figure 2.2) in 1213 when he called upon each of the counties to send four discreet knights to a meeting of the Great Council to accept taxes proposed by him.



Fig. 2.2 King John of England

This practice of getting tax approved from representative gathering was followed by the later kings. In 1265, Simon de Montfort also invited two townsmen from twenty selected towns to attend the meeting of the parliament. Thus, the parliament began to represent the barons, the clergy and the commons. These three sections of society met as a

Check Your Progress

5. Name the four main phases of the Thirty Years War.
6. Why did the decisive triumph of the Catholic League and the rehabilitation of Ferdinand seriously alarm the Lutherans of Northern Germany?
7. In which year did Gustavus and his allies undertake the conquest of South Germany?
8. What were the implications of the Peace of Westphalia?

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common body to hear the king's proposals and then held separate meetings to discuss these proposals and again met as a single body to vote upon them.

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

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

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

2.4.1 Origin of Parliament System

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

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

Henry VIII (1509–1547) and Parliament

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

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

When Henry VIII died in 1547, he was succeeded by his son Edward. Edward VI was a very religious young man. He wanted to make England's religion truly Protestant. Although Henry had stopped the Pope being the head of the English Church, he had not changed the kind of religion followed in England. It was still really the same as the Roman Catholic religion, but without the Pope (Some people said Henry had become his own Pope). Edward had to change the law to make England truly Protestant so he called the parliament to do this. When Edward died, he was succeeded by his half-sister Mary. Mary was a devout Roman Catholic. She wanted to change England's religion back to Roman Catholicism. This meant that she too had to call the parliament together to change the laws on religion. Mary made Roman Catholicism England's religion again before she died in 1558.

Elizabeth I (1558–1603) and Parliament

Mary's successor was her half-sister Elizabeth I. Elizabeth I (Figure 2.3) was not particularly religious. However, Mary had persecuted the Protestants very severely in her reign (she had over 300 burnt to death for their religion). Many people in England had turned against Roman Catholicism because of Mary's policies. In order to please these people, Elizabeth I decided to make England a Protestant country. This meant that she had to call the parliament to change the laws on religion. Her first parliament met in 1558, the first year of her reign. This parliament made England a moderate Protestant country in 1559.



Fig. 2.3 Elizabeth I (1558–1603)

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

James I (1603–1625) and Parliament

James I became king of England when Elizabeth died in 1603. He had previously been king of Scotland. Scotland was a more Protestant country than England. The Puritans

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hoped that James would make England like Scotland. However, James preferred England's religion to that of Scotland. James and the Puritans had a clash in the parliament. James had to call the parliament because when Elizabeth died, she left debts of around £300,000 (This would be several millions in modern money).

The only way James could pay off these debts and balance his budget was if the parliament granted him more taxes. This was not his only problem. At this time, many wars were being fought over religion in Europe. The parliament put James under pressure to join in to defend foreign Protestants. When he did this, they did not give him enough money to fight the war properly. This meant that England did badly in these wars. The parliament then blamed James for the failures and demanded an enquiry into how the money that they had given him had been spent.

Charles I (1625–1649) and Parliament

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

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

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

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

The Civil War began in 1642, and by 1648 the parliament had won. In 1649, the king was executed and England became a republic. However, the troubles were not over. Many of the landowners and almost all of the aristocracy had opposed the execution of the king. This meant that the parliament depended on the army to run the country. The leader of the army was Oliver Cromwell (Figure 2.4).

During the 1650s, he repeatedly expelled the parliaments. This was because they would not give the religious toleration he wanted. Although he had several parliaments, he was really a military dictator. When he died, the gentry (landowners) who made up most of the House of Commons were determined not to have another military dictatorship. They worked with one of Cromwell's generals, George Monck, to prevent this. They

wanted to have the parliamentarians again. They thought that the best way to prevent another dictatorship was to have a king. As a result, Charles II was recalled as king in 1660.



Fig. 2.4 Oliver Cromwell dissolving the Parliament

2.4.3 Charles II (1660–1685) and Parliament

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

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

2.4.4 James II (1685–1688) and the Glorious Revolution

When he became the king, James, called James II (Figure 2.5), was so popular that he was given more taxes than any king before. James II used this to build up a large army. Things began to go wrong when he tried to bring in religious toleration for Roman Catholics. To do this, James II ignored the law. By doing this, James convinced the nobles and the landowners (called gentry) that he intended to rule without a parliament. Seven noblemen invited James' son-in-law William to invade England to protect their religion. William was a very strong Protestant and was the ruler of Holland. In November 1688, William invaded England

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Fig. 2.5 James II (1685–1688)

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

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

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

Check Your Progress

9. Name the two components of the English Parliament.
10. Why did James I have to call the Parliament when Elizabeth died and he took over as the king of England?
11. What were the three features of the Declaration of Rights (1689), passed by the Parliament as a special law?

2.5 DEVELOPMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

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

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

2.5.1 Nature of Monarchy

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

Role of Parliament in Monarchy

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

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

Need to work with the local 'rulers'

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

2.5.2 Development of Parliamentary Institutions

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

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NOTES**1. Electorate**

The parliament is not the only institution of democracy in Britain. The electorate, which elects the parliament and is the master of the country, is another important institution of the parliamentary democracy. The right to franchise (or right to vote) was very restricted about two to three centuries ago. Only rich people possessed franchise, while the poor were denied the same. Gradually, a number of reforms were carried out to extend franchise to the middle classes.

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

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

2. Periodical elections

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

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

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

3. Political parties

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

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

The political divisions did not become clear until the French Revolution. The French Revolution sharpened political differences. The Tories regarded the revolution as

objectionable because it deprived the French King and the French aristocracy of their rights, while the Whigs welcomed the Revolution and looked upon it as a movement to overthrow tyrannical privileges.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Under the British parliamentary system, the opposition plays an important role. It knocks the government about, exhorts it if it makes mistakes and tries to prove that the

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ministers are incompetent and ought to be fired by the prime minister. It may be observed that the opposition does not play only a negative role, but also a positive role.

As political expert Lord Morrison has observed ‘Denunciation, negative criticism, are parts of its job—an important part of its job—but positive policies, constructive proposals are also an essential part of its task....’ So the opposition has its job to do; it should balance between criticism and denunciation and positive and constructive ideas.

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

4. Cabinet

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Civil Services

Finally, the civil services also play a vital role in the working of the parliamentary system of government in Britain. The civil servants place at the disposal of the ministers, who are laymen, expert advice and assistance and enable them to take decisions regarding policy etc. Sometimes the ministers may leave the decisions to civil servants, but the ultimate responsibility for these decisions rests with the minister.

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

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

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

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

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

2.6 SUMMING UP

- The Thirty Years War (1618-48) was the most devastating war in Europe prior to the 20th century world wars.
- There are quite a few rationalizations of the causes of the Thirty Years War, but these hardly ever talk about the advantages of substitute interpretations, neither do they make their own basic theories clear.
- English scholars often categorize the war into a broader resistance against Spanish Habsburg hegemony, whereas older German literature phrased it as a conflict that started in the Holy Roman Empire but merged with other wars.
- The four major phases of the Phases and Effects of the Thirty Years War were:
 - o The Bohemian Period (1618–23)
 - o The Danish Period (1624–29)
 - o The Swedish Period (1629–35)
 - o The French Period (1635–48)

NOTES

Check Your Progress

12. What is a constitutional monarchy?
13. How is constitutional monarchy different from absolute monarchy?
14. What was a major limitation on royal power in the British Isles?

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- One of the instances that indicated the surfacing of the Parliament as a real institution in England was the deposition of Edward II. Although it is arguable whether Edward II was overthrown within the Parliament or by Parliament, this noteworthy series of events combined the significance of Parliament in the accepted English Constitution.
- The Parliament was also central in setting up the authority of the King who replaced Edward II: his son Edward III.
- Constitutional monarchy is a type of government in which a monarch plays the role of the head of a state, according to the guidelines of a constitution, be written, uncodified, or merged.
- Constitutional monarchy differs from absolute monarchy such that in absolute monarchy, a monarch serves as the source of power in the state and has no legal obligations towards any constitution. He is authorized to control his or her respective government.

2.7 KEY TERMS

- **Protestants:** People who do not accept authority of the Pope.
- **Duchy:** The territory of a duke or duchess; a dukedom.
- **Apostasy:** The abandonment or renunciation of a religious or political belief.
- **Theology:** The study of the nature of God and religious belief.
- **Diet (here):** A regular meeting of the states of a confederation.
- **Abasement:** The action or fact of abasing or being abased; humiliation or degradation.
- **Adjutor:** A helper or assistant.
- **Bohemian:** A member of a people with dark skin and hair who speak Romany and who traditionally live by seasonal work and fortunetelling.
- **Ecclesiastical:** Of or relating to the Christian Church or its clergy.
- **Bishopric:** The office or rank of a bishop.

2.8 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Charles V formally resigned the imperial crown in 1558.
2. Ferdinand’s successor was Maximilian II (1564–76).
3. The outcome of Peace of Augsburg (1555) was extremely unsatisfactory. It could bring about only a temporary settlement of the conflict between Catholics and Lutherans in the Holy Roman Empire. Its terms were vague and ambiguous, and the settlement also provided no machinery by means of which its terms could be enforced. Its enforcement proved to be a constant source of friction, which led to the armed conflict of 1618.
4. The active counter-reformers were supported by Ernest of Wittelsbach, Archbishop of Cologne (1583–1612), his nephew Maximilian of Bavaria (1598–1651), and Ferdinand of Styria, who later became emperor in 1619.

5. The four main phases of the Thirty Years War were:
 - (i) The Bohemian Period (1618–23)
 - (ii) The Danish Period (1624–29)
 - (iii) The Swedish Period (1629–35)
 - (iv) The French Period (1635–48)
6. The decisive triumph of the Catholic League and the rehabilitation of Ferdinand seriously alarmed the Lutherans of Northern Germany; as they realized that their possession of the secularized ecclesiastical lands was threatened.
7. In 1632, Gustavus and his allies undertook the conquest of South Germany.
8. Peace of Westphalia (1648) marked the end of the Wars of Religion; henceforth, commerce, colonization, and command of the sea were the main subjects of contest. It also marked the establishment of the modern state system based on the principles of territorial sovereignty, theoretical equality, and internal autonomy. It signaled, too, the extinction of the mediaeval idea of a Respublica Christiana administered by a Holy Roman Emperor and a Holy Roman Pope.
9. The two components of the English Parliament are: the House of Commons and the House of Lords.
10. James had to call the parliament when Elizabeth died because she had left debts of around £300,000 (This would be several millions in modern money).
11. Three features of the Declaration of Rights (1689) were:
 - a. Kings could not raise taxes without the parliament's agreement
 - b. The king could not be a Catholic, and
 - c. The parliament should meet regularly
12. A constitutional monarchy is a type of government in which a monarch is the head of state. He operates within the limits of a written (i.e., codified), unwritten (i.e., uncodified) or blended constitution.
13. A constitutional monarchy is different from absolute monarchy because in the latter, monarch serves as the only source of political power in the state and is not lawfully bound by any constitution. Most constitutional monarchies use a parliamentary system.
14. A secure and reliable source of income was a major limitation on royal power in the British Isles.

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2.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Why was the Peace of Augsburg (1555) only able to bring about a temporary settlement of the conflict between Catholics and Lutherans in the Holy Roman Empire?
2. What type of a person was Ferdinand I (1558–64)?
3. Why did Ferdinand find it difficult to get the Diet to vote men and money for his wars with Soliman II?
4. Mention two points of the Treaty of Pyrenees.

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5. What changes took place during the years between the reigns of Charles I and the first two Georges?
6. What are the outstanding events of the French Period (1635 – 48)?
7. What were the terms of the Treaty of the Pyrenees (7 November 1659)?
8. What was the role of the Parliament in monarchy?
9. What is the role of the civil services in the parliamentary system of government of Britain?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Summarize the causes of the Thirty Years War.
2. Write a note on the phase and effects of the Thirty Years War.
3. Give a detailed account of the Swedish Period (1629 – 35), in terms of the Thirty Years War.
4. Explain the working of the parliamentary institutions in England during the reigns of different monarchs.
5. Describe the parliamentary institutions given below:
 - (i) Electorate
 - (ii) Periodical elections
 - (iii) Political Parties
 - (iv) Cabinet
 - (v) Civil services

2.10 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READING

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UNIT 3 THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

UNIT STRUCTURE

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Objectives
- 3.2 Causes of the French Revolution
- 3.3 The Course of the French Revolution
 - 3.3.1 States General of 1789; 3.3.2 Tennis Court Oath
 - 3.3.3 Storming of the Bastille; 3.3.4 Structure in the Summer of 1789
 - 3.3.5 Declaration of the Rights of Man
 - 3.3.6 Wealthy Bourgeoisie Come to Power; 3.3.7 Varennes Crisis
 - 3.3.8 Overthrow of the Monarchy
 - 3.3.9 Struggle between the Jacobins and Girondins
 - 3.3.10 Uprising of 31 May–2 June, 1793
- 3.4 Effects, Achievement and Significance of the French Revolution
 - 3.4.1 National Convention (1792–1795); 3.4.2 Working Towards a Constitution
 - 3.4.3 The Revolution and the Church; 3.4.4 Constitutional Crisis
 - 3.4.5 Achievements and Significance of Revolution
- 3.5 Summing Up
- 3.6 Key Terms
- 3.7 Answers to ‘Check Your Progress’
- 3.8 Questions and Exercises
- 3.9 References and Suggested Reading

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3.0 INTRODUCTION

The outcome of the American Revolution and the War of Independence 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. The French hero Lafayette had fought for it, and the 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 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 French Revolution.

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3.1 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the causes of the French Revolution
 - Discuss the course of the French Revolution
 - Describe the aims of the new constitution
 - List the achievements and significance of the French Revolution
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3.2 CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

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 3.1), his ministers and the French nobles all over France became infamous. This was mainly because the peasants were crippled by the heavy taxes imposed on them and the middle classes were oppressed in order to find wealthy aristocrats and their way of like.



Fig. 3.1 *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 year of 1787–89 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 aground 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 abjection. 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.

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

- **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.
- **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.
- **Intellectual upliftment:** 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 seigniorial 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 3.2), who was wrongly blamed of being a spendthrift and a spy for the Austrians. There was anger against the King for dismissing Jacques Neckar, among others, who were seen as representatives of the people.

Check Your Progress

1. How did the French begin to show their antagonism towards the undemocratic outlook of their own government?
2. What was the most significant fact that led to the nationwide conflict with the prevailing order?
3. What factors worsened the enormous war debt, which was a burden on the society?



Fig. 3.2 Marie-Antoinette, Queen of France, in Coronation Robes by Jean-Baptiste Gautier Dagoty, 1775

3.3 THE COURSE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

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

3.3.1 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 or 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.

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The National Assembly: 1789–1791

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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

3.3.2 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 and assembled on a nearby tennis court instead. Except for one, every one of the members took the Tennis Court Oath (Figure 3.3), 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 to 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 27 June 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 after 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 12 June, the Communs invited their other estates to join them. Some members of the first estate did join them the next day. On 17 June, 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 19 June.

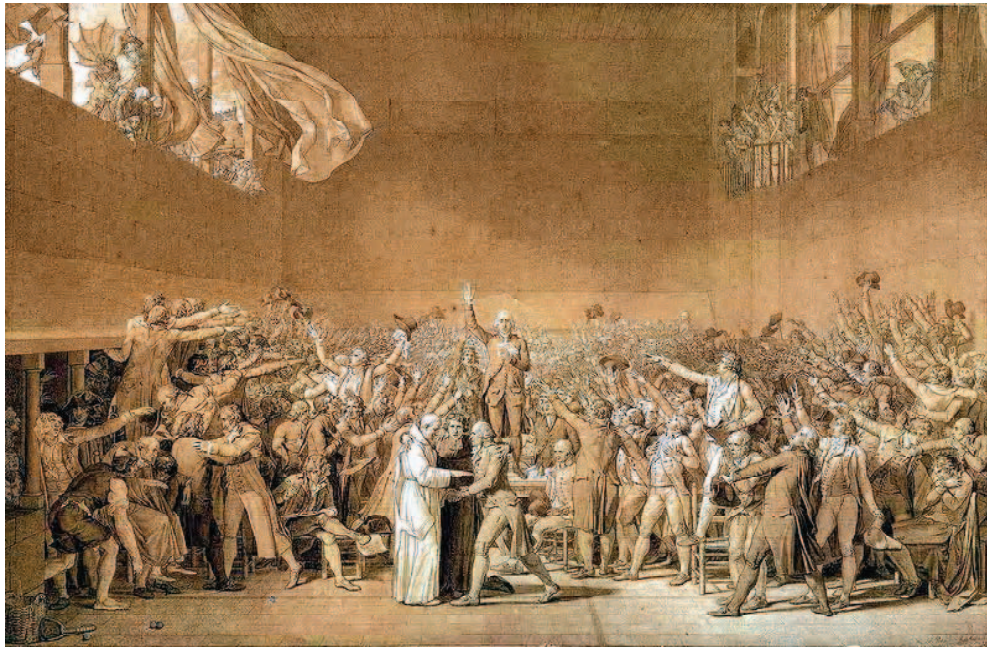


Fig. 3.3 Tennis Court Oath

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3.3.3 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 12 July, 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 15 July, 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 3.4). The commander of the prison was killed, his men gave up and The Bastille fell.

The fall of The Bastille on 14 July 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.

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Fig. 3.4 Storming of Bastille

Unable to face the rage of the people, the King was forced to step down. On 17 July, 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 armory, 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.

3.3.4 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.

3.3.5 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 3.5) 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.

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Fig. 3.5 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.

3.3.6 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 Mirabau 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 October 5 and 6, 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.

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Fig. 3.6 Maximilien Robespierre



Fig. 3.7 Jean-Paul Marat

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Revolutionaries like Maximillien Robespierre (Figure 3.6) and Jean-Paul Marat (Figure 3.7) 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.

3.3.7 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 17 July, 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 13 September. The Constituent Assembly was dissolved on 30 September.

3.3.8 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 11 June 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 9 August. 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.

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3.3.9 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 21 January, 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.

3.3.10 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

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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.

3.4 EFFECTS, ACHIEVEMENT AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The course of the French Revolution was based on the main aim 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

Check Your Progress

4. Which three estates was the States General divided into?
5. Why did Louis XVI sack Jacques Necker?
6. Name two revolutionaries who revealed to the people, the true nature of the big bourgeoisie.

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.

3.4.2 Working Towards a Constitution

Abolition of Feudalism to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy: Feudalism was eradicated 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

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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.

3.4.3 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 tithes. 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.

3.4.4 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 20 September with a new constitution and became the actual government of France. On 21 September, France was declared a Republic with the abolition of monarchy. So, 21 September has been adopted as the Republic Day of France.

3.4.5 Achievements and Significance of Revolution

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

The most significant impact of the Revolution was that the nobility was replaced by the bourgeoisie as the dominant political class. This assertion is challenged in the

present-day analysis, but it is clear the men of property in spite of social background benefited from the Revolution. Women, not considering their rank, did not profit much from the Revolution and continued to be restricted to the private sphere.

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

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

The most tangible results of the French Revolution were almost certainly achieved in 1789–91, when land was set free from traditional burdens and the old communal society was rapped up. This ‘abolition of feudalism’ encouraged individualism and egalitarianism but almost certainly retarded the growth of a capitalist economy. Although only wealthy peasants were able to pay for the land confiscated from the Church and the expatriate nobility, France emerged increasingly as a land of peasant proprietors. The bourgeoisie that acquired social preponderance during the Directory and the Consulate was chiefly comprised officials and landed proprietors, and though the war enabled some entrepreneurs and contractors to make fortunes, it hindered economic development. The great reforms of 1789–91 however established a durable administrative and legal system, and much of the revolutionaries’ work in humanizing the law itself was afterward incorporated in the Napoleonic Code, about which you will read in the next unit.

Politically, the Revolution was more important than successful. Since 1789, the French government has been either parliamentary, or constitutional, or based on the plebiscitary system that Napoleon inherited and developed. However, between 1789 and 1799, democracy failed. Recurrent elections bred apathy, and filling offices by recommendation became everyday event, even before Napoleon made it organized. The Jacobins’ fraternal and Jacobin controlled community ended in 1794, the direct democracy of the sansculottes was squashed in 1795, and the republic expired in 1804; however, as principles they carried on to motivate French politics and keep right and left, church and state, far at a distance.

The Revolution nonetheless freed the state from its medieval past, releasing such unparalleled power that the revolutionaries could defy the rest of Europe. Furthermore, that power acknowledged no self-control: in 1793 unity was imposed on the nation by the Terror. Europe and the world have ever since been learning what violations of liberty can issue from the ideas of national autonomy and the will of the people.

Historians extensively regard the Revolution as one of the most significant events in human history, and the end of the early modern period, which started around 1500, is usually attributed to the onset of the French Revolution in 1789. The Revolution is, actually, repeatedly seen as marking the ‘dawn of the modern era’. In France itself, the Revolution enduringly crippled the power of the aristocracy and depleted the wealth of the Church, though the two institutions survived in spite of the damage they sustained. After the disintegration of the First Empire in 1815, the French public lost the rights and freedoms earned since the Revolution, but they kept in mind the concept of the participatory

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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.

3.5 SUMMING UP

- The **French Revolution** is an era in the History of France, comprising the years 1789-1799, in which the monarchy was removed from power and the Roman Catholic Church was forced to restructure drastically.
- The French Revolution focused around problems of class; it gave rise to the class analysis of the society before the revolution, and additionally to the class analysis of the contrasting revolutionary groups of Girondins and Montagnards.
- Although, the French Revolution appeared as if it had failed in 1799 and seemed quashed by 1815, it had deeper consequences.
- The French Revolution gave dominancy to the bourgeois and landowning classes. It killed Feudalism and strengthened social order and contractual relations.
- The Revolution unified France and made the national state more powerful.
- It played a significant role in ascertaining the standards of democratic institutions like elections, representative government and constitutions.
- The unsuccessful efforts of the urban lower middle classes to secure economic and political advantages prefigured the class conflicts of the 19th century.
- The course of the French Revolution was greatly influenced by external threats.
- The French Revolution was the rebellion of the Third Estate (poor French citizens) against Louis XVI, King of France, during the estates general meeting in June 1789.
- They affirmed themselves as a National Assembly and created a new French constitution. The revolt then spread all over France. The Bastille was stormed in July 14th, 1789. The Monarchy was overthrown and France became a Republic in September 21st, 1792. Finally, the revolution ended in a blood bath with the Reign of Terror in 1793-94.
- The main achievement of the French Revolution was the formation of the French Republic.
- The most significant factor of the French Revolution was that it gave people the chance to participate in all major changes in France. It completely terminated feudalism and therefore all social disparities that emerged from feudalism were also wiped off.

Check Your Progress

7. What was the main aim, on which the course of the French Revolution was based?
8. Which two opposing revolutionary groups dominated the first phase of the National Convention in Paris on 10 August 1791?
9. When was Feudalism eradicated by the National Constituent Assembly?
10. How many army men were killed in the wars of the French Revolution?

3.6 KEY TERMS

- **Republican:** A form of government, constitution, etc., belonging to, or characteristic of a republic.
- **Middle class:** The social group between the upper and working classes, including professional and business workers and their families.
- **Monarchy:** A form of government with a monarch at the head.
- **Aristocracy:** The highest class in certain societies, esp. those holding hereditary titles or offices.
- **Third Estate:** The French bourgeoisie and working class before the French Revolution.
- **National Guards:** The name given at the time of the French Revolution to the militias formed in each city.
- **Commoner:** An ordinary person, without rank or title.
- **Active citizen:** A citizen who takes an active role in the community (as in crime prevention and neighborhood watch).
- **Jacobin:** A member of the radical movement that instituted the Reign of Terror during the French Revolution.

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3.7 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The French begin to show their antagonism towards the undemocratic outlook of their own government by pressing for freedom, defying the Roman Catholic Church and condemning the privileges of the nobles.
2. 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.
3. 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.
4. The States General was divided into three estates:
 - (i) the clergy or the First Estate
 - (ii) the nobility or the Second Estate
 - (iii) the rest of France or the Third Estate
5. Louis XVI Jacques Necker, the Director General of Finance because he was blamed for the failure of the States General.
6. 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.
7. The course of the French Revolution was based on the main aims of establishing a government which is a ‘welfare state’.

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8. The first phase of the National Convention in Paris, on 10 August 1791, was dominated by the battle between the Montagnards and the Girondins.
9. Feudalism was eradicated by the National Constituent Assembly on 4 August 1789.
10. Almost 2,000,000 army men were killed in the wars of the French Revolution.

3.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What were the vital historical factors that paved way for the French Revolution?
2. What were the highlights of the National Assembly of 1789 – 1791?
3. What was the Varennes Crisis?
4. How did the Church change after the French Revolution?
5. What were the most tangible results of the French Revolution?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe the conditions that led to the outbreak of revolutionary protest in France.
2. Discuss the course of the French Revolution.
3. Write a detailed note on the effects, achievement and significance of the French Revolution.
4. Describe the legacy of the French Revolution for the peoples of the world during the 19th and 20th centuries.

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UNIT 4 NAPOLEON

UNIT STRUCTURE

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Objectives
- 4.2 Rise of Napoleon
 - 4.2.1 Early Life and Career; 4.2.2 Napoleon and the Revolution
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 - 4.3.1 Early Victories; 4.3.2 Reforms
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 - 4.5.1 Invasion of Russia; 4.5.2 Defeat of Napoleon
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- 4.6 Summing Up
- 4.7 Key Terms
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4.0 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 influenced the rise Napoleon to power. This is being discussed in this unit. 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. 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 its his defeat and its impact.

4.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss Napoleon's rise to prominence and power
- Paraphrase Napoleon's victories at the beginning of his rise, his reforms and foreign policies
- Summarize about Napoleon Empire and the Continental System
- Discuss the factors that caused the downfall of Napoleon

4.2 RISE OF NAPOLEON

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Era were the periods of rapid political and social changes. France was the centre of events in Europe. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars brought about a lot of changes that was instrumental in shaping

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Europe. The French Revolution abolished privileges of the noble class and separated the Church from the state. French Republic was established in 1793. The changes provoked reaction from the old European monarchies. These monarchs were apprehensive that revolutionary ideas would be ‘exported’ from France. The ideas of the Revolution were spread across Europe in spite of political and military interventions. Intellectuals and artists were attracted to these ideas. Same kind of reactions also provoked 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 to the surprise of his supporters. In 1801, Napoleon negotiated the Concordat with the Catholic Church and in 1804 he crowned 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. It was so because Napoleon acted as an autocrat. He was totally against any possible opposition. He 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 did not permit any resistance. The states annexed by him served mostly as sources of supplies during any kind of military campaigns. Due to these wars, France had to face many anti-Napoleonic coalitions and Bonaparte emerged as the main threat for European monarchies.

4.2.1 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 4.1), 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. 4.1 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 4.2). You will read about his coronation in more details in the forthcoming section.



Fig. 4.2 *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.

4.2.2 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

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a ruler, he was authoritarian. He 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.

4.2.3 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 resolve 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.

The First Consul

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, he decided to reside within the Tuileries. This made Bonaparte the most influential person in France.

In 1800, Napoleon and his troops crossed over the Alps and entered Italy. Here, French forces had been almost entirely driven out by the Austrians whilst he was in Egypt. 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.

4.2.4 Emperor of France

Also, around this time, Napoleon became the Consul for life and soon after, he was crowned Emperor of France (see Section 8.2.1). 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.

4.3 EARLY VICTORIES, REFORMS AND FOREIGN POLICY

In 1795, Napoleon got an opportunity to display his qualities as a brave military leader. It was the occasion when he successfully defended the National Convention against attack of mob by employing and using his artillery. He succeeded in saving the Convention from collapse and completely obliterated its enemies. In admiration of Napoleon's role, the Directory decided to give him the authority of French Army.

4.3.1 Early Victories

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.

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Check Your Progress

1. How did the French Revolution affect the Church and the noble class?
2. In which year did Napoleon become the First Consul of France?
3. Why did Napoleon choose to join the Jacobins?
4. When did Napoleon defeat the British and the Austrians?
5. Which Agreement did Napoleon sign to resolve the dispute between the Church and the state?

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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.

Napoleon's Problems

Napoleon faced the following problems when reached at the peak of his might:

- 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 attacked Russia in 1812. During September of 1812, he arrived at the onset of one of the worst winters in the Russian history. This was a catastrophe. Of the 614,000 men who had accompanied him, only 40,000 came back. The temperature got to -30°C when they were returning.

4.3.2 Reforms

The Napoleonic era saw reforms in many spheres. Let us discuss them one by one.

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 monarchical 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.

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.

Educational reforms

Napoleon built several new lycees (the lycée is the second, and last, stage of secondary education in the French educational system), schools for boys age 10 to 16. He identified

the significance of education in producing citizens competent for filling positions in his administration and military. Although he did not build a system of mass education, education was more accessible to the middle class than previously. At a meeting in 1807 he declared:

Of all our institutions, public education is the most important. Everything depends on it, the present and the future. It is essential that the morals and political ideas of the generation which is now growing up should no longer be dependent upon the news of the day or the circumstances of the moment. Above all, we must secure unity: we must be able to cast a whole generation in the same mould.

He assumed education as a means of indoctrinating ‘right-thinking’ citizens from an initial age. He did not think about the need to educate girls, because they could learn everything they needed from their mothers. They were not supposed to be active citizens of the country.

Napoleon also developed a more comprehensive educational system than before. He started using the clergy as teachers and decreed that primary schools were to be maintained by every Commune under the general supervision of Prefects and Sub-prefects. During his rule, secondary or grammar schools provided special training in French, Latin and elementary science. Whether supported by private or public funds, after Napoleon’s reforms, all schools came under the control of the government. The *lycees* or high schools were opened in every important town; moreover, special schools like technical schools, civil schools, and military schools were brought under regulation. Napoleon also established the University of France in 1808. All these schools promoted ethical principles of Christianity and taught loyalty to the head of state.

4.3.3 Napoleonic Reforms

Administrative reforms: After becoming First Counsel and later Emperor, Napoleon initiated a series of administrative reforms in France. Napoleon centralised the whole system of local government in France. Under him, the elective bodies paid direct obeisance to the central government. Their powers were wielded by prefects and sub-prefects who were appointed by Napoleon and were responsible only to him. Mayors were nominated by the government and criminal courts were set up in the *departments*. Moreover, judges were appointed by the First Counsel to try common law offences.

Fiscal Reforms: After assuming power, Napoleon tried to improve the financial situation of the country. The chaos of the revolution and ensuing wars had not allowed any serious look at the fiscal problems facing France that went back to the pre-revolutionary days. Napoleon centralised the fiscal administration in an effort to consolidate his hold over the nation. In 1800, the Bank of France was established. Through the Bank, the government got capital from private sources with accounts being regulated through national agents; this resulted in corruption being significantly reduced. Moreover, Napoleon also centralised the tax collection system. 1801-02 Napoleon succeeded in balancing the budget. This resulted in Napoleon’s popularity increasing in the business and merchant community.

The Concordat of 1801: In order to gain the support of the Catholics, Napoleon signed the Concordat with Pope Pius VII. Through the Concordat of 1801, the church became tied to the national government and the state undertook to pay the salaries of the clergy. Moreover, the First Counsel nominated the Bishops while the Bishops appointed the priests. Religious minorities like the Calvinists and Lutherans were given freedom to

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practice their faith in France. Even Jews were granted special privileges and also were allowed to organise on a national basis, though they were still subject to restrictions.

Napoleonic Code: Perhaps the most durable part of Napoleon's reforms was the formation of the Napoleonic legal codes. Napoleon once said, 'My true glory is not to have won 40 battles... Waterloo will erase the memory of so many victories. But what will live forever, is my Civil Code.' The Napoleonic Code still has importance today in a quarter of the world's jurisdictions and has influenced legal codes of nations in Europe, the Americas and Africa. Napoleon wanted to reform French laws in accordance with the ideas of the French Revolution. He felt that the old laws were vestiges of the pre-revolutionary days. In 1804, Napoleon drafted the Civil Code, which was followed by the Criminal Procedure Penal code and the Commercial Code. Some of the important edicts of the legal codes were that it forbade privileges based on birth, allowed freedom of religion, and specified that government jobs should go to the most qualified.

Public works: Under Napoleon, Paris was reconstructed in 1802. Wide roads, known as *boulevards*, were further enhanced. The art treasures brought by Napoleon from Italy were catalogued and brought together at the *Louvre*. Napoleon also oversaw the construction of bridges, network of canals and waterways. During his rule, the principal sea ports were enlarged and fortifications built, especially at Cherbourg and Toulon.

4.3.4 Foreign Policy

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, etc.

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, Prussia, etc. 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.

4.4 NAPOLEON EMPIRE AND THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

After becoming Emperor of France, Napoleon won victories in the War of the Third Coalition against Austria, Prussia, Russia, Portugal and allied nations. His notable victories include the Battle of Austerlitz in 1805, where Napoleon defeated the armies of the Russian and Austrian Empire and the Battle of Friedland in 1807 where another army of the Russian Empire was defeated. His military victories gave Napoleon the reputation of being a great military strategist. In 1807, Napoleon signed the Treaty of Tilsit, which effectively ended two years of war on the European continent. The series of wars that Napoleon fought have come to be collectively known as the Napoleonic Wars. Through these wars Napoleon extended the rule and influence of France over much of Western Europe and into Poland. Napoleon's victories resulted in France becoming the supreme power on the European continent. During the height of its power, the French Empire under Napoleon had 130 départements, ruled over 44 million subjects, maintained an extensive military presence in Germany, Italy, Spain, and the Duchy of Warsaw, and could count Prussia and Austria as nominal allies.

The Continental System: The period from 1806 to 1814 in European history can be considered to be the struggle between Napoleon's France and Great Britain. After effectively taking control of the European continent, Napoleon wanted to turn Europe into a closed economy. To do this, he had to first contend with the British. Napoleon's reason for turning Europe into a closed economy was because he wanted to protect French commerce and trade from British competition. Through this, Napoleon wished to restore the French colonial empire. Napoleon issued the Berlin Decree in 1806 which proclaimed a state of blockade against the British Isles and closed French and allied ports to ships from Britain or its colonies. The Berlin Decree was extended by the Decrees of Warsaw and Milan in 1807 and Fontainebleau in 1810. However the defect in the Continental system soon became apparent. The boycott of British goods did not

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Check Your Progress

6. In which year did Napoleon get an opportunity to display his qualities as a brave military leader?
7. Why did Napoleon's attack on Russia in the year 1812 fail?
8. In which year did the Napoleonic Code become overwhelmingly influential to other European nations?
9. Under the impact of Napoleon, a number of other European countries also introduced far-reaching reforms. Name the most prominent of these countries.

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hurt the British significantly; however, as a lot of European countries were dependent on English goods, the boycott resulted in the Austrians, Prussians and Russians turning against Napoleon. Moreover, the French Empire proved to be too vast to be governed effectively; the blockade of the British Isles also did not work effectively since Napoleon lacked a strong navy. The disastrous Russian invasion of 1812 ended Napoleon's hold on the European continent. Napoleon was finally defeated in the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 by the Seventh Coalition, an amalgamation of armies from Britain, Netherlands, Prussia, Hanover, Nassau and Brunswick. After his defeat, the British exiled Napoleon to the island of St. Helena, 1870 kms from the west coast of Africa, where he spent the remaining years of his life.

4.5 DOWNFALL AND IMPACT OF NAPOLEON

4.5.1 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; on 23 June 1812, the invasion started.

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

Check Your Progress

10. Which were Napoleon's most notable victories after he became the Emperor of France?
11. In which year did Napoleon sign the Treaty of Tilsit?
12. Which period in the European history can be considered to be the struggle between Napoleon's France and Great Britain?
13. When did Napoleon issue the Berlin Decree and what did it proclaim?

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.'

4.5.2 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. After a month, thinking about the loss of control back in France, Napoleon and his army left (Figure 4.3). 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. 4.3 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.

4.5.3 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.

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4.5.4 Factors that led to the Defeat of Napoleon

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:

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- 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.
- 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.

4.5.5 Impact of Napoleon

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 an 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 World War II.

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4.5.6 Causes of Napoleon's Failure

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Napoleon attained the height of his power after signing the Treaty of Tilsit with Russia in 1807. However, his decline began soon after. Historians attribute his downfall to many reasons. The most important of which was the disastrous invasion of Russia in 1812. Although Napoleon's campaign in Russia initially went well, the onset of the Russian winter resulted in catastrophic losses for Napoleon's army and signalled the turning point in the Napoleonic Wars. Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, considered by many to be the greatest novel ever written, delineates in graphic detail the invasion by Napoleon and the effect it had on Russian society. Other than the invasion of Russia, the other causes of Napoleon's failure were:

- Failure of the Continental System
- Tactic of constant warfare known as Napoleonic War
- His ego which led him to constantly want more and more land
- Guerilla warfare in Spain that tied down his army; Napoleon himself stated that it was 'the Spanish Ulcer' that ruined him
- Limitations of human genius despite aspirations

The French Revolution followed by the rule of Napoleon gave France a new system of governance. For a few years after the revolution absolute monarchy was replaced by universal franchise, something that was unthinkable before. Although dictatorial rule was once again established by Napoleon, the formation of the Napoleonic codes showed that the order of feudalism was coming to an end and a new order was emerging in the world. Even Napoleon maintained that he was the child of the revolution. Looking back from the future, we can safely say that the torch of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' was lit by the French Revolution of 1789 and it was one of the most significant moments in the evolution of modern democratic nation-states.

4.6 SUMMING UP

- Napoleon Bonaparte was known as an outstanding strategist who had earned the admiration of his men through valor and heroism under fire, careful planning and an unusual approach towards warfare.
- Napoleon out did the Government and with the help of his army, he join forces in a *coup d'état* to remove the Directory from power and set up the Consulate.
- 1800 saw Napoleon as the First Consul of France and in a position of total power.
- In 1795, Napoleon displayed his qualities as a daring military leader.
- He was successful in saving the Convention from collapse and completely eliminated all those against it. In admiration of Napoleon's role, the Directory decided to give him the authority of French Army.
- Napoleon carried out reforms in the following domains:
 - o Legal
 - o Governmental
 - o Educational
 - o Administrative
 - o Fiscal

Check Your Progress

14. How many people were killed in Battle of Borodino?
15. Who fought the Battle of Talavera (1809)?
16. Which class of Europe supported nationalism the most and why?

- Napoleon's foreign policy was dynamic. His trade policy is one of the highlights of his dynamic foreign policy.
- In order to break England's dominance on the market of France, Napoleon imposed exorbitant duties on British goods.
- Napoleon captured Malta from England in an effort to defeat the British at sea.
- He also affected the internal affairs of Switzerland and dissolved its Unitary Constitution, replacing it with Federal Constitution.
- The Continental System or Continental Blockade was also one of the foreign policies of Napoleon in his conflict with England and Ireland. This was a reaction to the marine embargo of the French coasts endorsed by the British government on the 16 May 1806.
- Napoleon released the Berlin Decree on the 21 November 1806, which resulted in an enormous embargo against British trade. This embargo ceased on 11 April 1814, following Napoleon's first abdication.
- One of the reasons for the downfall of Napoleon was the failure of the Continental System. England was able to manufacture goods cheaper and better than any country.
- Another big reason for his downfall was the conquest of Russia. His invasion of Russia destroyed his own army, which resulted in his enemies grouping together and attacking him.

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4.7 KEY TERMS

- **Checkmate:** A check from which a king cannot escape.
- **National budget:** A government budget; a legal document that is often passed by the legislature, and approved by the chief executive-or president.
- **Ideologues:** An adherent of an ideology, esp. one who is uncompromising and dogmatic.
- **Civil code:** A systematic collection of laws designed to comprehensively deal with the core areas of private law.
- **Department of State:** A department or ministry of the Government.
- **Clergy:** The body of all people ordained for religious duties, esp. in the Christian Church.
- **Lycee:** A school for students intermediate between elementary school and college.
- **Napoleonic Code:** The French civil code, established under Napoleon in 1804.
- **Commercial Code:** A commercial code is a code once used to save on cablegram costs.
- **Duchy:** The territory of a duke or duchess; a dukedom.

4.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The French Revolution abolished privileges of the noble class and separated the Church from the state.
2. Napoleon became the First Consul of France in 1799.

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3. Napoleon chose to join the Jacobins because he believed that if one had to choose sides, then one might better choose the side that is victorious instead of that which is weak.
4. Napoleon defeated the British when they entered France in 1793. In 1796, Napoleon beat the Austrians.
5. To resolve the dispute between the Church and state Napoleon signed the Concordat of 1801 with Pope Pius VII (1800–1823).
6. Napoleon got an opportunity to display his qualities as a brave military leader in 1795.
7. Napoleon's attack on Russia in the year 1812 failed because it was at the time of the onset of one of the worst winters in the Russian history. This was a catastrophe. Of the 614,000 men who had accompanied him, only 40,000 came back. The temperature got to -30°C when they were returning.
8. The Napoleonic Code became overwhelmingly influential to other European nations in the 19th century.
9. Under the impact of Napoleon, a number of other European countries also introduced far-reaching reforms. Prominent among these countries were:
 - (i) Holland
 - (ii) Belgium
 - (iii) Spain
 - (iv) Federal State of Rhine
 - (v) The Grand Duchy of Warsaw
 - (vi) Switzerland
 - (vii) Italy
10. After he became the Emperor of France Napoleon's most notable victories included the Battle of Austerlitz in 1805, where Napoleon defeated the armies of the Russian and Austrian Empire and the Battle of Friedland in 1807 where another army of the Russian Empire was defeated.
11. Napoleon signed the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807.
12. The period from 1806 to 1814 in European history can be considered to be the struggle between Napoleon's France and Great Britain.
13. Napoleon issued the Berlin Decree in 1806, which proclaimed a state of blockade against the British Isles and closed French and allied ports to ships from Britain or its colonies.
14. The Battle of Borodino resulted in about 44,000 Russian and 35,000 French dead.
15. The Battle of Talavera (1809) was a conquest of a united British and Spanish army, followed by Fuentes D'Onoro, 1811 and Salamanca, 1812.
16. The middle class of Europe supported nationalism the most because it was unfavourably affected by Napoleon's taxation and the Continental System.

4.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What changes did Napoleon incorporate in the French legal system?
2. What problems did Napoleon face when he reached the peak of his power?
3. What administrative reforms did Napoleon introduce?
4. Define the Concordat of 1801.
5. What characteristic features made Napoleon great?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Napoleon's rise to power was a result of his military genius, luck, and timing. Do you agree? Justify your answer in detail.
2. Describe the changes incorporated by Napoleon in the French state.
3. In addition to the invasion of Russia, what were the other causes of Napoleon's failure?
4. Evaluate Napoleon's foreign policies and the manner in which they affected his domestic achievements.

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UNIT 5 CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Unit Objectives
- 5.2 Congress of Vienna Provisions and Work
 - 5.2.1 Provisions—Work of the Congress
 - 5.2.2 The Holy Alliance
- 5.3 Prince Metternich (1773-1859)
- 5.4 Reaction in Europe after 1815
 - 5.4.1 Austrian Empire
 - 5.4.2 The German Confederation
 - 5.4.3 Disappointment of the Liberals
 - 5.4.4 Reaction in Germany
 - 5.4.5 Restoration in Spain
 - 5.4.6 Italy a Geographical Expression
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5.0 INTRODUCTION

Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain, the four powers which were instrumental in 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.

5.1 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 after the fall of Napoleon
- Describe the reaction in Europe after 1815
- Critically view the political composition of Europe in the post-Napoleonic era

5.2 CONGRESS OF VIENNA PROVISIONS AND WORK

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 18 June, 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.

5.2.1 Provisions—Work of the Congress

The main task of the Congress was the distribution of the territories that France had been forced to relinquish. Certain arrangements had been agreed upon by the allies before going to Vienna, in the First Treaty of Paris, 30 May 1814. The King of Piedmont, a refugee in his island of Sardinia during Napoleon's reign, returned to his throne, and Genoa was returned to him. There was a general understanding that the doctrine of legitimacy should be followed in determining the re-arrangement of Europe. That is to say, the principle that princes deprived of their thrones and driven from their states by Napoleon should be restored. However, this principle was ignored according to the suitability of the Allied powers.

Demands of Russia

The allies, who had, after immense effort and sacrifice, overthrown Napoleon, felt they should have their reward. The most powerful monarch at Vienna was Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, who, ever since Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia, had loomed large as a liberator of Europe. He now demanded that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, whose government fell with Napoleon, be given back to him. This state had been created out of Polish territories which Prussia and Austria had seized in the partitions of that country at the close of the 18th century. Alexander wished to unite them with a part of Poland that had fallen to Russia, thus, largely to restore the old Polish kingdom and nationality, to which he intended to give a parliament and a constitution. There was to be no incorporation of the restored kingdom in Russia, but the Russian emperor was to be King of Poland. The union was to be merely personal.

Demands of Prussia

Prussia was willing to give up her Polish provinces on the condition that she should be indemnified elsewhere. She, therefore, fixed her attention upon the rich kingdom of Saxony with important cities of Dresden and Leipzig, as compensation. Russia and Prussia supported each other's claims, but Austria, England and France opposed them stoutly. The latter even agreed to go to war to prevent the aggrandizement of the two northern nations. It was this dissension among those who had conquered him that caused Napoleon to think that the opportunity was favourable for his return from Elba. But, however jealous the allies were of each other, they, one and all, hated Napoleon and were firmly resolved to be rid of him. They had no desire for more war and consequently quickly compromised their differences. The final decision was that Russia should receive the lion's share of the Duchy of Warsaw, Prussia retaining only the province of Posen, and Cracow being erected into a free city; that the King of Saxony should be restored to his throne; that he should retain the important cities of Dresden and Leipzig, but should cede to Prussia about two-fifths of his kingdom; that, as further compensation, Prussia should receive extensive territories on both banks of the Rhine. Prussia also acquired Pomerania from Sweden, thus rounding out her coast line on the Baltic.

Russian acquisitions

Russia emerged from the Congress with a good number of additions. She retained Finland, conquered from Sweden during the late wars, and Bessarabia, wrested from the Turks, also Turkish territories in the southeast. But, most important of all, she had now succeeded in gaining most of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Russia now extended farther westward into Europe than ever and could henceforth speak with greater weight in European affairs.

Austrian acquisitions

Austria recovered her Polish possessions and received as compensation for the Netherlands, northern Italy, to be henceforth known as the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, comprising the larger and richer part of the Po valley. She also recovered the Illyrian provinces along the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Thus, after twenty years of war, almost uninterruptedly disastrous, she emerged with considerable accessions of strength, and with a population larger by four or five millions than she had possessed in 1792. She had obtained, in lieu of remote and unprofitable possessions, territories

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

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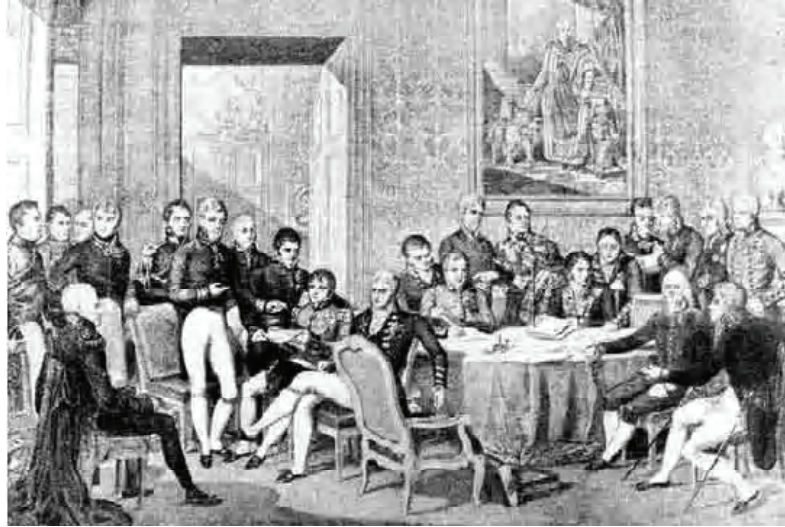


Fig. 5.1 A Portrait of the Vienna Congress

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
- Frontiers of Spain and Portugal were left untouched



Fig. 5.2 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 endeavours. Phrases, such as 'the reconstruction of the social order', 'the regeneration of the political system of Europe' durable peace based upon a just division of power were used by the diplomats of Vienna to impress the people of Europe, and to lend an air of dignity and elevation to their august assemblage. But the people were not deceived. They witnessed the

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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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5.2.2 The Holy Alliance

In addition to the Treaties of Vienna, the allies signed two other documents of great significance in 1815—the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance. The former proceeded from the initiative of Alexander I of Russia, whose mood was now deeply religious under the influence of the tremendous events of recent years and the fall of Napoleon, which to his mind seemed the swift verdict of a higher power in human destinies. He himself had been freely praised as the White Angel, in contrast to the fallen Black Angel, and he had been called the Universal Saviour. He now submitted a document to his immediate allies—Prussia and Austria—and which gave the popular name to the system of repression which was for many years followed by the powers that had conquered in the late campaign.

The document stated that it was the intention of the powers, henceforth, to be guided, in both their domestic and foreign policies, solely by the precepts of the Christian religion. The rulers announced that they would regard each other as brothers and their subjects as their children, and they promised to aid each other on all occasions and in all places. The other powers, thus, asked by the Emperor of Russia to express their approval of Christian principles, did so, preserving what dignity they could in playing what most of them considered a farce of questionable taste. For, knowing the principles that had actually governed the Tsar and the other rulers at the Congress of Vienna, they did not consider them particularly biblical or as likely to inaugurate a new and idyllic diplomacy in Europe. As a matter of fact no state ever made any attempt to act in accordance with the principles so highly approved. The only important thing about the Holy Alliance was its name, which was, in the opinion of all liberals, too good to be lost, so ironically did it contrast with what was known of the characters and policies of the rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the ‘holy allies’.

The Quadruple Alliance

The other document, signed on 20 November 1815, by Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England established a Quadruple Alliance providing that these powers should hold congresses from time-to-time for the purpose of considering their common interests and the needs of Europe. The Congresses that were held during the next few years in accordance with this agreement were converted into engines of oppression everywhere largely through the adroitness of Prince Metternich, Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, whose influence upon their deliberations was decisive.

5.3 PRINCE METTERNICH (1773-1859)

Klemens Wenzel von Metternich appeared to the generation that lived between 1815 and 1848 as the most commanding personality of Europe, whose importance can be estimated from the phrases such as ‘era of Metternich’ and ‘system of Metternich’. He was the central figure not only in Austrian and German politics, but in European diplomacy. He was the most famous statesman Austria produced in the 19th century. A man of high rank, wealthy, polished, blending social accomplishments with literary

Check Your Progress

1. What is the Vienna Congress?
2. Name the major players and participants at the Congress.
3. What was the Russian emperor's demand during negotiations?
4. Which countries opposed Russia and Prussia's demand for territory?
5. What did England gain from the negotiation at the Vienna Congress?
6. Who was instrumental in the formation of the Holy Alliance?
7. Who were the signatories of the Holy Alliance?
8. What is the Quadruple Alliance?

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. 5.3 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 lifelong 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.

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Check Your Progress

- How did the generation between 1815 and 1848 perceive Klemens Wenzel von Metternich?

5.4 REACTION IN EUROPE AFTER 1815

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5.4.1 Austrian Empire

The Battle of Waterloo, remarked Napoleon at St. Helena, will be as dangerous to the liberties of Europe as the battle of Philippi was dangerous to the liberties of Rome. Napoleon was not exactly an authority on liberty, but he did know the difference between enlightened despotism and unenlightened.

The style was set by Austria, the leading state on the Continent from 1815 to 1848. Austria was not a single nation like France, but was composed of many races. To the west were the Austrian duchies, chiefly Germany, the ancient possessions of the House of Hapsburg; to the north, Bohemia, an ancient kingdom acquired by the Hapsburgs in 1526; to the east, the Kingdom of Hungary, occupying the immense plain of the middle Danube; to the south, beyond the Alps, the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, purely Italian. The two leading races in this Austrian Empire were the Germans, forming the body of the population in the duchies, and the Magyars (modyorz), originally an Asiatic folk, encamped in the Danube valley since the 9th century and forming the dominant people in Hungary. There were many branches of the Slavic race in both Austria and Hungary. There were also Romanians, a different people still, in eastern Hungary.

Austria, a land of the old regime

To rule twenty-nine million people was a difficult task. This was the first problem of Francis I (1792-1835) and Metternich. Their policy was to resist all demands for reform, and to keep things as they were, to make the world stand still. The people were sharply divided into classes, each resting on different factors. Of these, the nobles occupied a highly privileged position. They enjoyed freedom from compulsory military service and got enormous exemptions from taxation, a monopoly of the best offices in the state. They possessed a large part of the land, from which in many cases they drew enormous revenues. On the other hand, the condition of the peasants, who formed the mass of the people, lived in deplorable conditions. They were even refused the right to purchase relief from the heaviest burdens. Condition of Austria in 1815 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.

5.4.2 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.

5.4.3 Disappointment of the Liberals

The liberals desired unity, they also desired liberty. They wished a constitution for each one of the thirty-eight states; they wished a parliament in each; and they also wished to have the reign of absolutism brought to a close. Metternich, even more opposed to free political institutions than to a strong central government, succeeded in thwarting the reformers at this point too. The latter were put off with only vague

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and doubtful promises, which, were never realized, save in the case of a few of the smaller states.

Metternich's programme was to secure the prevalence in Germany on the same principles that prevailed in Austria, and in this he largely succeeded. Certain incidents of the day gave him favorable occasions to apply the system of repression. Repression according to him was the only sure cure for the ills of this world. One of these was a patriotic festival held in 1817 at the Wartburg, a castle famous in connection with the career of Martin Luther. This was a celebration organized by the students of the German universities and it expressed the vigorous liberalism of the students, their detestation of reaction and reactionaries. Sometime later, a student killed a journalist and playwright, Kotzebue (Kcot—so-bo), who was hated within the university circles as a Russian spy. These and other occurrences played perfectly into the hands of Metternich, who was seeking the means of establishing reaction in Germany as it had been established in Austria. He secured the passage by the frightened princes of the famous Carlsbad Decrees (1819).

Through their provisions, Metternich became the virtual controller of the Confederation. These decrees were the work of Austria, seconded by Prussia. They signified in German history the suppression of liberty for a generation. They really determined the political system of Germany until 1848. They provided for a vigorous censorship of the press, and subjected the professors and students of the universities to close government supervision. All teachers who should propagate 'harmful doctrines', that is, who should in any way criticize Metternich's ideas of government, should be removed from their positions, and once so removed, could not be appointed to any other positions in Germany.

The student association were suppressed. Any student expelled from one university was not to be admitted into any other. By these provisions it was expected that the entire academic community, professors and students, would be reduced to silence. Another provision was directed against the establishment of any further constitutions of a popular character. Thus, free parliaments, freedom of the press, freedom of teaching, and free speech were outlawed.

5.4.4 Reaction in Germany

The Carlsbad Decrees represent an important turning point in the history of Central Europe. They signalized the dominance of Metternich in Germany as well as in Austria. Prussia now docilely followed Austrian leadership, abandoning all liberal policies. The King, Frederick William III, had, in his hour of need, promised a constitution to Prussia- He never kept this promise. On the other hand, he inaugurated a peculiarly odious persecution of all liberals, which was marked by many acts as inane as they were cruel. Prussia entered upon a dull, drab period of oppression.

5.4.5 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.

5.4.6 Italy a Geographical Expression

After the fall of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna restored most of the old states which had existed before he first came into Italy. There were, henceforth, ten of them—Piedmont, Lombardy-Venetia, Parma, Modena, Lucca, Tuscany, the Papal States, Naples, Monaco, and San Marino. Genoa and Venice, until recently independent republics, were not restored, as republics were not ‘fashionable’. The one was given to Piedmont, the other to Austria.

These states were too small to be self-sufficient, and as a result Italy was dependent on Austria. Austria was given outright the richest part of the Po valley as a Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Austrian princes or princesses ruled over the duchies of Modena, Parma, and Tuscany, and were easily brought into the Austrian system. Thus, was Austria the master of northern Italy; master of southern Italy, too, for Ferdinand, King of Naples, made an offensive and defensive treaty with Austria, pledging himself to make no separate alliances and to grant no liberties to his subjects beyond those which obtained in Lombardy and Venetia. Naples was, thus, a satellite in the great Austrian system. The King of Piedmont and the Pope were the only Italian 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.

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Reactionary policies of the Italian princes

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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.

5.5 CRITICAL ESTIMATE

Thus, in 1820 the Revolution, hated by the diplomats of 1815, resumed the offensive. Spain and Naples overthrew the regimes that had been in force for five years, and had adopted constitutions that were thoroughly saturated with the principles of Revolutionary France. There was likewise a revolution against the established regime in Portugal. There was shortly to be one in Piedmont.

Metternich, the most influential person in Europe, who felt the world resting on his shoulders, had very clear views as to the requirements of the situation that had arisen. Anything that threatened the peace of Europe was a very proper thing for a European congress to discuss. A revolution in one country may encourage a revolution in another, and thus the world, set in order by the Congress of Vienna, may soon find itself in conflagration once more, the established order everywhere threatened. By a series of international congresses, at Troppau, Laibach, and Verona (1820-1822), 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

Check Your Progress

10. What were the two main races in Austria during this period?
11. How many states did the German Confederation have?
12. Name the states under Italy which were restored with the Congress of Vienna.

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.

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5.6 SUMMING UP

- 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.

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- 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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5.7 KEY TERMS

- **Carlsbad Decrees:** were a set of reactionary restrictions introduced in the states of the German Confederation by resolution of the Bundesversammlung on 20 September 1819 after a conference held in the spa town of Carlsbad, Bohemia.
- **Carbonari:** They were groups of secret revolutionary societies founded in early 19th century Italy.

5.8 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. After the defeat of Napoleon, first in 1814 and again in 1815, the allied powers of Great Britain, Austria, Prussian and Russia convened the Vienna Congress (from September of 1814 to June of 1815) to redraw the territory of Europe to 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. Austria, England and France opposed Russia and Prussia’s demand for territory.
5. 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.
6. The Holy Alliance was formed at the behest of Alexander I of Russia, and it was signed in Paris on 26 September 1815.
7. Austria, Prussia and Russia were the signatories of the Holy Alliance.
8. The Quadruple Alliance was an alliance signed between England, Russian, Austria and Prussia on 20 November 1815 which said these powers should hold congresses from time-to-time for the purpose of considering their common interests and the needs of Europe.
9. 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

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‘system of Metternich’. He was the central figure not only in Austrian and German politics, but in European diplomacy.

10. 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.
11. The German Confederation consisted of thirty-eight states.
12. 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.

5.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Question

1. What were the features of the Congress Vienna?
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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