CHAPTER VIII

From the French Revolution to World War I. Beginning of an International Culture

I. THE PERIOD INTRODUCED

The Transition. The Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution are two important events in the 18th century that definitely introduce the modern period. It is doubtful whether anything else in history has had so profound an influence on mankind in general as these two great developments. Each was the culmination of a long series of changes that had been taking place for some time, and both set into motion forces that are still potent. The French Revolution challenged political absolutism and hereditary aristocracy and set a precedent for suppressed people to revolt against their oppressors. The Russian Revolution of our own time is similar in many respects to the French Revolution. Popular reaction toward what took place in Russia was much the same as that of contemporaries at the time of the French Revolution. Some enthusiactically claimed that it marked the dawn of a new age, while others were outraged and passionately branded it as a common menace. Crusades were preached against it, and Bolskeviks were blamed for all kinds of mischief.

More than a century ago, when the upheaval came in France, people talked about the guillotine, the Paris mob, and the reign of terror in much the same way that many recently talked about the

excesses of the Russian Revolution, while they neglected the more important fundamental changes that were taking place. Time has a sobering effect. The French Revolution is now acclaimed as an important landmark in the rise of democracy. Its underlying principles are accepted as commonplace philosophy. No one can understand what took place in the 19th and 20th centuries without some knowledge of the French Revolution. Whether or not the same verdict will be rendered with regard to the Russian Revolution time alone can tell.

The Industrial Revolution established the basis for our economic, our social, and in many respects our political institutions. Imagine what life would be without machinery and capitalism, and you have a picture of the state of living before the Industrial Revolution. The intricate complexities of society today, the hustle and bustle of our existence, and our economic interdependence with other people are the products of industrialization. The Industrial Revolution cannot be confined to one place, to one class, or to one age. It influenced everything, everywhere, and it is still going on.

1. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The English and French Revolutions. The French Revolution carried on the same principles that had been set in motion by the English and American revolutions. It differed mainly in that it was basically a social and economic change. In England, there was not a complete displacement of the aristocracy but a shift of political power to the middle class. The American Revolution made possible the application of some of the political and social theories of the 18th century. Division of powers, social equality, and separation of church and state, which were conspicuous in the framework of the American government, had been advocated much earlier but had not been put into practical use. Class distinction based on heredity and special privileges for the few were abolished, temporarily at least, in the French Revolution. Dissatisfaction existed in France a long time before the revolution broke out, but the revolt in 1789 was sudden and unexpected. First, the revolutionists proclaimed political liberty, then they introduced social and economic equality. They went to extremes because of civil strife and because of opposition from the outside. Both of these fa ors

were absent in England and America when the revolutions occurred there.

Political Inefficiency. The decline of the French political system was one of the most obvious causes for the outbreak of the revolution. Benevolent despotism had run its course. An enormous gulf had developed between the king and the people. The king was no longer interested primarily in performing the details of political administration, as a successful absolute ruler had to do. He lived secluded in the splendid isolation of Versailles. He knew little and cared less about what was going on in the rest of his kingdom. He refused to comply with the changes that the intellectual world demanded and, in a time of enlightenment, he tried to perpetuate a system that belonged to the Middle Ages. Irresponsible ministers, with a maximum of confusion and waste, worked out the details of government.

Loss of Royal Prestige. In theory, the king was an autocrat; in practice, he was subjected to a complicated but ineffectual officialdom. Inefficient and inactive as government officials were, at times they assumed a role that was provokingly arbitrary. A person might be thrown into prison by a royal order (*lettre de cachet*) and held there without trial. Strict but spasmodic censorship was enforced, much to the annoyance of the intellectuals. They took advantage of this to shout protests, which found response in a disgruntled society. At first, the king was not blamed for the unfortunate state of affairs; but finally, the age-long respect that the people had held for the king faded away and he became an object of ridicule.

Louis XIV and Louis XV. Louis XIV had been an aggressive and capable king, but he left his country financially depleted when he died. When Louis XV (1715–1774) came to the throne, he was only a child—an easy victim of John Law and Cardinal Fleury, his unscrupulous ministers. Louis XV had neither the inclination nor the intelligence to be a good ruler. To him state business was a bore, pleasure was an idol; and dancing, hunting, and women were the constant source of his enjoyment. Madame de Pompadour and Madame du Barry, his most notorious mistresses, were showered with titles and money. Their conduct disgraced the court in the eyes of the French and the rest of the world as well. Their evil influence was not confined to immorality, for they

interfered in the conduct of the affairs of state. In response to their intervention, ministers were appointed and dismissed and wars were declared. Their lavish expenditures in a land of want further increased the unpopularity of the government.

Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette. France breathed a sigh of relief when Louis XV died. The people, still loyal to the monarchy, pinned their hope to Louis XVI (1774–1793). His life is one of the tragedies of the French Revolution. At heart virtuous and well-meaning, he would have liked to have been an enlightened despot. He sincerely desired to make his people prosperous and happy, but he lacked the qualities to relieve the prevailing situation. He was shy and awkward and he lacked will power to enforce his convictions. It was much easier for him to grant every request than to defend an objection. Time after time, he acceded on important questions, when a firm stand would have saved him endless embarrassment.

His beautiful young wife, Marie Antoinette, was like a millstone around his neck. Having been reared in the Austrian court under the strict supervision of her mother Maria Theresa, when she was freed from the restrictions of that environment she allowed her emotions to carry her away. She had no sense of values and no sympathy or understanding for the people. Her alleged remark when she was petitioned by the French people for bread, "Let them eat cake," may or may not be authentic; but it is typical. Her Austrian ancestry made her unpopular from the start, and her lavish expenditures when the government was bankrupt made her a target for criticism. No doubt many of the charges made against her are unjust, but the people used them as a means of giving expression to their discontent.

Social Inequalities. The prevalence of inequalities was one of the important reasons for the great amount of dissatisfaction in France and helps to explain the momentum that the revolution acquired in a very short time. Inequalities existed everywhere, not only in the Third Estate (lower classes) but also in the First Estate (clergy) and in the Second Estate (nobility). Even the benefactors of the system were not united in its support. When the crisis developed, distinguished noblemen and clergymen deserted their ranks and joined the Third Estate against the government. Social contrasts were most obvious. Class divisions that had existed for

centuries were still prevalent at the close of the 18th century. The peasants were at one end of the social scale, while the nobility and the clergy occupied the other. The privileged class numbered about one out of every hundred of the total population. A part of this group lived in great luxury and enjoyed most of the privileges. A man in the army could not be promoted beyond the rank of colonel unless he had been presented at court. In 1789, there was one general for every 157 privates.

The King lived at Versailles with a court of 15,000 individuals, in a palace that cost $100,000,000. The Queen had 500 servants. Court expenses amounted to $20,000,000 a year. There were 80,000 families belonging to the nobility of France. Not all the noblemen were wealthy; some of the less fortunate were subjected to poverty. One poor nobleman, Colas de la Baronnais, had an income of less then $1,000 a year and had 17 children. Men in this and similar positions naturally were jealous of the more fortunate, and when the test came they cast their lot on the side of the revolutionists. The condition of the peasant was miserable when compared with that of some of the noblemen. Their homes lacked comfort and their crops often were destroyed by noblemen in their hunts or by animals, which the poor farmers were forbidden to molest. Most important of all, the peasant chafed under his restrictions because he felt that he was paying for the luxury that the nobleman was enjoying.

The Clergy. There was also a great variation in the remuneration and prestige received by different members of the clergy. The higher clergy in France numbered approximately 6,000, including 18 archbishops and 117 bishops. They controlled, in one way or another, almost 20 per cent of the land. They were appointed by the king (the Pope had veto power on nominations, but seldom exercised it) and were mostly younger sons of noblemen. Many of them were interested in their positions merely for the wealth that was assured by the office. The Archbishop of Strasbourg had a yearly income of $200,000 and a sumptuous palace in which to live. The average yearly income of the members of the higher clergy was about $35,000, but some of them were reduced to poverty. The less fortunate were dissatisfied and inwardly antagonistic to a system that carried such inequalities.

The economic status of the priests and the lower clergy was

miserable. They lived with the peasants, sharing their poverty. They came from the ranks of the common people and sympathized with them in opposing the aristocracy—clergy as well as lay nobility. The higher clergy looked down on them in much the same way that the nobility looked down on the peasants. One bishop said of his vicars, "They are coarse, shabby, and ignorant, and one must be fond of the odor of garlic to feel happy in the society of those who ponder heaven and earth." Theoretically, all members of the clergy belonged to one class, but they were not united in sympathy. When the revolution broke out, most of the priests and some of the bishops and archbishops broke from the First Estate and joined the revolutionists.

The Law. There was no approach to equality in law or in the enforcement of the law in France. A person could be put into jail by a *lettre de cachet*, and could be held there indefinitely without trial. There was frequent overlapping of jurisdiction and there was no general court of appeal. The province of Maine, for example, had 125 courts, both feudal and royal. In all France, there were in force 360 distinct bodies of law. Voltaire remarked that a man traveling in France changed his law as often as he did his post horses. Punishments for the same offense varied. A nobleman had the right to judge and to be a party in the same suit. The aristocracy were exempt from some types of punishment, such as breaking on the wheel; and if they were sent to jail, they were given comfortable quarters and even, in some cases, were permitted to take their servants with them. Is it any wonder that these conditions caused dissension?

Taxation. The most conspicuous inequality—and the one that caused the greatest amount of concern—was in taxation. To begin with, the nobility and the clergy, who possessed most of the wealth, were practically exempt from taxation. They owned about three-fifths of the land and paid less than one-fifth of the direct taxes. The royal princes paid an income tax of $40,000 when, in an equal distribution, they should have paid $500,000. One nobleman paid $80 tax when he should have paid $500. By comparison, a member of the Third Estate paid $152 in taxes when $14 should have been his allotment if a fair distribution had been made. About 50 per cent of the average man's income had to be paid in some form of taxes.

There were two kinds of taxes collected in France, direct and indirect. The nobles and the clergy were exempt from direct taxes levied on land and on personal property, though these comprised about half of the national income. Indirect taxes included the salt tax, the tobacco tax, duties on exports, a stamp tax, and the excise on wine and cider. Frequently, the right to collect these taxes was sold to individuals who showed all kinds of discriminations and kept for themselves a large part of the revenue for their trouble. The rates varied greatly; the salt tax was twice as high in some provinces as it was in others.

Economic Causes. Revolution is started by a condition or an event that serves as a spark to set off the accumulated power of discontent. The spark that set off the French Revolution was the bankruptcy of the government. Need for money led to the calling of the Estates-General, and the Estates-General set the revolution into motion. If they are prosperous, people are inclined to tolerate any form of government, regardless of how corrupt it is. On the other hand, if a depression has them in its grip, they will just as readily turn against a government, regardless of how intelligently it is attempting to restore prosperity. The French government was not handling the economic problems intelligently and the French people were far from satisfied with what was going on. It was not that hard times were everywhere prevalent. On the contrary, there were evidences of considerable prosperity. The decade preceding the outbreak of the French Revolution was marked by a rush of economic activity. The middle class was accumulating a great deal of money and all seemed well for the world of business, but not for the national treasury. Between 1774 and 1789, the national debt increased threefold. The government had no budget and, without any planning whatsoever, spent money just as fast as it came in.

Middle Class. We have referred, in another connection, to the rise of the middle class and the increase in its power and influence. Members of the middle class, for the most part, were practical businessmen who deplored the waste and the inefficiency of the government. These men were active in bringing about the Industrial Revolution and they were anxious to make a change in politics, as well. They felt keenly the disregard of their rights and aspired to unseat the mighty from the control of the government. For this

reason, they allied themselves with the lower class in order to destroy the privileges of the aristocracy. They led the masses to revolution, they formulated the issues, and they furnished the propaganda; the masses did the fighting and carried the revolution to extremes.

Reform Ministers. The spirit of reform was in the air before Louis XVI came to the throne in France. Philosophers and reformers voiced their disgust for the government and advocated reform measures. Louis XVI began his reign auspiciously by dismissing discredited ministers and by appointing Turgot as Comptroller General. Turgot was a physiocrat and a thoughtful economist. He proposed measures to remedy the abuses of taxation, established free trade in grain, and destroyed the old medieval guilds, which limited the exercise of crafts. Turgot and his reform measures did not last long. All the groups that had profited from the old system combined against him. They, supported by the Queen, complained to Louis, who yielded to them and dismissed his minister. However, the financial problems were not settled and they demanded immediate attention. Necker, a native of Geneva, was called in to replace Turgot. He introduced some economy measures, but they were more than offset by the entrance of France on the side of the American colonists against England.

Council of Notables. Failure to relieve the financial distress of the country led to opposition, which was rapidly mounting to a revolutionary pitch. An indebtedness of $600,000,000 faced the government and was being increased at the rate of $25,000,000 a year. Loans were difficult to negotiate. The King in desperation called together an Assembly of Notables (1787), and asked them for suggestions. They failed utterly. A young nobleman of American Revolution fame, the Marquis de Lafayette, suggested the calling of the Estates-General, a defunct representative body, which had not met for 175 years. In the chorus of demands for action, the call for a meeting of this body was loudest. The King and his associates agreed that it might do some good; at least, they believed, it could do no harm. This was a mistake on their part, for that meeting turned out to be the beginning of a revolution.

Demand for Reform. The exponents of the revolution, prompted by economic and social conditions, sought an excuse for their actions on a higher and more philosophical plane. They

were devotees of the "new enlightenment" and were conscious of the fact that governmental practice was altogether out of conformity with the spirit of the time. They found an excuse for their actions in the writings of the 17th- and 18th-century intellectuals, most of whom had died a quarter of a century before the outbreak.

The American Revolution gave great authority to the theories of the age of enlightenment. Many Frenchmen had fought with the Americans and saw in the establishment of the government in the New World a triumph of the ideas of French thinkers. America was pictured as a paradise, free from the abuses so obvious in the French government. When Lafayette returned from America, he brought a copy of the Declaration of Independence and put it in a conspicuous place in his home. Beside it was a vacant space, which he said was reserved for a French Declaration of Rights. The converging of all the above-mentioned factors led to the great upheaval that is called the French Revolution.

a. The French Revolution Takes Definite Form

Hope for Reform. The convening of the French Estates-General marked the beginning of a change in the government. Everyone was enthusiastic about it, even those who were destined to fall because of the meeting. Nobles thought that it would provide an easy way to raise money from the peasants and, as soon as this was accomplished, they hoped to dismiss the Estates-General without making any fundamental changes in the government. The common people, many of whom did not know what an Estates-General was, imagined great things: an end of abuses, the return of prosperity, and a general elimination of all evils. One poor woman said, "Something is to be done by some great folks for such poor ones as I, although I do not know by whom or how." All were destined to disappointment, but posterity reaped the fruits of this memorable occasion.

The Third Estate. The absence in France of any safety valve, such as a parliament like that in England, explains the violence of the long-suppressed explosion. Liberty was one of the first things demanded by the revolutionists. *Cahiers,* suggestions for reform, were drafted by the people and sent with their representatives to the first meeting of the Estates-General. They were not radical suggestions; most of them expressed loyalty to the crown. They did

show that the people were taking the matter seriously and that they would not be content with merely voting taxes as the King wished. The members elected by the Third Estate were, on the whole, an intelligent group of men, well informed on topics of the day. Most of them were insistent on political reform. They were not intentionally revolutionists, but rather avowed reformers.

Opening of the Estates-General. On May 5, 1789, the momentous session of the Estates-General opened. Members were dressed, according to instructions, in costumes similar to those worn at the last previous meeting, in 1614. This is one indication of how determined the king and the nobility were not to introduce anything new. The clergy and the nobility were dressed in gay and lavish attire. In contrast, the Third Estate wore a drab and unbecoming costume. From the beginning, members of the Third Estate were shoved into the background. They could not hear the speeches that were made, and they were not allowed to put on their hats after the king's speech, as the nobility and the clergy did. No mention was made of the reforms asked for in the *cahiers*. Finally, the king, followed by the nobility and the clergy, left the room. Only the disillusioned commoners remained.

Another Step. The resourceful commoners were not to be so easily tricked. They refused to vote by estates, for this would have meant that their cherished reforms would be outvoted two to one, as the First and Second estates were sure to vote together. On June 17, after six weeks of deliberation, the Third Estate voted to form the National Assembly and to do away with the old orders. Three days later, having been ejected from their meeting place by order of the king, they took the Tennis Court Oath, "never to separate . . . until the constitution of the kingdom shall be established." More than half of the clercial deputies and 47 nobles joined the National Assembly, in utter defiance of the king. The king yielded. "Oh well, confound it! Let them stick where they are!" he replied when informed what had happened. This marked the second important step in the revolution. The National Assembly had won recognition and the absolutism of the king had been challenged. The representatives had proved that they were not mere taxpayers; they were determined to become the lawgivers of the nation.

Gathering Momentum. The work of drawing up a constitution

was interrupted by numerous outbreaks, which ultimately ruined the chances of ever putting it into operation. Up to this point, the revolution had been conducted by a conservative group, friends of the monarchy. Dissatisfied with the slow progress made by the reformers and conscious of the inability of the government to coerce them, radicals began to clamor for recognition. There was a shortage of food. In July, 1789, the price of bread in Paris was double its normal price. "If bread had been cheap," wrote the French historian Lefevre, "the brutal interference of the people . . . would perhaps not have occurred, and the bourgeoisie would have triumphed less easily."

Symptoms of increased activity on the part of the masses can be seen in the numerous pamphlets and newspapers that appeared and in the pursuits of various clubs and organizations. Newspapers and leaflets, which described in detail what was going on in the meetings of the Assembly, literally covered Paris. Demands for action and criticism of procedure were numerous. Two clubs, in particular—the Cordelier and the Jacobin—soon became famous and later had a controlling part in the progress of the revolution. Marat and Robespierre were conspicuous members. Marat, a leader of the Cordeliers, was a veritable volcano of criticism; and Robespierre, a Jacobin, became the organizer of the Reign of Terror.

Radicalism. The first important manifestation of mob action was the attack on the Bastille, on July 14, 1789. An unorganized mob stormed the ancient prison, which had long been looked upon as a symbol of tyranny. They decapitated the keeper and carried his head through the streets of Paris as a symbol of victory. The first blood had been shed and the mob was victorious. The king, discouraged and disillusioned, yielded to repeated requests and called the troops into Paris from the provinces. This incensed the mob. Women and men dressed as women, armed with sticks and clubs, started for Versailles to bring the royal family to Paris. Their motive is hard to determine. Some thought, no doubt, that if the king actually knew the condition of his people and that if he were separated from the gaiety of Versailles, he would do something for them. Shouting "We have the baker and the baker's wife and the little cook-boy—now we shall have bread," they conducted the royal family, virtually prisoners, to Paris.

Work of the National Assembly. The events just described destroyed the power of the king. The National Assembly was now dependent on the populace, not on royal authority. This spelled doom for what promised to be the most enduring part of the whole revolution, an enlightened government. Members of the Assembly continued their work and, considering the conditions under which they labored, they accomplished a great deal. By the spring of 1791, their work was almost completed. As the Constituent Assembly, they had destroyed feudalism and serfdom; they substituted an individualist society for the traditional class society of France; and they proclaimed individual rights and liberties in the famous Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.

This document ranks with the English Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States as a preeminent expression of the spirit of democracy. It proclaimed: "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights," which are "liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression." "Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally, or through his representative, in its formation. It must be the same for all." "No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to forms prescribed by law." "Since private property is an inviolable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived thereof except where public necessity, legally determined, shall clearly demand it, and then only on condition that the owner shall have been previously and equitably indemnified." Rousseau would have been proud of this document, Lafayette, with pride, hung it beside the United States Declaration of Independence, and the entire world acclaimed it as a victory for democracy.

The Constitution. The constitution of 1791 provided for a separation of power similar to that in the Constitution of the United States. The legislative authority was vested in one chamber (Legislative Assembly), elected indirectly by citizens who paid taxes. The constitution provided for a hereditary king, who had a suspensive veto. Otherwise, he had little authority. Religious toleration was proclaimed, church property was confiscated, and bishops and priests were made a civil body responsible to the state, which necessitated their taking an oath of allegiance to the constitution. The constitution, reflecting the ideas of Rousseau,

Montesquieu, and Voltaire, was signed by the king and became the law of the land.

Failure of the Government. The government provided for in the constitution was destined to a short and ignoble existence. It did not satisfy the radicals, whose power was rapidly increasing. The government was harassed by financial difficulties, in spite of the immediate relief that came from the confiscation of church property. Food was scarce, and a hungry mob would not be patient. The reactionaries complained that the new government went too far, and they sought its destruction. They urged the King to flee from France, put himself at the head of loyal troops, and reestablish the monarchy. This he undertook, with dire consequences. He was captured and returned to Paris, ultimately to be tried and, in January, 1793, excuted for treason.

The radicals, meanwhile, preached a crusade against all forms of monarchy, both at home and abroad. Warlike preparations in Austria, where there had been growing concern over what was taking place in Paris, led to a declaration of war, in April, 1792, against Austria—then in alliance with Prussia. At Danton's urgent appeal, the fatherland was declared in danger. A nondescript French army marched to meet the invaders and was victorious at Valmy (September, 1792). Enthusiasm was beyond control and the people, flushed with victory, determined to carry their banner still farther. More territory should be added to France, and the revolution must be spread over Europe. A French army marched into the Low Countries. England, concerned over keeping this territory in the hands of a weak power, for strategic and economic reasons, formed a coalition against France.

Reign of Terror. Meanwhile, the Girondists, a party in the Legislative Assembly that favored the application of Greek ideas of politics, came into power. Led by men like Condorcet, the scholar, and Dumouriez, the soldier, a movement was put under way to establish a republic. Under adverse conditions, moderate reformers were shoved into the background by the more radical group, led by Marat and Robespierre. In August, 1792, an insurrection occurred in Paris, and a state of anarchy ensued. Danton became the dictator. "In my opinion," he declared, "the way to stop the enemy is to terrify the royalists." Royalists were butchered for five days and, on September 22, a republic was proclaimed.

The rule of the National Convention (1792–1795) was marked with excesses. Administration was in the hands of a Committee of Public Safety, the most outstanding member being Robespierre. The committee made a fervent appeal for 1,000,000 men to serve in the army, to defend France against her enemies. An intolerant militaristic spirit arose. Every person of noble birth was liable to arrest and about 5,000 were executed on the guillotine. The terror ended with the execution of Robespierre, a victim of the device that he had instigated.

The Directory. When the terror had run its course, the so-called Thermidorian reaction started. Bourgeois policies were introduced to take the place of the revolutionary socialistic doctrines. The new government was republican in form, with legislative power placed in the hands of two chambers and the executive authority vested in a committee of five directors. The government of the Directory, as it was called, lasted for almost five years (1795–1799). It was not very successful. Under the conditions, one could hardly expect it to be. The directors were mediocre men, who preferred personal gain to the establishment of general welfare. Plots and intrigues were numerous; financial difficulties persisted; and warfare, with the danger of foreign invasion, hung like a cloud over the country. Financial difficulties, internal dissension, and the threat of war, all favorable for the rise of a dictator, provided an entry for Napoleon Bonaparte, who was to dominate the history of Europe for almost two decades.

b. Importance of the French Revolution

There is a temptation to overestimate the actual disorder that accompanied the French Revolution. Not all of the important events of the 19th and 20th centuries grew out of actual fighting in that upheaval. In one sense, it matured rather than began important changes. Much of what we think important in the French Revolution originated earlier. It is, however, a convenient starting point for modern history. Many of the things that we accept as commonplace today existed only in theory before that time. The idea that sovereignty comes from the people, from below and not from above, was a fundamental principle that the revolution put into practice. It stamped in the minds of the people as well as on public buildings, the words *liberty*, *equality*, and

fraternity. *Liberty* designated that no authority could rule the individual arbitrarily. *Equality* signified the abolition of privilege and the equality of men before the law. *Fraternity* implied the brotherhood of humanity. All of these demonstrated a jealous and uncompromising affirmation of the theoretic dignity of every man.

Nationalism. Dynamic nationalism, in the modern sense of the term, originated with the French Revolution and Napoleon, its soldier organizer. The fall of the Bastille gave France her great national festival; French volunteer soldiers left as their bequest the "Marseillaise," which became the stirring national anthem. Old contradictions and inequalities were destroyed, and France was centralized and united. The people were inspired with an exuberant form of patriotism to give their lives for their country's defense or to create a greater nation.

2. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

a. PRELIMINARIES

The gradually changing economic order has been referred to in an earlier chapter. The rise of trade, the improvement in transportation, the beginning of banking, the discovery of new continents, and the emergence of a middle class—all, important causes for the industrial changes of the 18th century and succeeding centuries—were in the process of formation at the close of the Middle Ages. These developments resulted in an economic upheaval, which is referred to as the Industrial Revolution.

Meaning. Perhaps the term *revolution*, which is used to designate the economic changes, is not a fortunate choice. These alterations did not take place suddenly and they have continued down to the present time. However, certain important innovations that were introduced rather suddenly have been prime factors in bringing about subsequent changes. The more extensive use of capital, the invention of machinery, and the rise of large industrial cities appeared in a comparatively short time. It is no exaggeration to refer to their appearance as revolutionary.

Trade and Manufacturing. The Commercial Revolution gave an impetus to the introduction of a new economic order. Colonization and subsequent trade with colonists initiated the first important need for the exchange of commodities on a large scale. Textiles were among the first items in demand. Woolen cloth was

manufactured in Flanders in the Middle Ages, but large-scale production came in the 18th century. Colonial trade required the production of a cheaper cloth, such as cotton. Other items in demand were pottery, furniture, glass, shoes, and hardware. Trinkets to be used in trade with savages were much in demand. Tobacco, furs, precious metals, and spices were brought to Europe from the colonies. The great increase in trade can be seen in the tonnage of shipping. The total quantity of British shipping in the middle of the 16th century amounted to 7,600 tons. It increased to 500,000 tons at the close of the 17th century and to more than 1,200,000 tons by the beginning of the 19th century.

Science. It was science that made the Industrial Revolution possible. Technological progress is dependent upon advance in the physical sciences. Experimentations were recognized in the Age of Enlightenment and were applied to industry. The old adage that necessity is the mother of invention is true, but the people have to be taught the existence of a necessity. The steam engine could not have been perfected without the study and understanding of gases and the physics of heat. Chemists worked out methods whereby iron and steel could be produced. Today, every large industry has its experimental laboratory, where the latest scientific discoveries are tested and improved. The Industrial Revolution had to await the emancipation of science before it could get under way.

The Domestic System. The factory system was preceded by the domestic system, which had superseded the guild system. The first reference to the domestic system of manufacturing in England was in 1464, but some of its principles existed earlier in the textile industries in Flanders and in Italy. The domestic system differed from the guild system in methods of production. The members of the guild bought the material, did the work in the home, and disposed of the product, independent of any organization or individual.

Under the domestic system, a manager (entrepreneur) bought up the raw material and gave it to employees, who did the work in their own homes. The entrepreneur often furnished both the material and the tools and paid the employee a price-wage for his work in making an article. Serving as a go-between for the producer and the consumer, he specialized not in the craftsmanship

of the trade but in merchandizing the commodity. He neither worked with his own hands nor supervised the manufacturing, but distributed the finished product. He invested money in material and labor and hoped to make a profit from the sale of the commodity. He was an embryo capitalist, and the system that he used was the forerunner of the factory system.

The worker was not, as a rule, a full-time employee of the entrepreneur. Because his major task was agriculture, he did the work of manufacturing in his spare time. Gradually, this independence on the part of the employee disappeared. Small central shops were set up, where workmen assembled with spinning wheels and hand looms to do the work that formerly had been done at home. This ensured careful supervision of work and provided full-time employment. More and more, the workmen became dependent on their salaries for livelihood. The domestic system was well under way in England by the middle of the 18th century. The next step in the development of the factory system was the mechanical revolution in manufacturing technique.

b. Technological Revolution

The transition from hand production to machine production marked the beginning of the factory system. The machines were too expensive for the individual workman to own and they had to be installed where power to drive them could be produced. The home was not the proper place for such an undertaking. Machinery was introduced to make it possible to keep up with the growing demand for more goods. The domestic system could not keep pace with the constant influx of orders. The entrepreneurs took the capital that they had collected and built factories, with the hope of greater economic gains.

Textile Machinery. The earliest mechanical inventions came in the textile industry. Some of them seem trivial to us in this age of intricate machinery. Spinning was the slowest process in the manufacturing of cloth. One weaver could use as much material as five or six spinners could produce. Kay's flying shuttle, invented in 1733, accentuated this difficulty, because it enabled one weaver to do the work of two, yet no improvement had been made in the process of spinning. Hargreaves came to the rescue, in 1764, with his spinning jenny. This machine could spin eight threads at the

same time, instead of one. Arkwright improved the spinning jenny in 1769, and Crompton went still further in 1779. Arkwright's invention (the water frame) utilized rollers, revolving at different speeds, which twisted the threads. Crompton's mule made possible the spinning of finer threads than earlier machines could produce. The old hand loom could not keep pace with the newer methods of spinning. In 1785, Cartwright answered the call with the power loom. Whitney, an American, speeded up the process (1792) with a cotton gin, which automatically removed seeds from the fiber of the cotton boll. The invention of the sewing machine by Elias Howe, in 1846, accelerated the production of clothing and made possible the modern clothing industry. Thus, one invention followed another, not only in textile industries but also in many others; in that way, our present-day complex machinery has evolved.

The Steam Engine. Heavy machinery would be of little value without power to operate it. Man power was insufficient and water power, the first artificial power used to operate machinery, was inaccessible in many places. Not until the invention of the steam engine was any practical solution offered. The first practical application of steam to machinery was made by James Watt in 1765. Numerous experimentations with steam as a source of power preceded those of Watt, but he devised the first closed cylinder with a piston pushed back and forth by steam. He worked out a separate condensing chamber, to be used along with the cylinder to supply the steam, an automatic governor to ensure even speed by regulating the flow of steam, and a crank and shaft that could be used extensively for propelling textile machinery.

Transportation. There is a close relationship between the development of industry and improvement in transportation. Industrialization depends largely on the bringing of raw materials to factories and on the disposing of manufactured goods in a wide market. As late as the 17th century, highways were poorly kept. A pack horse was about the only possible means of travel on land for a considerable part of the year. Not until the last half of the 18th century were improved roads built in England. John McAdam (1756–1836) built a type of hard-surfaced road that is called by his name. He used a mud binder between stones to produce the hard surface. The only important change made in this

method was the substitution of a tar composition for mud as a binder. France copied the English methods, and under the patronage of the government many highways were built.

Canals. The great expense involved in the building and upkeep of highways encouraged the development of inland waterways. During the last half of the 18th and the early part of the 19th century, thousands of miles of artificial water routes were dug in England, in France, and in the United States. In 1761, a canal was built in England from Worsley to Manchester to carry coal from the mines to the furnaces. This experiment proved so successful that by 1830 there were more than 4,000 miles of improved river and canal routes in England. France had more than 7,500 miles of similar improvements by the close of the 19th century. The canal-building era in the United States was from 1810 to 1837. The Erie Canal in New York State was one of the largest undertakings of its kind, and the industrial effects were immediate. Great quantities of bulky freight—coal and iron ore, for example—were moved at great saving of time and expense. Promise of lucrative reward led to overdevelopment in canal building. Although, finally, the railroad offered effective competition and brought to a rather abrupt close the supremacy of the canal as a means of transportation, the importance of canals in the early stages of industrialization should not be minimized.

Railroads. There were serious drawbacks to river and canal transportation. The rate of travel was slow and the expense of construction and maintenance was high. Geographical factors limited the extent to which water transportation could be utilized. Railroads went a long way toward finding a solution for these problems, when railroad transportation had been made possible through mechanical and engineering accomplishments. The first tracks were made of wood and the first cars were horse drawn, but the introduction of iron for rails and the application of Watt's steam engine for traction power revolutionized the whole procedure. George Stephenson constructed the first practical locomotive in 1814, and the Stockton and Darlington railroad started operation in England in 1825. Newspaper headlines in 1830 announced that an iron monster, called a locomotive, had traveled at the unheard-of speed of 29 miles an hour. Many improvements had to be made and much prejudice and fear had to be overcome before

railroads were generally accepted. Money had to be raised to cover the cost of construction, and the acquisition of the right of way to build railroads in a populous country like England was a real problem. Gradually, most of the problems were overcome. American engineers devised a flexible roadbed, using transverse ties on a gravel or rock base. This lessened the wear and tear on the rolling stock, and was comparatively cheap to construct. The Westinghouse air brake (1868) helped to solve the problem of handling long trains with comparative safety. The era of railroads had been introduced.

The effects of railroad transportation are too obvious to need extensive elaboration. Greater speed facilitated long-distance transportation of perishable goods. The success of railroads in England led to their adoption in other countries. Belgium and France were leaders on the Continent. Of the French railroads, which were largely government owned, many operated at financial loss; before World War I, there were only two companies that showed a profit—the *Nord* and the P.L.M. (Paris, Lyons, Mediterranean). In 1938, the government owned about one-fourth of all railroads in France (33,000 miles). Germany developed an efficient railway system under public ownership, from which the government profited. Similar progress was made in other countries, especially the United States. Railroads had become so important in the industrial and financial world that, in 1912, one-tenth of the world's wealth and about one-fourth of the invested capital were involved in their operation.

Steam Navigation. Steam power was used to propel ships before it was successfully applied to railroad transportation. In 1807, Robert Fulton made a trip up the Hudson River to Albany in the "Clermont." In 1819, the "Savannah" crossed the Atlantic Ocean relying on steam power most of the way. The "Great Western" made an Atlantic crossing in 15 days, starting competition for translantic records, that is still keenly contested. In 1839, Ericsson developed the screw propeller, which was a great improvement over the old side-wheeler. The turbine, the Diesel engine, and oil burners have increased both the speed and the efficiency of ships. The turbine was introduced in 1900 and oil for fuel in 1904. The Diesel engine was a great improvement over the old-fashioned steam engine. It requires no heavy boiler and no water tanks; a

ton of oil used in a Diesel engine will develop as much power as four tons of coal in an ordinary boiler.

Communication. Modern transportation and business enterprises are very dependent on rapid and efficient communication. Before the perfection of the telegraph, carrier pigeons and semaphores were the speediest methods available. Their limitations are obvious. The electric telegraph depended upon earlier basic researches made by Faraday, Volta, Ampere, and Franklin. It was invented independently in Germany, England, and the United States, by Steinheil, Wheatstone, and Morse, respectively. Telegraphic equipment was widely installed after 1845, and a cable from America to Europe was laid under the Atlantic Ocean in 1866. By the close of the 19th century, all the important commercial centers in the world had telegraphic communications. The penny post was established in 1840; and the Universal Postal Union, to aid international mail service, was adopted in 1875. Bell built a machine in 1876 capable of carrying the human voice over wires. These were the most important developments of the 19th century to facilitate communications. Wireless telegraphy and the radio belong to the 20th century.

Lighting. Not many of us stop to consider how dependent we are on artificial illumination. In industry, transportation, social activities, amusements, and cultural pursuits, artificial light plays a very important role. Not until the close of the 18th century was any improvement made over candles, oil lamps, and torches. In 1784, a burner was devised for oil lamps, which was later used for kerosene lamps. Gas for artificial illumination was introduced and widely used by the middle of the 19th century. Davy, in 1821, worked out the theory of the electric arc; and Edison, in 1879, put the incandescent light bulb on the market.

Iron and Steel. Iron and steel were needed in greater quantities, in order to build new machinery. Up to the time of the Industrial Revolution, iron was smelted with charcoal in furnaces too small to make large pieces for heavy machinery. The great amount of charcoal used rapidly depleted the forests. About 1700, coal was introduced for fuel and the air-blast furnace with a rotary fan was perfected, in order to make a hot fire with cheap fuel. For the new machinery, a better grade than ordinary cast iron was needed. This was obtained by keeping the metal out of

contact with the burning fuel, and thus preventing the absorption of impurities. This process was called "puddling," because of the constant stirring of the metals while they were being heated. The rolling mill for eliminating impurities and for shaping the metal was introduced late in the 18th century. The old method of hammering the metal into various forms limited its use. For example, boiler plate, for which the increased use of the steam engine created a demand, could not be fashioned until the rolling mill was invented. The Bessemer process (1859) provided a means of eliminating impurities by introducing a jet of cold air into the molten iron, producing malleable iron. By the open-hearth process, the production of steel was accomplished; thus a metal was furnished that could be used for heavy machinery and for precision instruments.

c. The Factory System

The introduction of intricate machinery made possible the factory system. Factories existed before the Industrial Revolution; mention has been made of their existence in Greek and Roman times. However, in the 18th century the worker assisted the machine, instead of supplying the energy. In reality, this was a subordination of the worker to the machine, a condition that had not existed in earlier times.

Elements. The factory system is characterized by the assembling of a great number of workmen in one unit, by the careful supervision and division of labor, by the introduction of machines driven by motive power, by the concentration of capital, and by the establishment of a *cash nexus* (wage tie) between capital and labor. Each one of these elements is important enough to warrant some consideration.

The City and the Factory. A marked change in the countryside is one of the most noticeable transformations introduced by the Industrial Revolution. Before the appearance of the factory, most of the people lived either in the country or in small, picturesque towns scattered over the countryside. When the factory came into prominence, cities sprang up as if by magic. In place of the quiet little villages, there were cities where chimneys were belching smoke and the streets were lined with miserable cottages. While this characterized the greater part of the city, it should be

noted that in other sections there were large fine homes, surrounded by spacious gardens—the abodes of those fortunate enough to make financial gain from the changed order. In England, cities like Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield arose, where, a half century earlier, villages had stood. The population of Manchester increased sixfold in a half century. People left their rural homes and gathered around these cities by the hundreds of thousands, in quest of work and wages.

New Social Problems. The rapid growth of the city presented problems that were difficult to solve. Order, sanitation, and health were not provided for adequately. Sickness and crime prevailed. A plentiful supply of laborers kept wages cheap, and the use of machinery made it possible to hire, at a lower wage, women and children, instead of men. Fully three-fourths of the employees in the cotton factories in the 18th century were either women or children. Children were farmed out as apprentices to manufacturers by poor-relief authorities, in order that the financial burden of supporting them might be evaded. One writer described the lot of the young employees: "The children lived the life of a machine while working, and at other times that of a beast." Wives and children became breadwinners, while grown men were unemployed. Even elementary hygienic regulations were lacking, and no provision was made in the factories to protect the workers from dangerous machinery. Labor conditions in the mines were even more deplorable than those in the factories. Women and children worked underground 12 to 14 hours per day.

Supervision and Division of Labor. Supervision and division of labor form an integral part of the factory system. The craftsman who did his own work and owned his own equipment was economically independent and had enough interest in his product to be careful in his workmanship and diligent in its completion. When he became a factory workman doing only a menial task, he had to be supervised in order to yield results. In a factory, there was a division of tasks rather than of trades, such as there had been under the domestic system. A workman became a mere cog in a machine, constantly repeating one simple process, then passing the article on to someone else for the next operation. He had nothing to do with planning the work and took no particular

interest in the finished product. He had become little more than an automaton.

Machinery. The introduction of power machinery involved a great expense, more than most people could afford. This situation provided the roots of capitalism and put an end to the domestic system of production. A large and expensive piece of machinery, to be profitable, must be operated almost continuously. A great increase in production is the natural consequence of the installation of machinery. England in 1720 used about 4,000 bales of raw cotton in her factories. A century later, the quantity had increased to a quarter of a million bales and, by the middle of the 19th century, to well over a million bales. A similar story might be told about most of the major industries. Obviously, the factory produced more than could be consumed in the immediate neighborhood. Facilities for the transportation of goods to other localities had to be provided. Localization of industries meant trade between localities and between states. The combined value of English imports and exports in 1701 amounted to about $60,000,000. A century later, it had risen to over $350,000,000 in value. The substitution of machinery for human employment added the perplexing problem of unemployment.

Capitalism. The establishment of the factory system increased the amount of money in circulation, but tended to concentrate it in the hands of a few people. The initial investment and the heavy overhead expense of the operation of a factory necessitated the outlay of a great amount of money before a profit could be realized. People with money could enter the commercial field and soon realize a profit, thus increasing their holdings. At first, the factory owner was promoter, manager, and salesman for his concern; but as business grew, he became merely an investor, not even associated directly with the management of any one concern. A few were successful in amassing a great amount of wealth and became influential in public affairs. These men used their money not to squander in riotous living but as an instrument to increase their holdings in the industrial world. They became rivals of the old aristocracy and led the attack against the old order.

Cash Nexus. The Industrial Revolution divided society into two rather distinct groups: the rich middle class (bourgeoisie),

composed of manufacturers, merchants, mineowners, bankers, and professional men, on the one hand, and the wage-earning class (proletariat), composed of millworkers and factory workers, on the other. The dividing line between these two classes was not so distinct as that which had existed between nobles and serfs, because there always some of the lower class who pushed their way into the capitalistic group. As a general rule, however, the only thing that held the groups together was the *cash nexus*, or wage tie. The employer was interested in having the laborers work as many hours as possible for as small a wage as possible. The laborer was interested in doing as little as possible for as high wages as he could command. This gap between employer and employee gives rise to many of our present-day economic and social problems.

Evils of the Factory System. Whether the factory system has been a boon or an evil to humanity is a moot question. Certainly, not all the results of the factory system have been wholesome. The differentiation between capital and labor has produced two antagonistic groups. The employer in the Middle Ages worked with his employees and they had much in common. Under the factory system, a line between the two was sharply drawn. The employer reaped the major share of the profits, while the workmen had low wages and worked long hours. Their individual interests seemed to be irreconcilable. Women and children worked in factories under the most miserable conditions. Their privation forced them to live in crowded and miserable houses, where health, comfort, and moral control were lacking. In the 19th century, at least one-tenth of the population of Manchester lived in cellars. The price of food rose to such a height that poor families were undernourished. A very black picture has been painted of the conditions of the working people, but these have been relieved gradually.

Benefits. There is another side to the picture. While a great many people suffered, others realized a fuller and broader life. Who, for example, would want to go back and live in a medieval manor with all its limitations? Much of what we prize today as accomplishments are the result of the capitalistic system. The increase in wealth has made possible the introduction of comforts without which we should be greatly retarded. The rise of the

industrial class brought pressure to bear on the old aristocracy and introduced democracy. Laborers have combined to demand recognition of their rights. The intellectual impetus of capitalism has been great. Schools, colleges, newspapers, libraries, and the radio all have been dependent on the capitalistic system for their rapid development.

d. The Agricultural Revolution

Backwardness in Agriculture. The changes in the status of agriculture should be considered as a part of the Industrial Revolution. Although agriculture was the main occupation as late as the 17th century, little improvement had been made in its technique. In the 17th century, the same methods and the same tools were used by most of the people as had been used for centuries. Few new crops were introduced in Europe until after the crusades and the voyages of discovery. The chief reason why no improvements were made was because of a lack of demand for agricultural commodities beyond home consumption. Almost everyone, even the manufacturers under the domestic system, raised what they needed for themselves. Not until workmen began to labor full time for an employer and not until large cities came into existence was there a demand for agricultural products.

Nature of the Revolution. The Agricultural Revolution was neither so complicated nor so far-reaching in its results as was the Industrial Revolution; nevertheless, it involved a great many things. It called for the introduction of machinery, new crops, the drainage of waste land, the use of fertilizers, and improvement in stockbreeding. It necessitated the enclosure of much of the common land and the concentration of land into large holdings. The main motive in these changes was increased production and the attainment of profit from the new adventure.

Capitalism in Farming. Influence in society had long been dependent largely upon the possession of land. The great landed proprietor was considered superior to merchant or manufacturer, regardless of how much money the latter might control. Political prestige also was obtained through the control of land. This was one means through which the capitalist could rival the hereditary aristocracy, and he took advantage of it. Gentlemen farmers had personal pride in improving their land and became the exponents of

an improved agriculture. There was also the added possibility of making money in agriculture. Wars, the growth in the number of wage earners, and the increase in population raised the price of agricultural products to a point where profit could be made in raising them. In 1792, England was forced to begin the importation of grain to meet the demand for home consumption. Finally, the capitalist did more than anyone else to break down the medieval system, which had prevented progress in farming. Science was used in agriculture, as well as in industry, to produce more at less expense.

Scientific Farming. Scientific cultivation of crops was practiced by Tull (1674–1740), who found that careful selection of seed and careful cultivation of growing crops increased the yield. He invented a drill and a horsepower hoeing machine for cultivation. Townshend (1674–1738), one of the early gentlemen farmers, introduced crop rotation by planting wheat, turnips, barley or rye, and clover in rotation. With the use of fertilizer, he was able to grow 24 bushels of wheat per acre, instead of 6 bushels, which had been the average yield. Another gentleman farmer, Bakewell (1725–1795), introduced scientific breeding of farm animals. Previously, no care had been taken in specialization of breeding for specific purposes; but he found that a certain type of cow produced more milk and that another type was better for beef. Through his efforts, the weight of beeves was increased from 375 pounds to 800 pounds, and that of sheep from an average of 28 pounds to 80 pounds. Furthermore, the English government established a board of agriculture (1793), to encourage scientific farming. Many of the new ideas were popularized by Arthur Young (1741–1820) through his writings and public activities.

Farm Machinery. Another connecting link between the Industrial Revolution and the Agricultural Revolution was the invention and manufacturing of farm machinery. Following the pioneer work of Tull, many new implements were introduced. Plows and wagons were in common use by 1800. Machines for harvesting and threshing grain were invented and improved. The horse-drawn rake, hay-loading machines, portable threshers, manure spreaders, multiple plows, and dairy appliances have revolutionized farming.

Enclosures. Before agriculture could be carried very far in England, there had to be a transformation in land ownership.

There was a great deal of waste land and a great deal that was looked upon as common property. Each manor had its common pasture, woodland, and meadow. The old system of farming upon scattered strips of land could not be continued if a large-scale agriculture was to be introduced. Parliament passed acts (enclosure acts) to turn public land over to private ownership. From 1700 to 1839, there were over 4,000 such acts, which enabled landlords to secure control of about 7,000,000 acres of land. While this aided in the development of agriculture, it brought about serious hardships. Many who had used the common pastures for pasturage now were deprived of this right. A popular poem of the time expressed their opinion:

"The law locks up the man or woman
Who steals the goose from off the common;
But leaves the greater villain loose
Who steals the common from the goose."

Effects of the Change. Some profound social changes in England were due principally to the Agricultural Revolution, during which the old order was disestablished and new classes appeared. There was a new landed aristocracy, coming mainly from the mercantile class, who invested in land the earnings that they had made from trades. Besides, there was brought into being a mass of agricultural laborers, who had been deprived of their own holdings by the enclosure movement. Finally, there was a considerable group of renters who tilled the land for the wealthy owners. The old yeomanry class disappeared from the farms, many of them being forced to seek employment in the cities. This change in agriculture was an integral part of the transformation in England of a society that was predominantly agricultural into one that was industrial. By means of the changes productivity was greatly increased; but in the process of changing the poorer agricultural classes suffered.

Other Countries. Progress in agriculture was made in Continental European countries, especially France, as well as in England. In France, the manorial system and serfdom were discarded before the outbreak of the revolution in 1789. In the 19th century, the physiocrats called attention to the basic value of agriculture. In Germany, the Junker class devoted special attention to agriculture.

Economic planning was encouraged, land was enclosed, careful selection of seed and scientific stockbreeding were studied and applied. England, however, was far ahead of other countries in the movement to improve agriculture.

3. THE TRANSITION COMPLETE

Practically everything that is known as modern can be traced to the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. The French Revolution broke the power of the old aristocracy and established a precedent for people to revolt in favor of individual liberty and freedom of economic enterprise. The ideas of democracy and of applied nationalism received their dynamic characteristics from the rebellion that the French people staged against the old order in their country.

The Industrial Revolution started developments that were destined to affect almost everyone who lived afterward. In our own experience, the nationalism, democracy, imperialism, cultural activities, social problems, and all phases of economic developments in the world of today can be understood only in the light of changes that were made by that beginning of great revolution in industrial life. Most of what we have termed progress in the last century could not have taken place without the industrial transformation that started in the middle of the 18th century; and likewise, most of our present-day problems can be traced to the same source. Hitler's rise to power in Germany, Japan's threat in the Far East, and relief problems in the United States are by-products of the new economic order that the Industrial Revolution brought into being. Therefore, modern history is, indeed, an outcome of those two momentous revolutions.

II. GOVERNMENT

1. THE NAPOLEONIC PERIOD

Weakness of the Directory. The execution of Robespierre, July 27, 1794, marked the end of the swing of the political pendulum in France toward the left. The Directory marked the beginning of a swing back to the right, which culminated in the Napoleonic Empire. The Directory was a bourgeois government, established with the avowed purpose of preventing the return of either monarchy or anarchy. Two conditions made short work of the Direc-

tory: the mediocre individuals in charge of the government and the threat of invasion of French territory by foreign powers. The directors, of whom the best known was Carnot, the "organizer of victory," were conscientious and hard workers, save perhaps Barras, whose profligacy and dishonesty were known to everybody. However, they quarreled among themselves, they forgot the major issues of the time, and they allowed public morale to sink lower and lower into dissatisfaction and discontent.

The revolutionary passion of the people was gone; they wanted security. Workers wanted employment and a living wage; farmers wanted land and an end of disorder; businessmen wanted peace; and the militarists and the hundreds of thousands of soldiers wanted war. The Directory tried to satisfy all these interests, which was impossible. Outbreaks were numerous and on Oct. 5, 1795, there occurred a royalist and conservative uprising in Paris. It was put down with a "whiff of grapeshot" from government troops commanded by Napoleon Bonaparte, a young captain of artillery. Financial troubles offered incalculable difficulties. Shortage of income and mounting indebtedness furnished a constant nightmare. Forty billion paper francs were repudiated and two-thirds of the internal debt was expunged. This furnished temporary respite, but it destroyed the confidence of security holders and ruined public credit. The Directory wanted peace, but the annexation of Belgian provinces (1795) made war with England inevitable.

Rise of Napoleon. Napoleon Bonaparte is one of the most remarkable men in history. Born in Corsica in 1769, of Italian parentage, he always spoke French with a marked Italian accent. He was educated for the army in France and at sixteen became a second lieutenant. Although he took no active part in the revolution, yet, through the influence of Barras, one of the directors, and of Madame Beauharnais, Napoleon gained prestige with the government. He was extremely popular with the people because of his military victories and, at the age of twenty-six, was given command of an Italian expedition. Filled with ambition, he returned to France after his brilliant victories in Italy. He induced the directors to equip an expedition to be sent to Egypt, with the hope of crippling English commerce. From a military point of view, the expedition was a failure; but Napoleon managed to return to France, leaving his army behind him. He blamed the Directory for his

failure and called for the abolition of the government. The people consented. A new government was formed, with General Bonaparte as First Consul, and a thinly veiled dictatorship was established.

The Consulate, 1799–1804. The government of the Consulate was a flexible system, which gave Napoleon an opportunity to do as he pleased under the guise of constitutionality. The constitution, drawn up with the aid of Sieyès and the legislative commission, was ratified by the French people with only 1,500 dissenting votes. Napoleon, as First Consul, presided over the most important body, called the Council of State. Local government officials were appointed by him. This centralized the power to a greater degree than had been the case under the Bourbons. Napoleon soon dismissed the routine matter of reorganizing the government and turned to his profession of soldier.

Austria, humiliated for a second time, bowed before her conqueror at Lunéville. Napoleon negotiated a treaty with England (Amiens, 1802). Then, for the first time in ten years, Europe was at peace and the brief respite that the treaty provided was the only time while Napoleon was in power that he was not at war with from one to most of the nations of Europe. He took advantage of peace to repair his forces and to carry out much-needed reforms. He consolidated his power at home, bringing under his control the legislative, executive, and judicial powers of the government. Law, education, public works, and—above all—the army were developed under his guidance.

The Empire. Napoleon's ambitions seem to have been unlimited. An imperialist at heart, he had no faith in democracy, and he planned a great colonial empire. The Louisiana territory west of the Mississippi River in America was acquired in 1800. He gained control of Haiti, and he sent agents to the Near East and to India to draw up plans for military conquest. Every one of these projects failed. In 1803, Napoleon sold Louisiana to the United States and began the task of subduing Europe. One of the first steps in this direction was to make himself Emperor of the French (1804). Boastfully he announced, "I found the crown of France on the ground and I picked it up with my sword." He tried to revive the dignity of the old empire. Rules of etiquette, similar to those in force before the revolution, were established;

titles, honors, and pensions were restored; and members of the Bonaparte family were raised to the rank of royalty.

This aroused the ire of European royalty, partly because they feared Napoleon and partly because they considered it an insult to hereditary royalty. Napoleon recognized England as his most formidable opponent. He conquered Continental European powers, but England remained invincible. Russians, Prussians, and Austrians fell before his well-directed military campaigns. He tried, unsuccessfully, to cripple England by blockading Continental ports, but his control over Europe finally dwindled. He could conquer kings and inefficient armies, but when the people began to rebel against him he was helpless. He was defeated in Russia in 1812 and the allies closed in on France.

Napoleon was forced to abdicate and was sent into exile on the Isle of Elba, a few miles off the coast of Italy. Escaping after a few months, he returned to France on Mar. 1, 1815, and for a "Hundred Days" he subjected Europe to turmoil. At Waterloo, on June 18, 1815, he received a crushing blow and, this time under the supervision of the English, he was sent to St. Helena, "the black wart of the Atlantic." Here he spent his final days, dreaming and writing his memoirs.

Evaluation of Napoleon. A man like Napoleon is hard to evaluate. Any person, good or bad, who leaves the impression that he did on Europe in particular, and on the whole world in general, must not be minimized in a survey of world history. He has been praised and condemned by both friends and enemies. Hero-worshipers have found in him everything, from romance to the qualities of a superman. He rose from the ranks and, in spite of incalculable obstacles, reached a position of eminence gained by very few men. As a soldier, his supremacy is unexcelled. He rivals Alexander the Great for the title of the "world's most renowned soldier." Time and time again, through his brilliant strategy, he turned what seemed to be inevitable defeat into victory. He was an inspiring leader and an intelligent administrator. His enemies belittle these accomplishments and see in him a heartless dictator. They see the stark reminder of his military campaigns in the death and destruction that came with his wars. Napoleon's often quoted saying, "God marches with the biggest battalions," is not comforting or acceptable to peace-loving people. He was ambitious and seemed

ready to sacrifice lives and property, without limit, for the attainment of his goal. Some scientists classify him as an epileptic genius. Whatever the opinion one may have of him, Napoleon stands as one of the great figures in history.

Weaknesses. The Napoleonic system had many weaknesses. Typical of dictatorships, it depended too much on one man. The whole system centered in him: his weaknesses were the empire's weaknesses, his life was the limit of the empire, and its innumerable tasks were beyond the control of even a superman. Napoleon's system was militaristic. Warfare and conquest cannot be continued indefinitely. The French people lost their enthusiasm for them, and the opposing forces were able to strengthen their resistance. Napoleon's attacks encouraged the nationalistic spirit in other countries, when they were forced to preserve their independence and overthrow their common enemy. He offended the church and was branded as an enemy of God. Napoleon wore himself out. As early as 1812, the year of his first important military reverses, his health was beginning to fail. Unbounded energy had carried him over many obstacles but, with growing opposition and with decreasing force to surmount them, the outcome was certain. Finally, Napoleon had taught Europe the art of warfare; repeated reverses led opponents to adopt his tactics. At the close of the 18th century, the armies of most of the European countries were poorly trained, inadequately equipped, and unintelligently generaled. In 1814, Napoleon faced well-trained armies led by outstanding generals, such as the Duke of Wellington, who had been trained in the school of bitter defeat at his very hands.

Ideal of the Revolution Preserved. Several important contributions were made in the Napoleonic period. It is inconceivable that they all were the work of Napoleon, although he did make many of them possible. He popularized and preserved many of the important theories of the French Revolution. As he had no use for the old hereditary aristocracy, he helped to bring about its downfall. He spread the ideas of the revolution wherever his armies conquered. While he saw the dangers of doing this, he also saw the advantages that it gave him over his foes, not realizing that in the end it would mean his own downfall. He recognized distinction not of class but of meritorious service, regardless of birth or religion. In politics, his tyranny was complete; but he always emphasized

the fact that he ruled by the express will of the people. Every advancement of his power in France was submitted to the people for their affirmation before the final step was taken. If Napoleon, or someone else equally capable, had not assumed leadership in France when he did, the French Revolution might have been stamped out by the autocratic powers, with the complete suppression of its ideals in France as well as in Europe.

The Code Napoléon. The legal reforms contained in the Code Napoléon were the most constructive of many efforts. France had been for a long time in need of a new system of law—one that would be uniform and definite. Napoleon supervised the task of codifying the laws. A civil code, a code of civil procedure, a code of criminal procedure, a penal code, and a commercial code were completed. They preserved, not only for France, but also for much of Europe and a part of America, the chief fruits of the revolution. civil liberty, religious toleration, emancipation of serfs, and trial by jury. Woman's position was made inferior to that of man, and harsh punishments were tolerated. In spite of these defects, the Code Napoléon ranks with the Justinian Code as one of the greatest legal documents in history.

Religion. Napoleon sought a solution for the religious problem. In France at the time of the French Revolution, church and state were closely associated. The Catholic Church was supreme in most of the countries of southern Europe. The French Revolution suppressed the church and confiscated its property in France. However, Napoleon saw the value of the church. "If there had not been a Roman Catholic Church, I would have had to create one," he is reputed to have said. By the Concordat of 1801, the Pope agreed to consent to the confiscation of church property in France and to have the clergy paid by the state. Napoleon agreed that bishops should be invested with the spiritual power and symbols of their office by the Pope and that the priests should be appointed by the bishops with the approval of the government. Catholicism was recognized as the religion of the majority of Frenchmen, but they were not forced to conform with it unless they personally desired to do so. Similar favors were accorded to Protestant churches and to Jewish synagogues. This was a long step toward official religious toleration, which finally, after many setbacks, was established.

Finances. Financial difficulties had been responsible for most of the political changes in France before Napoleon came into power. Reform of finances was one of the things that demanded immediate attention. When Napoleon came into power, the government was bankrupt. This condition he had to remedy and, at the same time, raise enough money to finance his expensive wars. He was able to win the confidence of the comparatively prosperous middle class, who gave support to the new government. Napoleon encouraged trade and industrial expansion by offering prizes for mechanical inventions. Noticeable industrial progress had been made before the initial diasters of 1812.

A national bank was created in 1800, taxation was adjusted so that the burden was placed on those best able to pay, and the national debt was consolidated. Napoleon was merciless in the punishment of those guilty of corruption and was careful to maintain an efficient and economical fiscal system. The plan worked very well until the Empire began to collapse. Faced with defeat, he had to resort to indirect taxes. However, many of the reforms were maintained by subsequent governments.

Public Works. Public improvements in France were carried out during Napoleon's reign, in spite of the almost incessant warfare. He took great interest in the beautification of cities, as well as in the construction of great projects to promote economic activity. More than 1,000,000,000 francs were spent on public works between 1804 and 1813. The world-famed city of Paris, with its wide, tree-lined boulevards, its monuments and fine buildings, bears witness to his genius. He constructed military roads across France to Belgium and to the Rhine; across the Alps into Switzerland and Italy. He built bridges, of which the Austerlitz and the Jena across the Seine are the most famous. Napoleon himself, who greatly admired the classical style of building, planned the Bourse (stock exchange) and the church of the Madeleine in Paris.

Education. The possibilities of education did not elude the searching eye of Napoleon. He sought to discipline the minds and consciences of the French. He believed that an educational process was the only certain way of bringing the people around to his way of thinking. "Good methods make good minds: good principles make good citizens" and this he believed could be accomplished only through a rigidly controlled state system of schools. Napoleon

was anxious to prevent the church from controlling the schools, as had been the case under the *ancien régime*. "The recall of the Jesuits I will not permit," he declared. Education was to be used for political ends; not for free thinking, but for the glorification of a principle.

The purpose of education in Nazi Germany seemed to have been taken over from the Napoleonic idea. Napoleon stated his views on education frankly. "The system that we propose is not only moral; it is also a political system. Its purpose is to rally behind the government both the old and the new generation, the old through their children, and the children through their parents, to establish a sort of public fatherhood." Liberty in thought and expression found no favor with the Emperor. He ridiculed the 18th-century rationalists for corrupting public opinion by inspiring thought in people "who had never taken it into their heads to think before or who had forgotten how."

The press was strictly censored. The printers in Paris were limited to 60 in number, and they were closely supervised. By 1810, there were only four newspapers in Paris, while in 1800 there had been more than 70. Theatrical productions were censored, and no writer dared to publish his works without first submitting them to a government censor. Madame de Staël and Chateaubriand, two of the most prominent French writers of the period, were driven into exile because they refused to conform to government regulations. The Imperial University was established in 1808. It was not a university in our sense of the term, but an entire system of education, including everything from the elementary schools to the institutions of higher learning. Fidelity to the Emperor was the basis of all instruction. A "catechism" was prepared for the children to learn. A quotation will show its characteristics:

> QUESTION: What are the duties of Christians toward the princes who govern them?
>
> ANSWER: Christians owe to the princes who govern them, and we owe in particular to Napoleon, our Emperor, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, and the taxes laid for the defense and preservation of the empire.
>
> QUESTION: Why are we bound in all these duties toward our Emperor?
>
> ANSWER: Because God established him as our sovereign and has made him the minister of His power and His image upon earth.

QUESTION: What ought to be thought of those who may be lacking in their duties toward our Emperor?

ANSWER: According to the epistles of St. Paul, they would be resisting the order established by God Himself and would render themselves worthy of eternal damnation.

It cannot be said that the educational system established by Napoleon was a good one. However, two important things in educational progress were accomplished: state-supported schools were opened to all citizens, and the principles of lay education were perpetuated.

The New Regime. Napoleon brought about important political changes. A "new regime" was introduced. In contrast to the *ancien regime*, the new government was centralized, was based on the doctrine of popular sovereignty, and was supported by a national army. It introduced a national school system and a parliament that represented the citizen body instead of the classes. General acceptance of these principles was not immediate, but progress in their direction had been steady. They are consistent basic elements in the modern national state.

Nationalism. Modern nationalism dates from the Napoleonic period. The nationalistic spirit provided one impetus for Napoleon's rise to power. It accounted for the impassioned support that the French people gave him after his rise to power and, by a strange irony, its spread among other people was responsible for his defeat. Nationalism became a mission, an organization above class or religion, and a group of individuals one and indivisible. Old governments took a new lease on life and new ones were formed on the firm foundation of nationalism. Napoleon carried the nationalistic spirit into Germany and Italy, where no unity had existed before he arrived. England, Spain, Austria, and, to a lesser degree, Russia were united in spirit and motive because Napoleon threatened their very existence. The state was more completely united in motive and purpose and was held together by a nationalistic spirit.

2. THE AFTERMATH: A PERIOD OF REACTION, 1815–1830

Europe in 1814. Napoleon definitely upset the international system in Europe. He conquered territories, drove out rulers, and forced the states of Europe to unite against him. In time of war,

allies forget their differences and concentrate in a united effort to win the war. When a war is over, dissension almost invariably breaks out among the victorious powers. This happened in 1814 after the Napoleonic Wars, and it happened again after the close of World War I. In the earlier instance, England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia had different ideas as to what should be included in the treaty. These ideas were manifest as soon as Napoleon was safely stowed away on St. Helena. The map of Europe had to be redrawn and the map makers were not agreed as to the procedure to be taken. The balance in favor of peace was due to general bankruptcy and to the influence of a war-weary populace.

Congress of Vienna. The treaties of May, 1814, and November, 1815, known as the first and second treaties of Paris, technically ended the war. They deposed Napoleon, restored the Bourbons to power in France, and settled the boundaries of France. The allies were agreed up to this point, but when it came to dividing the spoils of war and to remaking the European states system, confusion reigned. The Congress of Vienna (September, 1814, to July, 1815), called to settle affairs among the allies, was one of the most unusual assemblages in history. It was not a peace congress; peace had been made at Paris. Serious matters had to be settled, yet from outward appearances the congress was a gay and festive occasion. More crowned heads and dignitaries were assembled in one place than ever before or since that time.

The congress really never met formally; negotiations were conducted privately and decisions were imposed upon the unfortunate without ceremony. France, the defeated state, was represented by Talleyrand, who took an active part in the discussions. The prevailing feeling was that the terrible experiences of the French Revolution and Napoleon should be obliterated and that precautions should be taken to prevent anything like them in the future. The two things against which the representatives set themselves were nationalism and democracy, which they considered to be the roots of all political evil. These they tried to suppress, without realizing how ingrained they were in the minds of the people The principle of nationalism was openly disregarded. Belgium was given to Holland, Norway was turned over to Sweden, Finland was annexed to Russia, a large part of Italy was put under the control of Austria, and the German Confederation was to be pre-

sided over by the Chancellor of Austria. These changes became sore spots and caused international complications.

Metternich, the Chancellor of Austria, devised a scheme for the suppression of democracy. It succeeded for a time, but the tide of popular feeling was too strong. The fundamental weakness that caused the failure of the Congress of Vienna was that "the real purpose of the congress was to divide amongst the victors the spoils taken from the vanquished." No peace can endure on this basis, as the Congress of Versailles (1919) bears tragic evidence.

International Control. Two alliances, or experiments in international government, growing out of the Napoleonic Wars deserve mention. The Holy Alliance, the work of the religiously emotional Czar Alexander of Russia, was an attempt to promote international good will on the basis of justice, Christian charity, and peace. All the important powers of Europe, except England, gave their consent, realizing that it was merely a vague and mystical bit of sentimentalism. It was signed and then forgotten until it was revised under another name (the Metternich System), in 1823. The Metternich System was not a formal alliance, but the powers of Europe, excepting England, cooperated under its name to fight liberalism and to support autocracy.

The Quadruple Alliance, composed of England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, was very different from the Holy Alliance. The specific idea advanced by Castlereagh of England was the creation of a concert of Europe to maintain the *status quo* among European countries. Specifically, it was aimed against France, but Castlereagh had in mind the curtailment of any power that might threaten the peace of Europe. Whenever danger should arise, a congress was to be called to reach a settlement through the channels of diplomacy instead of resorting to war. Four congresses were held: Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), Troppau (1820), Laibach (1821), and Verona (1822). Unity of action was impossible. Russia, Austria, and Prussia insisted on interfering in internal affairs of states, to crush liberalism. England refused to do this and withdrew from the organization. Thus, the attempt at international government came to an uneventful end.

Conservatism. Following the Congress of Vienna, conservatism enjoyed a brief period of ascendancy. Under the experienced guidance of Metternich, liberalism was kept under control for some

time. Louis XVIII ruled in France under the banner of the old Bourbons. Charles X, his successor, was even more reactionary. Spain was held under subjection until 1820. Russia retained her antiquated political system. Austria, under Francis I, and Prussia, under Frederick William III, followed conservative policies. England, politically the most enlightened country in Europe, swung back to Tory principles until 1832. The Tories hated the French Revolution and everything for which it stood. King George IV (1820–1830) and the Duke of Wellington opposed liberalism in any form.

Revolts against the Settlement. Under the thin veil of conservatism, the forces for the promotion of democracy mobilized. Liberalism was not so easily legislated out of existence as the representatives at the Congress of Vienna had anticipated. The rising tide of nationalism was another threat against the established order. The combined strength of these two forces finally destroyed the citadel of conservatism. Liberalism persisted, even in countries that were carefully supervised, such as Germany and Italy. Students in German universities formed secret societies for the promotion of liberal ideas. Demand for constitutional government and national independence came from the educated men in Italy. Secret societies, of which the *Carbonari* was the most famous, spread revolutionary propaganda that ultimately bore fruit. A revolt occurred in Naples in 1820 against the tyrannical king Ferdinand I, and a similar insurrection occurred in Piedmont in 1821. Metternich was able to suppress the uprisings, but he could not stamp out the ideas. The Greeks revolted against their Ottoman oppressors and won their independence (1827), in spite of Metternich's passive resistance.

The French Revolution of July, 1830, the first effective break in the settlements of 1815, was a real revival of the spirit of 1789. It drove out the Bourbons and placed on the throne a compromise candidate, Louis Philippe. The conservative powers feared a recurrence of the conditions that followed the revolution of 1789 and, in a measure, their fears were justified. The overthrow of Charles X in France was a signal for widespread revolt all over Europe. Belgium declared and won her independence from Holland. Outbreaks occurred in Poland and in the German states, but they were suppressed. Italy went through the throes of another out-

break, which Austria, after a bitter struggle, was able to suppress. The spirit of revolt was in the air. Liberals took courage and planned for further action.

Revolutions of 1848. On the Continent, 1848 was a year of revolutions. From west to east, Europe was threatened with outbreaks. Again, as in 1789 and in 1830, the spark was ignited in France. Louis Philippe was driven from power and a republic was established. Revolutionary fervor penetrated Austria, the bulwark of conservatism, so that Metternich was forced to seek temporary shelter in another land. Italy joined the army of revolutionists, and Germany followed suit. The revolts proved to be premature, as France, under Napoleon III, slipped back to conservatism and Austria recovered, after initial failure, to drive the revolutionists out of Italy and the German states. Absolute governments had been challenged, but not destroyed. Russia, Austria, and Germany managed to retain their reactionary governments until the time of World War I. A government by the people was destined to rise gradually through evolutionary principles, rather than through spontaneous revolutions. England is an excellent example of how effectively this can be done.

3. PROGRESS OF DEMOCRACY AND NATIONALISM

Rise of Constitutional Government. Gradually, the old theory of absolutism, with a government based on divine right of kings and with concentrated power in the hands of one individual, gave way to another type, which is referred to as constitutional. Constitutional government was sponsored by the middle class. Business and commercial developments were handicapped by the narrow restrictive limitations of a hereditary aristocracy. Freedom for business enterprises, the guaranty of civil liberties, and, most of all, the protection of property were principles that the middle class sought to preserve in a written constitution. The revolutions discussed in the preceding paragraph were primarily the work of the middle class, who, consequently, drew up the constitutions for the new governments.

Nature of Constitutions. A constitution is the organic instrument of government, establishing the form and functions of the political institution. A constitution almost always enumerates the liberties and rights of the people and provides for measures to

guarantee those rights. There is a great diversity in types of constitution. One may be a detailed document worked out at a given time by a group of citizens; and another may be, as in the case of England, a collection of charters and precedents accumulated over a long period of time. The first is more definite and less pliable than the second. A constitutional form of government is generally, although not necessarily, democratic. Hungary had a constitution, but power rested in the hands of the landed aristocracy and not with the people. Middle-class constitutions have generally opposed government interference in business. Property is considered to be one of the "natural and imprescriptible rights of man."

History of Constitutions. Constitutional developments have not been confined to the modern period. Aristotle made a study of the existing constitutions for his famous book, the *Athenian Constitution.* Citizens of medieval towns and the colonists in America had documents that can be classed as constitutions. The British constitution begins with Magna Charta in 1215, and is still in the process of formation. The Constitution of the United States was one of the first of its kind. The French Revolution produced several, which varied greatly in character. Belgium developed a middle-class liberal instrument of government early in the 19th century. In 1848, Sardinia obtained a constitution which was adopted as the basis of the Italian government in 1870. Many others followed, especially in the political reorganization of Europe that came after World War I.

Democracy Defined. The principle of democracy has undergone many important changes since its inception as a form of government. Aristotle thought that, so far as participation in government was concerned, the people included only the upper- and middle-class members of society. This idea persisted until after the French Revolution. There are two important types of democracies. A *pure democracy* indicates the right of every citizen to participate directly in public affairs. A few of the cantons of Switzerland present examples of government where pure democracy is attempted. The pure democracy is too unwieldy to be practical in a large country. A *representative democracy*, where the citizens govern indirectly through elected representatives, is the type most used. Democracy includes more than politics. It neces-

sitates a social organization in which every member of society has freedom for economic and social development to the extent of his possibilities.

Progress. The progress of democracy has been slow. Politically, economically, and socially retarding influences, such as special privileges and the predominance of classes, have prevented the democratization of society. One group frees itself from an oppressor and, in turn, proceeds to suppress another. The bourgeoisie eliminated the inequalities of the medieval hereditary regime. The proletariat is now struggling to destroy the supremacy of the bourgeoisie. The calling of the Estates-General in France, in 1789, introduced an important step toward democracy because of the legal exercise of universal manhood sufferage in the election of deputies of the Third Estate. The government of the United States attempted to eliminate oppressive authority. It has proved a successful experiment in the democratic control of political institutions. As late as the close of the 19th century, the only important states where democracy was practiced were England, France, and the United States. While democracy made notable progress within the last century, it eventually had to confront the opposition of totalitarianism.

Party System. Political parties have been found to assure majority rule and to enable representatives to establish political power. The average citizen manifests his interest in government mainly through participation in the activities of a political party. This keeps a representative government from being democratic in practice. A voter more or less blindly submits to the decisions of party leaders and has little conception of the fundamental principles that are submitted for his choice. There seems to be no effective substitute for the party system; consequently, it is important that we consider its chief characteristics.

Procedure in Party Rule. The aim of party leaders is to attract as many followers as possible. The competition between parties for members often leads to the adoption of progressive measures, but at the same time parties are likely to become oligarchical in their organization. A few always dominate, and their motives are not always for the best interests of the masses. The real issues are frequently put into the background by emotional arguments, party symbols, and catchwords. An enlightened public is the only remedy

for this defect. There must be a group of voters who are willing to study issues and to look beyond sentimentalism for their decisions. This may come about, but it will be a long-drawn-out process.

History of Party System. Some form of party system has existed almost as long as there has been any form of political organization. The modern party, however, found its first acceptance in England. Puritan and Royalist factions were well organized by the middle of the 17th century. There was a party ministry in the reign of William III (1689–1702). A cabinet system upheld by one party was in evidence at the time of George I (1714–1727). Being German by birth, he had little interest in English affairs and welcomed the opportunity to put the responsibility of government on the shoulders of a minister. The next step was to make the minister responsible to Parliament instead of to the king. This came after a long struggle and after the passage of numerous reform bills by Parliament.

France acquired a party system with the inauguration of the Third Republic in 1870. Each leader, in France, had what amounted to a party organization to back him. The Third French Republic had parties, at least 12 in number, ranging from Royalists on the extreme right to Communists on the extreme left, with a number of intermediary organizations. Germany, before World War I, had political parties; but all except the Conservatives, dominated by the Junkers (Prussian landlords), were deprived of actual participation in the government. Austria and Italy had loosely organized parties, but they were ineffective in their operation.

In the United States, the framers of the Constitution hoped to prevent partisan strife, and provided for an electoral college to make the final choice of a man for president. A party system was inevitable because of important offices to be elected and because of the variety of interpretations that were possible under the Constitution. Washington chose his cabinet from different groups, but his successors resorted to choosing from one political group The United States has clung to a two-party system much more closely than have most of the other countries. The two major parties have been able to destroy third parties by adopting parts of their platforms from time to time, leaving them without an issue. In the United States, labor up to this time has managed to keep politics

out of its organizations. There are evidences that the two-party system may not last. Dissension within the two major parties makes their continued unity uncertain.

4. EVOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH POLITICAL SYSTEM

Space does not permit a discussion of the political developments in all the important states. We shall limit our survey to a brief description of two: England and the United States. They have played an important role in world affairs and have been outstanding examples of democracy. Also, they represent two very different types of democracy.

Effect of the French Revolution. The establishment of the English parliamentary system and its gradual ascendancy over the crown has been noted. England of the 18th century cannot be called democratic, but the English, in their methodical way, made progress. A large group applauded the French Revolution in its early stage, but were opposed to it when violence and bloodshed were introduced. English reformers became very unpopular as radicalism gained headway in France. The Tory government saw the specter of Jacobinism in every move for reform and prohibited public meetings. Military force was used against an unarmed crowd in the Peterloo Massacre (1819).

Reforms. Liberalism was too strong in England to be permanently suppressed, and the government was too flexible for a minority group of conservatives to monopolize indefinitely the administration. Within a decade after Waterloo, a reforming tide began to flow. Criminal laws were reformed, laws forbidding the organization of workers' unions were repealed, and the Test and Corporation acts against religious dissenters were withdrawn. Roman Catholics were made eligible for office by the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. A Reform Act of 1832 greatly altered the character of the English government. It made a clean sweep of the "rotten" boroughs and introduced a uniform franchise, excluding, however, the workingmen in town and country from the right to vote.

The way was open for more important changes. Workmen started agitation for political democracy. The Chartist movement (1838–1848) demanded six reforms: universal manhood suffrage, annual parliaments, equal electoral districts, vote by ballot, re-

moval of property qualifications for members of Parliament, and payment of members. Parliament refused the petition, and the movement collapsed. The Chartist petition at the time was considered a joke, but in later years all the recommendations except one, annual parliaments, have been adopted. Universal (adult male) suffrage was achieved in 1884, with some minor reservations. Equal electoral districts were recognized in the following year. In 1872, the secret ballot was introduced. The abolition of property qualifications for membership in the House of Commons was obtained in 1858, and, by a law of 1911, members were to be paid 400 pounds annually.

Further Reform. In the 19th and in the early part of the 20th century, a number of important laws were passed, which have made England one of the most democratic nations in the world. The reform bills of 1867, 1884, and 1918 extended the franchise. Step by step, English institutions were made more democratic. The House of Commons became an agency for representation of the people, and social democracy followed the enactments for political democracy. The Elementary Education Act of 1870 opened public-supported schools for everyone. A workman's compensation act in 1906, an old-age pension act in 1908, and a national unemployment and sickness insurance act in 1911 were all passed before the outbreak of World War I.

Government Procedure. The crown, the cabinet, and Parliament are the governing agencies in England. Theoretically, the king of England has extensive power. Laws are passed in his name, he appoints officers, including the prime minister, he summons and dissolves Parliament, and he has the power to declare war and to make peace. In practice, the king "reigns but does not rule." The prime minister represents and is responsible to the majority in the House of Commons. Just how much authority the king could exert is a moot question. Much depends upon the personality of the ruler. Queen Victoria (1837–1901) took an active part in the government, while George V (1910–1936) interfered very little in politics. The king does perform the very important function of being the social head of the nation. He is the unifying force for all the divergent elements in the British Empire. He is above politics and is respected by all classes and types.

The prime minister is the most important official in the govern-

ment. Each political party has a leader, and the leader of the party that can control the most votes in the House of Commons is made, under ordinary conditions, the prime minister. He holds office so long, but only so long, as he is able to command a majority of the votes. If he loses control, the leader of the opposition takes office. The cabinet is the administrative unit of Parliament. It is made up of a group of the highest officials in the ministry, which is a committee of the ruling party. Cabinet members are individually and collectively responsible to the prime minister. Parliament is made up of two houses: the Commons and the Lords. The House of Commons, which has 615 members, embodies the democratic features of the government. The House of Lords has ceased to be an important part of the legislative body. Membership is honorary, except for those men who hold their positions from ancient lineage. They are primarily men who have rendered important service to the nation, or who have made monetary contributions to the party in power. They have very little legislative power, although they form the highest court of justice in England. A bill may legally become law without the House of Lords giving assent.

Summary. There are three predominant characteristics of the English government. There is no fixed and written constitution. The English constitution is contained in a number of important statutes and documents, passed over a long period of time. No act of Parliament can be declared unconstitutional, in the American sense of the term. The sovereignty of Parliament is unlimited, but it cannot bind its successors. A succeeding Parliament may undo everything that was done by its predecessor. A second characteristic is that the government is parliamentary and not congressional. The chief executive, as such, is not elected by the people, as is the president of the United States, but by the majority group in the House of Commons. In the third place, the English government is centralized, not federal. There is no such thing as states' rights or conflicts between federal and state governments. The central government is the source of all authority.

The Empire. The administration of the vast colonial empire is fully as noteworthy as is the home government in England. One-fourth of the inhabited area of the world and more than one-fourth of the people of the world are included in the British Empire. The United Kingdom is less than a hundredth part of the empire, and

there are 10 colonials for every native Englishman. All types of peoples and cultures are included in the British Empire. There are three major types of colonies: the dominion colonies, the crown colonies, and India, which belongs in a class by itself.

The dominion colonies, which have a large percentage of native European stock, either are already nations or are rapidly becoming so. Each has its national flag, its national army, and its national government. The home government sends a royal governor to preside over the colonial government, but his position in the colony is similar to that of the king of England. In practice, the mother country rarely interferes in the domestic affairs of a dominion colony. There have been attempts to bring the colonies into closer relationship with the mother country through imperial preference treaties for lower tariffs and for imperial defense. Troops from the self-governing colonies willingly fought on the side of the mother country during World War I.

The crown colonies, located mainly in the tropics, are inhabited by a large percentage of backward people. Many types are included in this classification, and they enjoy little political freedom. They include naval stations, such as Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, the Falkland Islands, and the Bermuda Islands; chartered companies, such as Rhodesia and North Borneo; and protectorates, such as British East Africa, Somaliland, Gambia, and Sierra Leone. Owing to the great variations, climatical, racial, and religious, different parts of India are administered in ways to meet local conditions. The King of Great Britain is the Emperor of India. A move is under way to develop local autonomy.

5. THE UNITED STATES TO WORLD WAR I

The United States Becomes a Nation. There have been few fundamental changes in the governmental system of the United States since the establishment of the federal government. It is one of the world's oldest governments remaining practically the same since its inauguration. Amendments to the Constitution and decisions of the Supreme Court that have altered the fundamental character of the government have been few in number. The chief problem, one that is still unsolved, is the consolidation of the various states and sections into a solidified national state. The federal system has its strength and its weaknesses. Its strength

rests in the fact that it made possible a union of more or less independent colonies, but it has a weakness in the lack of a strong central government.

The question of state rights has never been settled satisfactorily. This problem caused the Civil War and is, at times, still the topic of embittered discussion. The industrial East and the agricultural West are sharply divided on important economic questions. Certainly not before the War of 1812, and possibly not until after the Civil War, was national unity anything like a reality. Some states refused to allow their militia to fight outside their territory in the War of 1812, and the New England Federalists considered withdrawal from the union. The Treaty of Ghent (1814) had little to show in the way of actual gain for the United States, but it did help to solidify the nation.

Neither side had been victorious on the battlefield, and good judgment prevailed to bring about a settlement. Certain questions of international importance were settled in the negotiations. The impressment of American seamen by the British, which had been a flagrant offense before 1812, was abandoned. The United States was recognized and allowed to assume a place of dignity among the powers of the world. The existing friendly relations between the United States and Canada were made possible through agreements reached immediately following the War of 1812. Armed vessels, except those needed for police purposes, were to be prohibited on Lake Champlain and the Great Lakes and no forts were to be built along the whole international border. It is now the longest unfortified boundary between two nations in the world.

The Civil War. Following the War of 1812, the doctrine of state rights gradually subsided in the North. Daniel Webster, a senator from one of the New England states, delivered the most powerful plea on record for a strong central government. However, the doctrine of state rights continued to gain strength in the South. John C. Calhoun became its most brilliant champion. He watched with growing consternation the development of the abolitionist movement in the North. The freeing of the slaves, he believed, would ruin the South. Some way had to be found to protect the minority against a majority. State rights, he argued, was the answer.

When new states were admitted to the Union, care was taken to keep political power of the two sections in Congress evenly

balanced. The Missouri Compromise (1820) established a line reaching from the Mississippi to the Rockies. North of the line free labor should exist; and south of it slavery would be permitted. In 1854, this rule was broken by allowing the people in a territory to decide whether or not slavery would be tolerated there. Men from the North and men from the South clashed on the plains of Kansas. By 1860, belligerent factions from both the North and the South had brought the country to the verge of civil war. South Carolina, on Dec. 20, 1860, declared that it was no longer a part of the Union. On Feb. 1, 1861, six other states followed. On Apr. 12, 1861, Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor was fired upon. The war between the states had begun.

The Civil War left very deep scars on the American nation. The period of reconstruction, which was a trying time, ended in 1877, when the federal government withdrew the blue-coated soldiers, returning proper authority to local institutions. Fundamental changes were made in the Constitution by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments. Involuntary servitude was abolished except for crime; civil rights were given to the former slaves, who were granted the right to vote, as well. Victory for the North inaugurated an era of industrialization. Finally, the outcome of the Civil War was a victory for national unity.

Since the Civil War. Progress in the United States continued to make rapid strides. The position of the South has undergone great changes because of an industrial revolution that has been taking place there. Improved means of transportation and communication have helped to unite areas that are far apart and would otherwise be inaccessible to one another.

Jefferson and Jackson. The study of the evolution of political parties in the United States furnishes an interesting story of the evolution of society. After the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the first issue that brought about party alignment was the issue over the United States Bank. Hamilton led the Federalists, including the security holders, the property owners, the bankers, and the merchants. Jefferson championed the cause of the agrarian element, the mechanics, the debtors, and the pioneers. Hamilton recommended a strong central government, while Jefferson favored state rights. In his interpretation of the Constitution, Hamilton was a loose constructionist, while Jefferson insisted on

a strict interpretation. Jefferson claimed that a bank could not be chartered because the Constitution did not specifically grant that power to the federal government.

The election of Jefferson as president of the United States has been referred to as the "Revolution of 1800." He was regarded as a commoner and not an aristocrat as his predecessors had been. Jefferson tried to carry out the change that he had advocated. The White House was opened to the public and Jefferson mixed with the people. The election of Andrew Jackson, in 1828, carried the democratic principle much further. Jefferson represented the people, whereas Jackson was one of them. He was regarded as the people's champion, as opposed to the patrician legislators. The spoils system was introduced to reward the victors, on the theory that one man was as good as another for any position. For good or for evil, a new spirit was introduced into American politics.

Lincoln. The formation of the Republican party, and the election of Lincoln as President of the United States, in 1860, provided an important landmark in American political history. The new party won the support of bankers and businessmen. It championed financial expansion, railroad building, high tariffs, and noninterference of the government in business. The personality of Lincoln achieved for democracy a lasting influence. Born and reared in poverty, he typified all the simplicity and friendliness of frontier life. He was a great leader and a lovable character, a national hero ranking with Washington, and a world symbol of democracy.

Politics since the Civil War. The Republican party was supreme from the Civil War to World War I, except during the administrations of Cleveland and Wilson. Congress was dominated by businessmen and corporation lawyers. The West was industrialized and became more closely affiliated with the East. The power of the central government was strengthened at the expense of state rights, primarily for the protection of capital against state legislatures. Corruption became, from time to time, prevalent and a low moral tone prevailed in politics. Under Grant, a great military leader but a naïve politician, corruption reached alarming proportions. Reform movements appeared from time to time, including the Greenback, Antimonopolist, and Labor parties. The People's party came into existence in 1892 and de-

manded free silver, regulation of trusts, direct election of United States senators, and the adoption of the initiative and referendum.

Beginning with Theodore Roosevelt's administration, a new epoch was introduced in American history, called the Progressive Era. Political and economic reform to make public interest paramount in economic life became the topic of the day. Government was to deal effectively with the complex problems of an industrial age in the interest of all the people. Two steps had been taken in this direction before 1900. The Interstate Commerce Commission was established in 1887, to regulate the railroads. Three years later, the Sherman Antitrust Act declared combinations in restraint of trade to be illegal. These acts provided the foundation for national regulation of business, financial, and industrial enterprises.

Furthermore, the leaders of the Progressive Era sought to combat the influence of political bosses. These unscrupulous leaders were regarded as obstacles to applied democracy. The slogan was to take the government out of the hands of the boss and the special interests and restore it to the hands of the people. As a result, the election of senators was taken from the control of state legislatures and put into the hands of the people. In some states, experiment was made with initiative and referendum. The direct primary proved popular quite generally. In 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment legalized woman suffrage, which doubled the size of the electorate.

The Frontier in American History. At the close of the American Revolution, a vast expanse of wilderness lay between the Appalachians and the Mississippi. West of the Mississippi stretched what appeared to be never-ending plains as far as the Rockies. This vast area was inhabited sparsely by Indians. The history of the American frontier essentially was embodied in the advance of the whites and the retreat of the Indians. Shortly after the American Revolution, the red men were forced across the Mississippi and, by 1820, settlements had been made by the whites in what is now the state of Missouri.

The expansion of the United States westward to the Pacific is a story of strife and sacrifice. It began in 1803, when President Jefferson purchased from Napoleon the vast territory known as Louisiana. The importance of this in American history is beyond question. It provided room for the growing republic to expand and

it removed a possible hostile power as an immediate neighbor. In 1821, Florida was purchased from Spain, and this rounded out control of our southeastern territory. Texas, New Mexico, and California passed from the possession of Mexico into that of the United States. In 1854, the present boundary between the United States and Mexico was agreed upon. Meanwhile, an understanding with Great Britain settled the far northwestern boundary, and so the march to the Pacific was completed. During the first half of the 19th century, the United States had completed the occupation of the Atlantic seaboard and had annexed the territory between the Mississippi and the Pacific. This vast area, larger than all of Europe west of Russia, was virtually an empty wilderness, which the pioneers of the republic reclaimed. The physical foundation had been laid for the powerful nation that was to emerge in the 20th century.

The frontier has placed an indelible stamp on American life and institutions. Individualism was a natural biproduct of frontier life. A man was judged by what he could do and by what he was. The abundance of wealth on the frontier emphasized the ideal of equality of opportunity. Even our public-school system was foreshadowed in the Ordinance of 1787, in which the community was to provide at public expense educational training through the college course. In addition, the frontier provided a safety valve for dissatisfied elements. They could leave their old confines and seek new homes and new opportunities in the vast open spaces.

Myth of Isolation. The rise of the United States to the position of a world power is one of the most significant events in modern history. The American people have a traditional aloofness toward other states. Isolation is one of the most talked-about principles in our foreign policy. The 3,000-mile stretch of the Atlantic Ocean and the even greater expanse of the Pacific, which separate the United States from Europe and Asia, respectively, have provided a feeling of security. There is justification for this point of view but, actually, throughout the existence of the United States there has been a close connection with Europe. The war for independence was part of a larger struggle between England and France for colonial supremacy. The War of 1812 was a phase of the Napoleonic Wars. The Civil War, fought over a supposedly internal question, brought the United States to the verge of war with England.

World War I was a clear intervention in the affairs of Europe. Economic interests are closely connected with those of Europe and Asia. The United States may refuse to sit in congresses of world powers and refuse to participate in the affairs of the League of Nations, but a world crisis is certain to involve its people. World War II again has demonstrated this.

Territorial Expansion. The United States government was not content to confine its activities to the North American continent. While European powers were busy in Africa and in the Orient, the United States began to interest itself in imperialism. Also, there were signs that the more ambitious powers in Europe might seek territory in the Western Hemisphere. The French De Lesseps Company, after having completed the Suez Canal, entered into an agreement with Colombia to excavate a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. The answer given by the United States was the building of a powerful addition to our fleet.

The Spanish-American War, which was fought with one of the two European powers that held extensive possessions in the Americas, resulted in the acquisition of Puerto Rico and Cuba by the United States. Cuba was later given her independence. Other lands were acquired in the Pacific. They will be discussed in a later paragraph. In 1916, the Virgin Islands were purchased from Denmark; the harbor of Saint Thomas is a valuable asset to our naval power in the Atlantic.

Perhaps one of the most valuable of our foreign possessions is the Canal Zone, a stretch of land reaching across the Isthmus of Panama and containing the vitally important Panama Canal. The strategic importance of this canal cannot be questioned. The validity of our claims to the territory might be contested. Panama was urged to revolt from Colombia and was recognized immediately by the Washington government. It was from Panama that the United States acquired the Canal Zone and the right to build the canal, which was put into service in 1914.

Since Dec. 7, 1941, the people of the United States have become much more keenly aware of the importance of the vast Pacific and the numerous islands that it contains. Conditions have changed greatly since 1854, when the American fleet forced the Japanese government to sign a treaty opening the doors of Japan to the commerce of the world.

American interest in the Pacific goes back to the first half of the 19th century and the establishment of a profitable trade with the city of Canton in China. At the same time, whalers covered a great part of the Pacific in search of their game. These ships stopped at many of the islands to take on food and water. In 1867, Alaska was purchased from Russia. This vast territory, rich in food and minerals, became one of the most important bastions defending North America on the north and the west. Farther south, the Hawaiian Islands serve as another defense pivot and provide a crossroad for many trade routes in the Pacific. These islands were acquired by the United States in 1898. When World War II started, the following possessions, in addition to Hawaii, were in the hands of the United States: the islands of Midway, Wake, and Guam, which serve as steppingstones to Asia and, before the war, were used by American planes on their way from Honolulu to Manila in the Philippines; and American Samoa, in the Samoa Islands, which lie about halfway between the Hawaiian and New Zealand groups. Pagopago, in the Samoan group, is one of the finest harbors in the South Pacific.

American interests in the Far East have grown considerably as a result of our relations with China. Since the Boxer Rebellion, in 1900, a strong tie of friendship has existed between the two peoples. Our investments in China, although small as compared with those of England and France, are extensive. The expansion of Japan challenged our power in the Pacific.

6. THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY AND THE RISE OF INTENSE NATIONALISM

The unification of Germany and Italy brought two new states into the European family of nations. Germany, especially, was endowed with the vigor of youth and was not willing to take a back seat. Flushed with victory over France and Austria, and ambitious to become a great world power, she threw herself into the turmoil of European politics. Her threat was no idle boast, as a German navy rose from nothing to a point where even the English feared it. Industrially, Germany expanded rapidly and soon rivaled the leaders in the production of iron and steel. Confidence, aggression, and arrogance were characteristics of the German foreign policy.

German Unification. The story of the unification of Germany is an account of a long struggle against internal and external odds.

Prussia, the most aggressive of the German states, formed the nucleus for unification; and Bismarck, the man most responsible for German unification, saw the possibility of a Germany united through war and conquest. "Whosoever wishes to rule Germany must conquer it," he wrote in 1849. Bismarck was not himself a military man. He dominated the affairs of the state, but he entrusted military matters to General von Roon and General von Moltke. Bismarck set out in his methodical way to build up a strong army in order to attack Austria and unite Germany. Austria was defeated in six weeks (1866), and that led to the formation of the North German Confederation, with Prussia at the head. France was next on the program. The defeat of France won the South German states to Prussia. France was forced to give up Alsace-Lorraine and to pay an indemnity of $1,000,000,000. While the German army was still fighting France, Bismarck brought about the coronation of the King of Prussia as the Emperor of Germany.

Results. The completion of German unification is an important landmark in European history. Austria was subdued and her attention turned to the Balkan peninsula, where she was trying to expand when World War I broke out. German unification reopened the Near Eastern question, since Russia was permitted to end the neutrality of the Black Sea. The second Napoleonic empire was destroyed in France and the Third Republic was established. Italian unification was aided, if not actually made possible, through Germany's influence and through her defeat of Austria and France. The completion of German and Italian unification changed the whole picture of international relations in Europe. A new balance of power had to be organized.

Veiled Autocracy. The government of Germany was a thinly veiled autocracy. There was a constitution that bound together 25 states into a federal union, somewhat like the United States. The individual states had some power; but the imperial government controlled industrial combinations, railways, codes of law, social welfare, and foreign affairs. The emperor controlled the votes of Prussia in the Federal Council (Bundesrat), through which he could control amendments to the constitution. He could call and dissolve the national legislature and appoint and dismiss the chancellor. Members of the Bundesrat were appointed by the rulers of the individual states. Of 61 members, Prussia controlled

the appointment of 17, Bavaria, 6, Saxony 4, etc. The Bundesrat had the power not only to initiate laws but also to ratify the appointment of federal officers and to settle interstate disputes. The lower house (Reichstag), with 307 members, elected for five years by universal male suffrage, had very little legislative power. It had the right to discuss, to amend, and to accept or reject laws. A law could be passed without the consent of the Reichstag, but the debates reflected the feeling of the nation on important questions.

Bismarck and William II. Until his dismissal in 1890, Bismarck was the most prominent figure in the German government. He followed a cautious policy, because he realized the hatred that Germany had incurred from France and also the animosity that Russia felt toward him. He strove to keep those two powers from uniting. He completed an alliance with Austria and brought both Austria and Russia into the League of Three Emperors. This was a dangerous game, but Bismarck played it well. It worked as long as he could control the Emperor, but William II (1888–1918) was not willing to take a back seat. This ruler and the "Iron Chancellor" never got along well together. William II was arrogant and headstrong. He was capable, but he annoyed everyone. Edward VII of England once remarked that William II was "the most brilliant failure in history." When Bismarck was dropped in 1890, William, "with full steam ahead," disregarded the old chancellor's advice. Germany was soon caught in the entangling webs of European diplomacy.

Intense Nationalism. Present-day intense nationalism is the outgrowth of a long period of development. The formative period of the national state extended from the Middle Ages to the last quarter of the 18th century. Monarchs secured control of definite territories; the middle class began to appear, as a consequence of the Commercial Revolution; and national cultures gradually emerged. The American and French revolutions aroused the interest of the lower classes and created a popular support for the spirit of nationalism. Each of them was carried out by the middle class as a protest against absolute monarchy. Royalty and the nobility were crushed and the idea of applied democracy won its initial battle. Following the Napoleonic Wars, subject nationalities began to clamor for political independence and to demand territorial boundaries conforming with the location of nationalities.

During the past half century, devotion to the state—or super-patriotism—has become one of the most outstanding of all human loyalties. "My country, right or wrong" expressed the impassioned creed of many patriots. The inhabitants of national states, in many instances, assumed hostile attitudes toward other states because of a self-satisfied provincialism and general distrust of foreigners.

The spirit of intense nationalism manifested itself in other countries besides Germany. The French government called upon its citizens to unite for revenge against Germany for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. Russia tried to expand under the guise of Pan-Slavism and England prepared to protect her eminent position in world affairs. The United States, reaching maturity as a national state, demonstrated an intense nationalism through her literature and in her wars. The Spanish-American War and World War I provided a "glorious" stimulus to national pride. Other manifestations of the same spirit in the Western Hemisphere were prevalent in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. In the Far East, Japan provided the most striking demonstration of intense nationalism. In less than a half century, Japan developed from a feudal organization to a modern industrial nation; and this development fostered an intense devotion to the nation, that amounted to an official religion. In Japan more markedly than in any other country, both good and evil effects of intense nationalism were made manifest.

Suppressed Nationalism. The spirit of nationalism was not confined to the great powers. Many groups that were possessed with the same idea were subjects of other governments. For this situation, which is one of the most perplexing problems in international relations, there is no apparent solution. Until the end of World War I, the Poles, the Czechs, the Irish, and the Finns were denied political existence. National independence became a fetish with them; but many were harshly suppressed by more powerful states. The Germans persecuted the Danes and the Poles; Russia oppressed the Finns, the Lithuanians, the Poles, and the Ruthenians; Austria dominated the Czechs, the Poles, the Serbs, the Slovaks, the Rumanians, and the Croats; and Turkey suppressed the Balkan peoples.

Imperialism and Militarism. The process of industrialization, supported by the impetus of intense nationalism, revived the spirit of imperialism. There was an unprecedented struggle for the un-

appropriated backward countries of Asia and Africa for sources of raw materials and for markets for manufactured goods. France penetrated Tunis, North-central Africa, Morocco, and Indo-China. England secured a large block of the Suez Canal stock, in order to control the best route to India. Egypt, part of the Sudan, South Africa, Nigeria, and Outer Tibet were brought within the sphere of control of the British Empire. Russia appropriated Manchuria and the territory around the Caspian Sea. Germany, entering the race late, found opportunities scarce. However, she was undaunted in her efforts to find her "place in the sun." Italy failed to get Abyssinia in 1896, but acquired Eritrea and the greater part of Somaliland. Nearly all of the great powers scrambled wildly for footholds in China.

The bitter rivalry over trade and colonies led to military preparations for aggressive action. German success in her wars against Austria and France prompted other powers to improve their military might. The expenditure of huge sums for armaments and compulsory military training became the order of the day. England strove to keep command of the seas against the rising tide of German sea power. These basic trends led to the inevitable outbreak of World War I in 1914.

7. THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES

Latin-American Geography. One of the striking things in our relations with the Latin-American countries is that we know so little about them. The general impression of too many North Americans is that Latin America is a tangled jungle steaming under a tropical sun. In reality, about 40 per cent of the people live in a climate fully as desirable as that of any part of our own country. Much of South America is in a temperate zone and, even in the equatorial region, high altitudes frequently provide a desirable climate. To be sure, there are sharp geographical contrasts on a continent where immense mountains, jungles, wind-swept plateaus, fertile pampas, and hot lowlands are to be found. The Andes, which follow the west coast, constitute one of the greatest mountain systems in the world. Eastward are the vast pampas of Argentina and Brazil, parts of which are similar to our western plains. The four great rivers of South America are the Amazon, the Orinoco, the Magdalena, and the Plata.

Natural Resources. The Latin-American countries include one of the greatest sources of mineral products in the world. This fact alone practically ensures them of a prominent role in world affairs. Gold and silver offered the first lure in that part of the world for Europeans. Besides, there are nitrates, silver, oil, manganese, tin, wolframite, vanadium, copper, and iron, all indispensable in the industrial sphere. Furthermore, sugar, coffee, fruits, cacao, rubber, wheat, cattle, wool, and hemp are produced on a large scale in Central and South America.

Early History. The Spanish conquistadors arrived at Santo Domingo in 1493. They explored the islands of the West Indies, and both North and South America from South Carolina to Chile and Uruguay. Cortes conquered Mexico in 1521, and Pizarro added the Incas of Peru to the Spanish domain in 1533. The Portuguese made a settlement in Brazil in 1532. By the end of the 16th century, there were many thriving Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Central and South America. Enormous wealth poured into Europe from these settlements. The King of Spain was invited to New Spain by one of the colonists and was promised that, if he accepted, his horse would not step on anything but pure silver all the way from Vera Cruz to Mexico City.

The Spanish government guarded the colonies very closely. Immigration was supervised and trade was regulated stringently. Merchandise had to be carried in Spanish ships and colonial trade with foreign countries had first to clear a Spanish port. Spanish ships laden with precious cargoes were often attacked by ships from France, England, and the Netherlands. Great convoys were organized to protect shipping. This cost vast sums of money and the Spanish government sought to offset this expense, in part, by increasing taxes in the colonies. The administration of the colonies in the New World was carried out through viceroys, whose authority was all inclusive. A viceroy, addressed as Most Excellent Sir, lived in the manner of a high potentate. In spite of the elaborate setup that Spain established for governing the colonies, it became increasingly difficult for her to control them. Enormous distances made communication difficult, and troubles at home increased the strain.

The People. No one can begin to understand Latin America without having some knowledge of the people. At first, the con-

quistadors did not bring their families with them to the New World. Some of them mixed freely with the native Indians, and from this union came half-breeds, or mestizos. When Spanish wives were imported, their children who were born in America were called Creoles. Persons who had a mixture of white and Negro blood were designated as mulattoes, and those who had Negro and Indian blood were referred to as zambos. The resulting society was divided not only racially, but also socially. The Creoles, although they were pure Spanish, were looked down upon by the grandees from Spain. The Indians were overrun by everyone. There was also much rivalry between the peoples of various settlements. These conditions enabled the mother country to keep the colonies suppressed longer than otherwise would have been possible. Much the same condition, only milder in character, existed in the Portuguese colonies. The Portuguese colonists did not find rich minerals in Brazil until the late 17th century. Agriculture and stock raising were the chief occupations. Cotton and sugar plantations flourished, and tobacco and coffee soon became important crops. Because of these conditions, Brazilian history has followed a somewhat different pattern from the other Latin-American countries.

Life in Spanish Territory. The Spanish estate system, transplanted into the New World, became the basis for life in the Spanish colonies. An estate consisted of many thousands of acres of land, and many of these estates are still undivided. The owner lived in an elaborate home, directing the labor of hundreds and sometimes thousands of Indians. The contrast between this life and the colonial life in North America has accounted for much of the difference between these two parts of the Western Hemisphere. The conclusion should not be reached that Spain did nothing for her colonies. The oldest universities in America today, San Marcos in Peru and the University of Mexico, are eighty-five years older than Harvard. Missionary work attracted many hardy and brave priests, who established missions in far-distant regions.

Independence. The decline of Spanish influence began with the defeat of the Armada by England in 1588. Control over the colonies showed gradual relaxation, as wars at home led to greater freedom abroad. The Creoles, who continued to oppose the administrative system that excluded them from participation in the government,

became the leaders of the independence movements, in which they were joined by other dissatisfied groups. When Napoleon conquered Spain, in the opening years of the 19th century, he tried to take over the colonies; but in this he failed. Independent governments appeared in many places. For fifteen years, intermittent campaigns were conducted until, at the battle of Ayacucho (1824), freedom was won. Spain lost her colonies, except Cuba and Puerto Rico. Brazil's independence was won in 1825, under the leadership of Dom Pedro. A republic was established in 1889.

The Struggle to Exist. Following the wars for independence, there was almost constant internal trouble in most of the new countries. Several experimented with democratic governments, but most of them were not ready for it. Even Bolivar, the great patriot of South America, thought that a benevolent dictatorship was preferable to a democracy. Several states were divided and disputes between them were numerous. The United States manifested great interest over happenings in Latin America. While the struggle for independence was still going on, the Monroe Doctrine was issued. This famous document was the outgrowth of negotiations between England and the United States over a group of European powers that were threatening intervention in the wars for independence in Latin America. England wanted to protect her trade and the United States was alarmed over the prospect of any European power's gaining further foothold in the Americas.

The Monroe Doctrine. President Monroe followed the general suggestions made by the English foreign minister, George Canning, but he saw fit to steer clear of a joint statement. President Monroe's message to Congress in December, 1823, said that "the American continents . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power. . . . We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." He concluded by saying that if any power attempted to control or oppress the Latin-American governments that had just won their independence, and that we had just recognized, we should consider it an unfriendly act.

The Monroe Doctrine Applied. Just how much real good the Monroe Doctrine did in protecting the Latin-American countries from European aggressors will long be a disputed question. More

important is the attitude of those countries toward their self-imposed protector. While many welcomed the statement when it was issued, others manifested concern over what the United States would do. The Mexican War (1846–1848) was really a step in our westward expansion and not a phase of the Monroe Doctrine. However, it increased the suspicion of certain countries toward the United States. The first real challenge to the Monroe Doctrine from an outside power was made during the Civil War. When the French secured for Maximilian of Austria the title of Emperor of Mexico, our Secretary of State, William H. Seward, protested. The French then withdrew their support, and Maximilian was defeated and executed in 1867. Other incidents that challenged the Monroe Doctrine were the Venezuelian affair and the Magdalena Bay incident. In the former, the United States came to the rescue of Venezuela against England, Germany, and Italy over the collection of some debts. In the latter case, the Japanese, in 1912, considered opening a fishing station in Lower California. The United States protested and Japan withdrew.

The Monroe Doctrine functioned for some time in a commendable way. There were numerous instances in which the United States applied its principles in the interest of her neighbors. Trade relations had developed to the mutual advantage of both the Latin-American countries and the United States. In 1889, Secretary of State Blaine issued invitations for a conference of the states to be held in Washington, D.C. A mutual feeling of respect developed and, a few years later, the Pan-American Union, a permanent inter-American organization, was formed.

Dollar Diplomacy. Before the close of the 19th century, a new element was introduced in our relations with Latin America. The economic penetration of American commercial interests threatened the sovereignty of some of the states and left a feeling of suspicion, which is very deep-seated. As a result of the Spanish-American War, the United States annexed Puerto Rico and established a military protectorate over Cuba. The island was later given independence, except for restrictions on her foreign policy, which were stated in the Platt Amendment. The Cubans regard this as a sign of bondage—an idea that was supported by many of the Latin-American republics. Further indignation was aroused when President Theodore Roosevelt favored the cause of a group

of rebels in Panama who had declared their independence from Colombia in 1903. The building of the Panama Canal was a great achievement, but it aroused bitter indignation, not only in Colombia, but in most of the other Latin-American republics, as well.

The Roosevelt "Big Stick" policy was an interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine that many of the Latin-American governments found highly unpalatable. Nevertheless, for the succeeding quarter of a century it represented the American attitude and was manifest in our industrial and commercial activity. The good offices of the State Department were used to promote American business interests. In the words of President Taft, "the United States should extend all popular support to every legitimate and beneficial American enterprise abroad." Examples of such activity are to be found in our relations with the Dominican Republic, with Haiti, and with Nicaragua. American troops were landed in all three countries to protect investments. This is one of the most unfortunate episodes in our entire foreign policy. Woodrow Wilson made a sincere effort to improve conditions, but World War I occupied most of his attention. Another decade had passed before much change was made.

8. THE FAR EAST

The Orient. The Far East was comparatively unknown to the people in the West until the middle of the 19th century. The great distance that separates the Occident from the Orient and the contrast between the people of the West and those of the East are responsible for this isolation. Even early in the 20th century, Kipling expressed a prevailing feeling when he wrote:

> "Oh, East is East and West is West, and
> never the twain shall meet,
> Till Earth and Sky stand presently
> at God's great judgment Seat."

Imperialism has broken down the barrier. The Occidentals rushed headlong into the East to enrich their purses at the expense of backward Orientals. A challenge to Western supremacy was found in Japan. An important phase of World War II was to determine who holds supremacy in Asia. American forces were sent to help defend the Orient from Japanese aggression.

Chinese Government. Outwardly, China seems to have remained unchanged for many centuries. With her vast population and her extensive territory, she retains her ancient concept of life, oblivious of the industrial progress in other countries. The Manchus invaded China in the 17th century and established a rule that lasted for two centuries. The Manchu Empire included Mongolia, Turkestan, Tibet, Annam, and Cochin China. The Manchus contributed little to Chinese civilization except, as one writer suggested, the pigtail. There was scant semblance of national unity, although the emperor had absolute power. He was the supreme lawmaker, the director of the executive and administrative functions, and the fountain of justice. The Chinese believed that the emperor was given a "mandate" from heaven to rule and that he was accountable to no other authority until that mandate was withdrawn. Nevertheless, there was a great amount of local autonomy in the various provinces. The government in China was really an "autocracy superimposed on a democracy."

Opening of China. Foreign penetration into China began as early as the middle of the 17th century. In 1669, the English gained a foothold in Canton, which under their guidance became a thriving port. The Manchus refused to grant any further concessions and refrained from entering into diplomatic negotiations with the Western powers. Christian influence had been slight in China as late as the 19th century. England and China clashed over the right to sell opium, which was prohibited by the Chinese government. The treaty that ended the Opium War (1842) provided that China should open five more ports for foreign trade, which incidentally included opium. The English also obtained the island of Hong Kong and induced China to allow foreign offenders against Chinese law to be tried in their own courts. These privileges, known as extra-territorial jurisdiction, were soon extended to other countries besides England and provided the entering wedge for a general penetration of China. Areas for foreign settlements were granted in most of the large cities, Christian missionaries were tolerated, diplomatic representation was granted to foreign powers at the Chinese capital, and the Yangtze River was opened to foreign commerce by the beginning of the last quarter of the 19th century.

Internal Dissension. The exposure of the Chinese people to Occidental civilization placed them in a quandary. They resented

being disturbed in their centuries-old slumber. Lack of unity prevented combined opposition, and the powers proceeded to carve off portions of China's vast territory. In 1862, France took Cochin China, Cambodia, and Annam and united them into what the French called Indo-China. Russia started down the Amur River, seeking an outlet for the Trans-Siberian railroad. In a general scramble for territory, Germany secured Kiaochow and Shantung, and England acquired Weihaiwei. England and the United States advocated an "open-door" policy, in order to prevent complete dismemberment of the country. The Boxer Rebellion (1900) was a protest against foreign penetration. It was put down by an allied army, including troops from the United States. This forced China to become more tolerant, at least officially. Western schools and colleges were started in Chinese centers, an increasing number of Chinese youths went abroad to study, and political reforms were begun.

The Revolution and the Republic. Revolt against the Manchu government broke out in China in 1910. Wu T'ing-fang, ex-ambassador to the United States, assumed the office of minister for foreign affairs and appealed for foreign sympathy. Intermittent fighting and general disorder were prevalent over much of China. Finally, a group of delegates from the rebellious provinces, mostly self-appointed, met and elected Dr. Sun Yat-sen as provisional president. The Manchu Emperor abdicated on Feb. 12, 1912. Dr. Sun was not acceptable to several factions, so he retired in favor of Yuan Shih-Kai, the first president of the Republic of United China.

Yuan Shih-Kai tried to restore peace, but he could not disband many of the practically independent military organizations, which continued to exist. These and other local organizations hampered the operation of the government of the Republic. Many Chinese had no conception of what representative government entailed. Some were led to believe that there would be no taxes under the new regime. When taxes were levied, they were opposed. A long struggle ensued between the central government and rulers of the provinces. Foreign powers saw in this an opportunity for intervention. Large sums of money were invested by foreign capitalists. This further discredited the central government in the eyes of many influential Chinese. In August, 1912, the Kuomintang

(Nationalist-Democratic party) was formed to oppose the president. The party was branded as a seditious organization by the central government and officially was dissolved on Nov. 4, 1913. Yuan Shih-Kai then attempted to organize his own government, which amounted to a dictatorship. In World War I, China joined the Allies against Germany, but Japan saw an opportunity for intervention. On Jan. 15, 1915, the famous Twenty-one Demands were served on China. The results placed the Chinese government in a very vulnerable position and served as a forerunner of more recent difficulties, which will be discussed later, in another connection.

Japan and the Japanese. Japan's geographical position in the Far East is somewhat similar to that of England in Europe. The Straits of Tsushima are comparable to the English Channel. Japanese leaders have noted this and have secretly planned to play a role in the Orient similar to the one that England has filled in the Occident. Japan's natural beauties have encouraged the development of a highly aesthetic sense in the people. However, all is not favorable in this land of scenic charm. Earthquakes are devastating and frequent; typhoons often sweep in from the sea in destructive assaults; scarcity of ground makes living difficult for many of the people. Japan, which is about the size of the state of California, has a population of more than half that of the United States. Four-fifths of the land is so mountainous that cultivation of crops is most difficult—in many places, impossible. Consequently, there is a considerable element of insecurity in Japanese life. Water power is available, but iron is scarce and the coal supply is poor in quality. Many trends in Japanese history can be traced to these general conditions.

The Japanese, like most modern people, are a mixed race. In early times, many migrant groups overran the islands, the last great wave coming early in the Christian Era. The basic stock is Mongolian, with a considerable southern admixture coming from Malaysia. The basis for Japanese physical characteristics and culture has three main sources. The warlike spirit must be Mongolian in origin. Japan's political institutions, which are interwoven with mythology, seem to have been imported from southeastern Asia. Much later, other basic influences came with Chinese and Korean immigrants. Many of the Japanese nobility are of Chinese or Korean origin.

Political Institutions. During the first five centuries of the Christian Era, the chieftain of the Yumato clan succeeded in becoming recognized as Emperor, and was accepted as the direct descendant of the sun-goddess. Gradually, the Japanese people came to believe that they were a single patriarchal family, at the head of which was "the Sovereign that is a manifest God." Largely through influence that came from China, the land was nationalized under the emperor's control. However, the great estates of the clan leaders remained intact and hereditary. Peasants often attached themselves to the chieftains, becoming serfs. Imperial officials were put in charge of local government, making the emperor the all-powerful head of the Japanese state. However, the emperor lost much of his power to the local feudal lords and, in time, became a mere figurehead in the government. The real power behind the throne was the great Figiwara family. In the 12th century, one of the feudal lords obtained imperial appointment as a shogun, or a military dictator. The office became hereditary and maintained its influence for 250 years. During much of this time, Japan was closed to foreigners, and existed as a "hermit" nation.

There was one important group that the feudal government of Japan could not control. A merchant class began to rise early in the 16th century and, with only intermittent delays, progressed rapidly. Even during the isolation period, industry prospered through internal trade. Large business houses, including the present Mitsui firm, were founded and money, instead of rice, was made the medium of exchange. The merchants, aided by numerous other dissatisfied groups, supported a move to overthrow the shogunate. At the same time, Western influence was knocking at the door. The Japanese merchants wanted the doors opened, in order further to develop their trade. Commodore Perry made the first entry in 1853, and a commercial treaty was signed with the United States in 1858. This treaty opened five Japanese ports to Americans. After strong resistance and some military persuasion, opposition to foreign influence in Japan weakened and a new era dawned.

One of the by-products of the change was the rise of the influence of the emperor. For more than five centuries he had been a figurehead, but in 1868 Emperor Meiji dismissed the shogun and assumed control. Almost immediately, there was a feverish rush to catch up with the West, especially in industry. Foreign capital and skilled workmen were admitted into the

country. Great monopolies developed under government patronage. Mitsui, Mitsubishi, and Sumitomo monopolized cotton spinning, glass and cement factories, mining enterprises, and shipbuilding.

The Power behind the Throne. The ruling faction in the revised government of Japan constituted an unusual combination. It included the clan leaders, controlling the government bureaucracy; the old feudal lords, with possession of the landed estates; and the business and industrial group. In the early period, the clansmen dominated. In 1889, a constitution was adopted that was closely modeled after the Prussian constitution. This framework of government was accepted as a "gift" of the emperor. It stated that the emperor "inherited the right to rule in lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal." Reverence for the emperor became a recognized principle on the part of the Japanese people. On the surface, there seemed to be a system of representative government. There was a cabinet, a diet with two houses, and political parties. Nevertheless, the power of the emperor was considered divine in origin, and the lower house had very little authority. The emperor, who had final say, could be reached only through advice from members of the Imperial Household Ministry. The privy council, the supreme advisory body to the emperor, was chosen by group interests. Finally, the Army and the Navy general staffs were independent of civilian control and, through the Imperial Household, might have direct contact with the emperor. The aristocrats, the bureaucrats, and the militarists could dominate the government, acting through the emperor.

Japan Becomes a World Power. By the end of the 19th century, Japan had begun to play an important part in the economic life of the Far East. The new regime proceeded to copy the Western powers in capitalistic development, and then to beat them at their own game. China was being divided into spheres of influence by England, France, Germany, and Russia. Japan watched this with growing concern. In 1894, war was declared on China. Korea was acquired and the Liaotung Peninsula, which forms the southern tip of Manchuria, was annexed. Russia and several other European powers protested, and Japan meekly returned the peninsula to China; but when Russia proceeded to seize it for herself, Japan opposed the action with a declaration of war. Japan's position had

been strengthened by an alliance with England (1902), but she defeated Russia without any outside military support.

Japan became an Eastern power as a result of the war with Russia, and a world power through her activities in World War I. In accordance with promises made to England, she joined the Allies, although she was openly hostile to China and Russia. Japan enjoyed a profitable trade and emerged from the war with her industrial outlet doubled. At the peace conference, she obtained Shantung, Germany's naval bases in the Pacific, and a permanent seat on the Council of the League of Nations. She was recognized as one of the great world powers. However, as subsequent events show, she was not satisfied with these gains.

9. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, 1872–1918

The art of international intercourse is one of the most neglected phases of modern civilization. In no other field of activity have we progressed so slowly; and in no other field is progress so necessary if our civilization is to endure. Certainly, internationalism has not kept pace with nationalism, and unrestricted nationalism is self-destructive.

Development. Modern international relations came into existence with the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), where a "Society of Nations" was recognized. Grotius suggested rules and regulations for the conduct of war and for making peace. The French Revolution and Napoleon's career marked a new epoch in international relations. The aggressiveness of the revolutionary spirit, later sponsored by Napoleon, led to the formation of alliances and counteralliances. Napoleon was overthrown by a combination of powers, which included most of the states of Europe. The concert of Europe attempted to prevent a recrudescence of revolution and to maintain the *status quo* in Europe. The question of intervention in the affairs of the individual states led to the breakup of the alliance.

The rising tide of nationalism prevented unified action on any question. Combinations were formed or contemplated on the basis of prospective gains at the expense of other powers. The excuse for these actions was invariably defense, but danger to world peace arose from the prevailing belief that the best defense was an offense. When two alliances, each vigorously opposed to the other, are

achieved, warfare is imminent. The old principle of *balance of power* may postpone war, but it also makes war inevitable. Frictions arise that draw the tension between the two alliances tighter and tighter until a comparatively trivial incident, such as the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand in 1914, causes a general outbreak of hostilities.

Motives. Several new factors have intensified relationship between states. Most important is the economic urge that has become so much a part of nationalism. The desire for more land, more markets, and more raw materials have spurred governments, supported by the people, to take drastic action. Patriotism is used to support the imperialist's appeal to the masses. Seldom do the people know the real causes for the war in which they are asked to participate, until long after the war is over. "Remember the Maine" and "make the world safe for democracy" were meaningless terms, which spurred the American people into action, but which were not the real causes for the actions of the government. Carefully planned propaganda has become a tremendous factor in modern warfare. Improved means of transportation and communication have destroyed natural frontiers. There was a time when a river or a mountain range was considered adequate protection from a hostile neighbor. Today, not even an ocean is an insurmountable barrier. Hatreds have increased rather than diminished, and international relations have developed into an intense drama of rivalry and bloodshed.

a. The Great Alliances, 1879–1914

The most outstanding international development in the period preceding World War I was the formation of two great alliances: the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. They divided Europe into two hostile camps and paved the way for the outbreak of the terrible calamity of 1914.

The Triple Alliance. Bismarck was responsible for the formation of the Triple Alliance. He knew that France would seek revenge for having lost Alsace-Lorraine, and he wanted peace. This seems paradoxical in light of the fact that he had been responsible for three wars; but he wanted peace in order to consolidate the newly formed German Empire. He feared a coalition of powers, with France at the head; and in order to prevent it, he tried to

placate her. He supported the Republic in France, thinking that a republican form of government would be weak, and he encouraged French expansion in Africa and Asia in order to appease her sense of loss in the transfer of Alsace-Lorraine. Furthermore, Bismarck sought French isolation. He formed an alliance with Austria and Russia (League of Three Emperors, 1872) in order to keep them from coming to terms with France. Bismarck recognized the weakness of the League of Three Emperors, so he made a separate agreement with Austria (1879), as a defense against Russia and France. It provided that, if either power were attacked by Russia, the other would come to the rescue. Also, if France should attack either power, the other would remain neutral, unless Russia should come to the aid of France. Bismarck, rather grudgingly, allowed Italy to become a party to the alliance (1882). Italy was seeking revenge against France for having taken Tunis.

Purpose of the Triple Alliance. The Triple Alliance was purely a defensive alliance. The concessions made to Italy, with the various renewals, were the most aggressive parts of the agreement. When World War I broke out, Italy withdrew from the Triple Alliance, on the ground that Germany and Austria were fighting an aggressive war. Italy was prompted to take this step for territorial gains that the opposing alliance had offered her. The existence of the alliance and its secrecy was the source of a great amount of agitation in France. The latter country imagined that Germany was getting ready to invade France again, and that the alliance was made in preparation for the invasion. Bismarck had no intention of attacking France unless France should threaten to invade German territory. Had the firm old German chancellor remained in power, the Triple Entente might not have been formed.

The Dual Entente. When Bismarck was forced out of the chancellorship, the men who were appointed to take his place did not have the slightest idea of the character or the purpose of the diplomatic structure that he had built. In his belief, there were two things that Germany, for her own safety, needed to avoid: the enmity of England and an alliance between Russia and France. Both of these came to pass within a decade after his dismissal. Kaiser William II was anti-Russian and sought to humiliate Russia wherever possible. France, desirous of a friend to help her oppose Germany, made advances to Russia. Germany was regarded by

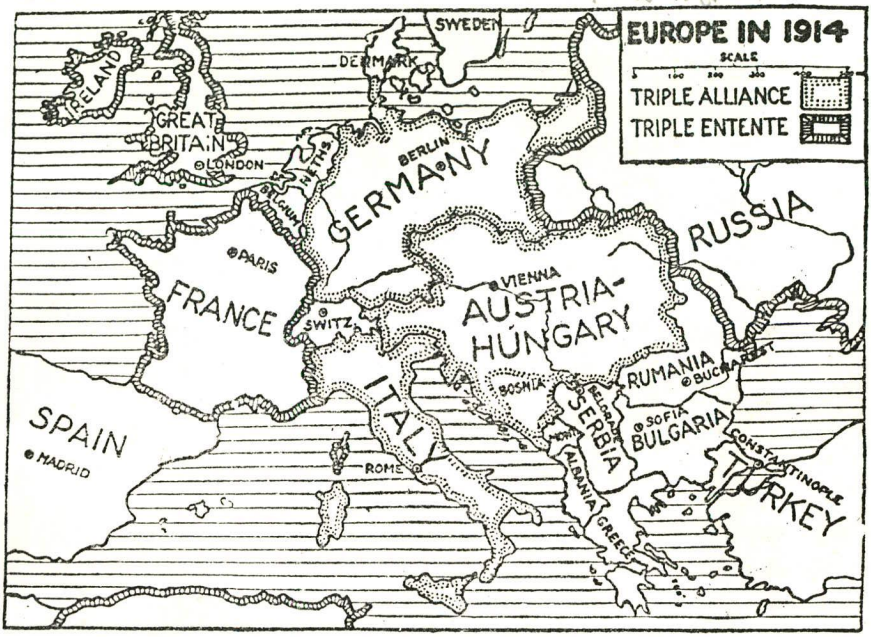
both France and Russia as a common enemy. With this as a basis, they formed the Dual Entente (1892), which was the first step in building up the Triple Entente.

The Entente Cordiale. The Anglo-French *Entente Cordiale* (1904) was out of conformity with tradition, as England and France had been enemies for 200 years. Almost every war that was fought during that whole period found England on one side and France on the other. They had clashed in India, in America, and in Africa. Still, in 1904 they saw fit to bury the hatchet and forget the past. Common hatred of Germany was the reason for this friendship. France wanted to win back Alsace-Lorraine, and its return was a *sine qua non* in all negotiations. England's fear of Germany was due to the apparently successful efforts on the part of Germany to become a colonial and naval power. Germany was also making inroads into English trade. "Made in Germany" was a familiar stamp found on goods even in English stores. England and France came to an understanding, on the grounds of a promise on the part of England not to oppose French expansion in Morocco and a commitment on the part of France not to oppose the English in Egypt. These were excuses for a cordial understanding that was based upon common hatred of Germany.

The Anglo-Russian Entente. In 1904, alliances existed between France and Russia and between France and England. Not until 1907 did England and Russia agree to complete the diplomatic triangle. In order to reach an agreement, both England and Russia had to forget a great deal that had happened in the past. England had been a vigorous opponent of Russian expansion in the Near East. Common opposition to Germany was important, and England no longer feared Russia as she had in the past. Japan had defeated the latter country without much trouble in 1905. Germany and Austria, in their intrusions into the Balkans and in the building of the Berlin-Bagdad railway, were a threat to English interests in the eastern part of the Mediterranean. England chose the lesser of two evils and followed a plan quite characteristic of English diplomacy—playing off one power against another. Russia would serve the purpose of checking Germany, although England had no intention of giving Russia a free hand in the Dardanelles.

Crises. The Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente were antagonistic from almost every point of view. The powers grouped

themselves together in order to promote their own interests and in order to curb the activities of their enemies. Consequently, issues even of a trivial nature produced crises. Each controversy tended to draw the nations one step nearer to a breaking point. Between 1904 and 1914, there was a series of crises, the last one being the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand, heir apparent to the



(Map drawn by George Brodsky of Chicago for "International Politics" by Frederick L. Schuman.)

Austrian throne. This brought about general mobilization and an outbreak of hostilities.

The first Moroccan crisis (1905) arose from an effort of Germany to curb French expansion in Africa. France had the support of her allies, Russia and England, and Germany was forced to retreat. In the Moroccan crisis, the Triple Entente held together, but Germany did not receive any support from either Austria or Italy. France and England made military agreements to oppose Germany in case the latter persisted in her demands. The annexation of Bosnia by Austria in 1908 produced the second crisis in Europe. Austria and Russia had a secret agreement to the effect that Russia was to help Austria obtain Bosnia, while Austria was to

aid Russia in obtaining Constantinople. Russia, failing to get Constantinople because of the opposition of England, raised a protest because Austria took Bosnia. The alliances held together—Austria was supported by Germany—and France backed Russia—but not to the point of military aid. A third crisis was that of Agadir (1911), in which Morocco was the issue again. Germany made a final effort to keep France out and failed.

The fourth crisis was the outbreak of the Balkan Wars in 1912. The Balkan states made an effort to free themselves from the control of Turkey. After Turkey was defeated, they quarreled among themselves over the division of the spoils and lost most of what they had gained. The international consequence of the war rests on the interest that the powers had in the outcome. Austria, supported by Germany, was expanding into the Balkans. The Germans were building a railroad, planned to reach from Berlin to Bagdad on the Tigris River, that would enable them to tap the natural resources of Mesopotamia and to obtain some of the trade with the Far East. Consequently, they were interested in protecting Turkey and in suppressing the Balkan states. England opposed German and Austrian expansion because it was a threat to her interests in the Near East. France supported Russia, who opposed Turkey. This controversy was still unsettled when a Serbian nationalist assassinated the Austrian archduke in Bosnia—an incident that fanned the flames of dissension kindled by the Balkan Wars and led to the outbreak of hostilities.

b. Attempts at International Conciliation

International Conciliation. We have followed the intricate and revolting story of what was done to bring about the condition that opened the way to the war. Some mention should be made of the ineffectiveness of the efforts to prevent war. Peace has been an ideal of many enlightened statesmen, but there has been little progress toward making it rmanent. The powers of the world have sent delegates to conferences where peace has been eulogized but not enthroned. At the Congress of Vienna, the concert of Europe was advocated, to prevent the outbreak of future wars. The Declaration of Paris in 1856 drew up rules to protect neutral trade in time of war. The International Red Cross Society was organized, in 1864, in an effort to humanize war. International arbitration gained

prestige through the successful efforts of England and the United States in the arbitration of the Alabama Claims (1872), the Bering Sea Controversy (1882), and the Alaska boundary disputes (1903). The Hague Conference, called by the Czar of Russia in 1899, was attended by representatives of 26 states. A regular tribunal to which international disputes might be referred was established. A second Hague Conference (1907) tried to humanize war by the elimination of practices of barbarism. Subsequent history shows how miserably all these attempts failed.

Failure. There are a number of reasons why international pacifism has failed. Intense nationalism made arbitrations difficult, regardless of how trivial the dispute happened to be. Patriots talked about honor, love of country, etc., and neglected the consideration of the question from a judicial point of view. Territorial disputes jeopardized the prospects for peace. A number of regions, such as Alsace-Lorraine, Poland, and the Dardanelles, were sore spots, which refused to heal. Military men and munition makers —the Krupps in Germany, the Vickers in England, and the Schneiders in France—made it a business not only to sell munitions but also to produce war in order to facilitate their trade. Preparedness increased at a pace never before heard of in the annals of human history and has continued on the upgrade. These conditions have made arbitration and conciliation difficult.

c. World War I

War Responsibility. World War I was a culmination of a number of fundamental developments. The causes for the war have been the object of detailed study and vigorous efforts to place responsibility on this or that state. Archives have been searched, memoirs of statesmen have been written, and numerous monographs have been made available stressing this or that phase and condemning this or that state. World War I might have been avoided, and no doubt certain states were more responsible than others in bringing it about; but in the place of quibbling over these trivial facts, it would be more profitable to learn a lesson by taking a broader perspective of the whole situation. The war was caused by tendencies and practices not confined to any one state but to be found everywhere. They were part and parcel of the trend of affairs in the century preceding 1914.

Nationalism. One of the major underlying causes for the war was nationalism. Nationalism in its early stages was an apparently harmless idealistic movement whereby state governments were formed so that boundaries of nationalities might coincide with those of political groups. The driving force was primarily defense and self-expression. To begin with, it is impossible to have racial and political boundaries that are identical. On a frontier where racial groups have intermarried and lived together for centuries, no artificial line can be drawn to separate them. The boundaries between France and Germany and between Germany and Poland have demonstrated how difficult it is to reach an amicable agreement and how danger zones develop from such conditions.

Nationalism acquired decidedly aggressive characteristics. Patriotism was glorified as the ideal in churches, in educational institutions, and in other cultural activities. National egotism and intolerant patriotism shadowed sane and tolerant moves for the promotion of international good will. The worship of the state by the citizen body has enabled unscrupulous leaders to pursue dangerous aggressive policies under the guise of patriotism. In World War I, soldiers from every state faced cannons of the opposition with the conviction that they were doing so in defense of "the fatherland." Unbridled nationalism made compromise between states exceedingly difficult, and furnished a loyalty for the state and a hatred for the foreigner that led to war.

National animosity is even more dangerous when it becomes racial, as in the case of Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism. Underlying the whole structure of nationalism in Europe, there have been the efforts to unite all Germans and to unite all Slavs. Germany was preaching the unity of all Germans in the Balkans, where the Russians were preaching Pan-Slavism. Russia backed Serbia in the Balkans, while Germany backed Austria for expansion in the same territory. Even literature became chauvinistic. Writers like H. S. Chamberlain glorified Teuton supremacy. Rudyard Kipling eulogized British imperialism and the white man's superiority.

Economic Nationalism. Closely associated with nationalism, if not actually a part of it, was economic imperialism. The fight for raw materials and for world markets furnished one of the most important causes for international misunderstandings. Businessmen, through politics, forced governments to seek colonies, and territorial expansion was encouraged by patriotic organizations and

newspapers. A wild scramble for colonies came in the last quarter of the 19th century. England had a major part of the territory available for colonization. France was a close second, with her African colonies and Far Eastern possessions. Russia had a vast expanse of territory, including a large part of both Europe and Asia. Germany and Italy had no place in which to satisfy their hunger for territory. Unfortunately, the available land for colonization had either been acquired or was in the process of being acquired by some other power. However, this fact did not dismay the Germans. They began the task of securing land by fair means or foul. Germany tried to prevent France from acquiring Morocco. She sought possessions in the Far East and attempted to penetrate the Near East at the expense of England. The principal reason for England's participation in the Triple Entente was to curb Germany's economic expansion. Both groups, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, aimed at economic expansion and furnished one of the most truly fundamental causes of the conflict.

Armaments. A good index of public opinion and an indication of the general uneasiness in 1914 can be seen in the extent of preparedness on the part of the various states. France and Russia had 2,239,000 men under arms in 1914. The Central Powers, excluding Italy, had 1,239,000 men ready for service. In addition, France and Russia had 5,070,000 trained reserves, while Germany and Austria had 3,358,000 ready for the call to the colors. The expenditures for military purposes between 1910 and 1914 reached stupenduous figures. France and Russia spent $2,320,444,291, while Germany and Austria made an outlay of $1,885,878,805.

A nation armed to the teeth is not likely to be willing to make concessions to an enemy. The predominant position held by the military class in several countries—Germany and Russia, for example did not lend a conciliatory attitude. Their profession was war; honors and promotions come to military men in time of war, not in time of peace. Another important group that aided in building up a war spirit was that of the munition makers. Recent investigations have shown how the Krupps of Germany, the Schneiders of France, and Vicker-Armstrong of England worked together to promote the sale of their commodities.

Secret Diplomacy. The anxiety and suspicion between the already antagonistic groups were increased by secret diplomacy. Most of the existing treaties in 1914 were not in themselves aggres-

sive or dangerous, but the fact that their provisions were secret led opponents to use imagination as to what they might include. Fear over what the alliance between Germany and Austria might embrace spurred France to form an alliance with Russia. Germany was accused of having entered into an understanding with Austria to conquer the world and, especially, to destroy France. When the treaty finally saw the light of day, long after the war was over, it was found to be defensive rather than offensive.

Immediate Causes. The assassination of Archduke Ferdinand on June 28, 1914, precipitated World War I. At first thought, it seems incredible that the death of one man in an out-of-the-way Balkan town could bring all the important nations of the world into a life-and-death struggle. The event was the occasion, not the real cause, for the war. Tension had developed to such an extent that only a slight impact was needed to break the slender threads that held the opposing factions apart. The time was ripe for the states to capitalize on an incident, to measure swords with opponents whom, they felt, they must destroy sooner or later. Austria was determined to humble Serbia. Germany had given a "blank check" to support her ally. Russia backed Serbia, to promote Pan-Slavism, and had the support of France, who wanted Alsace-Lorraine from Germany. Soon after the Austrian ultimatum was sent to Serbia, Russia ordered general mobilization, and France had committed herself to the support of Russia. Germany felt that she had no other course to follow except that of backing Austria. She reasoned correctly that France was aiming at the fatherland and that, if Austria should be lost, Germany would stand alone.

England was in a quandary. Sir Edward Grey made a pitiful plea for peace, but the belief is common that commitments had bound him to support France and Russia. England did not want war, but fear and hatred of Germany prompted her to become a participant. England's responsibility for the war rests in her failure to restrain her allies. The same can be said for Germany. They all felt that war would come sooner or later and they were all blindly hopeful that their opponents would back down or that, if war did come, its duration would be short.

The Struggle Became a World War. When the well-groomed war machines were put into operation, a state of war soon gripped six continents and five oceans. A German army crossed Belgium

and entered France. Italy broke from the Central Powers for the sake of territorial gains that she hoped to acquire with the aid of the Entente Powers. Japan declared war against Germany with the hope of obtaining the German colonies in the Orient; and Turkey, fearing Russia, joined the Central Powers. Even the far-away United States was drawn into the conflict, in spite of Washington's Farewell Address, the Monroe Doctrine, and the traditional policy of isolation.

In the beginning, most Americans believed that the war was strictly a European conflict, but economic complications gradually drew them, too, into the struggle. Propaganda supporting the Entente Powers was poured into the country. American financiers, who had loaned the enemies of Germany a great deal of money, gave their support to a declaration of war. Stories of German atrocities, the sinking of the "Lusitania," and the unrestricted warfare of Germany furnished material to build up a crusading spirit in the United States, to "make the world safe for democracy." President Wilson, as spokesman for this cause, delivered a war message to Congress in which he stated: "We desire no conquest. . . . We are but the champions of the rights of mankind. . . . We shall fight . . . for the rights and liberties of small nations, for such a concert of free people as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

The War. The war dragged on, not for only a few months, as most people believed it would, but for years. It called not only for the mobilization of vast armies to fight from trenches an unseen enemy, but also for the mobilization of wealth and economic resources. Noncombatants were called upon through well-organized propaganda to give financial aid and to deprive themselves of things that the boys in the trenches needed. Propaganda was spread into enemy countries, imploring the people to rebel against their autocratic governments and to help the Allies establish democracy. The Germans were told that if they would depose the Kaiser and set up a representative government there would be no further claim against them. It has been estimated that over 18,295,000,000 leaflets were scattered over enemy territory from Allied airplanes and balloons. These appeals became more effective as the war dragged on and as hunger and disillusionment gripped the war-weary populace. Outnumbered by the Allies in man power and with

their resources exhausted, the Central Powers crumbled. An armistice was signed on Nov. 11, 1918. The Allies had won on the battlefield, but an equally bitter struggle had to be waged at the conference table, and years of economic and social readjustment had to pass before the effects of the war should become obliterated.

d. THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

General confusion prevailed among the Allies after the close of the war. There were vast differences of opinion among the powers as to the policy to be followed in drawing up a treaty. Jealousies and dissensions developed, which almost reached a breaking point and which made a lasting peace impossible. The ugly specter of Bolshevism hovered over several countries, and a feeling of uncertainty prevailed everywhere.

Difficulties. The Paris Conference held its first session on Jan 18, 1919. From the beginning, there were two distinct points of view: the idealistic, headed by President Wilson; and the materialistic, held by most of the other representatives. The United States officially expected no compensation either in money or in land. Wilson believed that the time had come when all the mistakes in the control of international affairs could be rectified and the future of peace might be assured through the operation of a league of nations. It was his belief that a democratic form of government could be adapted to all people. He had announced his corrective measures to the world in his famous Fourteen Points (Jan. 8, 1918), and he went to Paris expecting them to be lived up to by the victorious powers in writing the terms of peace. He descended, like Moses from the mountain, carrying his precious code. The President from America traveled through England, France, and Italy in order to explain his principles to the people. He was received with as much enthusiasm as if he had been a messiah.

Wilson believed that the people and not the governments would decide the issues, but Wilson, like Moses, found that graven images —revenge and reward—were being worshiped. Statesmen representing the other powers professed adherence to the ideals of Wilson, but they considered material gain to be much more important. Clemenceau, the old "Tiger" of France, wanted Germany permanently crushed. He expressed a desire for the German territory south of the Rhine, including Alsace-Lorraine. "The American President," he remarked, "has fourteen commandments;

the good Lord Himself had only ten." Lloyd George, the English representative, had just emerged victorious from elections at home with the campaign slogan, "Make Germany pay." Italy wanted the fulfillment of the promise to give her Trieste, Fiume,



Europe after Versailles. (*Map drawn by George Brodsky of Chicago for "International Politics" by Frederick L. Schuman.*)

and the Adriatic coast. Serbia expected an outlet to the sea, and Japan wanted the German possessions in the Orient, in addition to the Shantung peninsula. Wilson had hoped to have German representatives sit in the conference, but France flatly denied this privilege to them. The very first of the Fourteen Points, "Open covenants of peace openly arrived at," was violated.

The Treaty. The terms of the Treaty of Versailles were drawn up by the "Big Three"—Wilson, Lloyd George, and Clemenceau. The struggle was a bitter one, in which the whole conference was at the point of disruption more than once. Wilson fought for his principles and gained recognition for some of them, at least in part. It is hard to imagine what the results might have been if Wilson had not been there. As the treaty stands, it is bad enough. Germany was condemned as being solely responsible for the war (Article 231); consequently, she was commanded to pay the damages. She was forced to relinquish 15 per cent of her European territory, all of her colonies, and 10 per cent of her population. A number of new states were recognized, including Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Poland, and several small states whose territory had been a part of Russia. Germany was asked to surrender her navy, reduce her standing army to 100,000 men, limit the manufacture of war materials, and destroy all the forts on the Rhine and in Helgoland. She was asked to pay an indemnity, which was fixed in 1921 at about $33,000,000,000. The treaty also included a League of Nations, where Wilson believed it would be possible to iron out the mistakes that, he admitted, were embodied in the treaty. Similar treaties were drawn up for Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

The League. The League of Nations represented a pious hope for an improved international relationship. Wilson abandoned most of his principles (only 4 of the 23 recommendations that he made were included in the settlement), but he put his hopes in the League. Germany's disarmament was provided for and an invitation was given to the other powers for general reduction in armaments. Machinery was constructed for arbitration and international cooperation. The Assembly included from 1 to 3 representatives from each member state. The Council, as established originally, had 8 members and in 1933 was increased to 15. A permanent Secretariat and a permanent Court of International Justice, with 11 judges and 4 deputy judges, were decided upon.

All members agreed to protect each other in case of an attack from some other power. Treaties inconsistent with the League were to be abrogated, and all new treaties were to be registered with the Secretariat. Steps were taken to control white-slave and opium traffic, to safeguard public health, and to promote international economics and intellectual cooperation. The administra-

tion of colonies was to be supervised through mandates, and the rights of minorities were to be safeguarded. The refusal of the United States to ratify the League was a severe blow to the prestige of that body. The states of Europe felt free to return to the same policies that had been in play before the war. The fact that the League is a part of the Treaty of Versailles, that has been so justly criticized, has added to its unpopularity. The League found no effective way of coercing large states; although Japan, Germany, and Italy openly violated decisions, nothing was done about their violations.

e. The Aftermath

Losses. The toll of the war in life and property is stark evidence of its significance. About 8,000,000 individuals were killed in action or died of wounds received in battle. More than 19,000,000 were wounded, of whom more than a third were totally disabled. The total casualties were over 27,000,000, and to this number should be added a great many who have died since from causes to be traced directly or indirectly back to the war. The total cost of the war reached a grand total of $186,000,000,000. The average daily cost amounted to $126,000,000 a day, or $5,250,000 an hour, from the declaration of war to the signing of the armistice. The industry of the world was crippled and inflation financially ruined many people. Some of the powers had hoped to gain economic supremacy through the war, but economic chaos came instead, even to the victorious. Russia, Germany, Austria, and Italy were prostrate. The people were starving and industries were strangled. Business in Europe in the years following the war was reduced to about one-fourth its normal amount. Labor was dissatisfied and the masses threatened to turn to Bolshevism. Strikes and general disorder prevailed throughout the civilized world.

Political Changes. One of the war aims, as expressed by Wilson, was to make the world safe for democracy. A survey of Europe demonstrates how completely this failed. During the war, democratic principles were abandoned in order to facilitate the winning of the conflict. The press was censored, freedom of speech was curtailed, and legislatures were deprived of their authority. Some autocratic governments were destroyed during and after the war; but dictatorships, which were even less democratic than most

hereditary monarchies, became the order of the day. Nationalism was intensified, and the possibility of cooperation between states was made more difficult than ever. Overlapping territorial claims and racial hatreds were more intensified than ever. Danger zones were more numerous in Europe than in 1914. In Europe, there were Danzig, the Polish Corridor, Upper Silesia, the Tyrol, and Trieste, not to mention those in Africa and Asia.

Summary. The unsolved problems that were imposed by the war were much more numerous than the problems that were solved by it. War debts were the source of many perplexing difficulties, causing ill will between states and retarding economic recovery. Trade restrictions in the form of quotas and tariffs were resorted to, in order to protect home industries from the ravages of the depression. Consequently, world trade suffered. Armaments, which were such a burden on government resources before and during the war, actually increased. In fine, there was a condition of general demoralization—economic, social, moral, and political.

III. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TRENDS OF THE 19TH CENTURY

1. CONTINUATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Increasing Importance of Industrial Changes. The Industrial Revolution, discussed in the previous chapter, was but the beginning of important economic and social changes. Great as were the consequences of the changes in the 18th century, they have become increasingly important since. From one generation to the next, industrial changes, revolutionary in character, are made. People who spent months crossing the American continent in covered wagons, a little over half a century ago, now witness great airliners crossing the same country in a few hours. Who can predict what the future may hold in store? In the second phase of the Industrial Revolution (1850–1914), the changes in economic institutions were not so startling as in the earlier period. Rather, it was a period of growth and approaching maturity. The great increase in large-scale production, the tendency toward specialization, and the dependence on markets and raw materials made the leading industrial countries less and less self-sufficient. Money

became more and more important as a medium of exchange. The use of money provided a means of accumulation of a surplus, which could be used for increasing the processes of production. As a result, large industrial organizations involving huge sums of money began to appear. Capitalism, in a real sense of the word, was put into practice.

Metals and Materials. The demand for new machinery and constructions put a premium on the acquisition of metals. Iron and steel were in great demand. However, there were needs for other metals and minerals in larger quantities than ever before had been produced. From the quantitative point of view, copper was one of the most important. In alloys of bronze and brass (copper, tin, and zinc), it was used for pipes, vats, castings; and in its original form, in the electrical industry. Lead was in demand for electrical apparatus, paint, solder, and pipes. Zinc was needed for castings. Recently, the demand for aluminum, discovered in 1823, has put it high in the ranks of desirables for use where a light, strong metal is needed. Tin, nickel, manganese, magnesium, vanadium, tungsten, and chromium should not be overlooked as important materials in the industrial world. Many of these are limited in quantity and distribution. Control of them has added numerous complications to international relations.

Improved and New Industries. The huge amount of production and the massiveness of some of the articles of production have necessitated progress in engineering. Transmission of power is an important item in any large industry. Individual electrical power units supplanted a complicated system of shafting, pulleys, and belts. The assembly line was one of the most important steps in efficient and large-scale production of intricate machinery. There was a general improvement and speeding up in all important industries. Cloth manufacturing was enormously accelerated. Cotton, wool, silk, and hemp commodities were produced in ever-increasing quantities. The demand for coal for smelting and steam power led to improved methods in mining. Coal was needed, in addition, for producing gas, which was extensively used both in the home and in the factory. Oil, electricity, rubber, and a variety of other materials increased to perplexing figures the list of essential commodities.

Practical science came to the rescue in solving a host of intricate

problems. Chemistry was at the basis of many accomplishments. The making of alloys, dyes, food products, explosives, and drugs were first worked out in formula in the chemical laboratory. Dependence on substitute material has placed many states under obligation to the chemist. In 1839, Goodyear discovered a means of vulcanizing rubber for making shoes and rubber tires. In 1930, the value of rubber products in the United States was over $1,000,000,000. In 1929, 808,000 long tons of raw rubber were consumed in the world, and increase has been steady. Rubber and oil have become two of the most important raw materials in the industrial world.

The New Industrial Revolution. By the beginning of the 20th century, a new industrial revolution was in progress. Some of the principal features included (1) improvement of machinery through inventions and scientific experimentation; (2) the development of new forms of power, such as electricity and internal-combustion engines; (3) the great increase in industrial production; (4) the introduction of new methods of merchandising; and (5) the prevalence of serious political and social problems, as a result of these changes. Electricity, gasoline, steel, and alloys have brought an end to the predominance of steam and iron. Electricity and the internal-combustion engine have gone a long way toward replacing steam power. The automobile and the airplane are effectively competing with other existing means of transportation. Oil-burning engines propel luxurious liners across the ocean. All these things have accelerated greatly life in general, but accompanying all the improvements there are problems that are difficult to solve.

2. APPLIED ECONOMICS

Revolutionary changes in the conduct of business and in government's attitude toward business were a necessary part of the new industrial setup, New financial policies had to be evolved. Business management became a complicated procedure. Adjustments had to be made not only by capitalists but also by the workingman. Interdependence of groups, professions, and even nations became an ever-growing tendency. The impact of these changes began late in the 19th century, and the climax has not been reached.

Industrial Organization. The rise of capitalism was a natural consequence of industrial development. Men who were willing to

risk their fortunes in a vast economic enterprise and who by skillful management and hard work built up large industries became influential in all leading countries. They searched the world for raw materials and markets, advertised their commodities to increase demand for them, and sought new articles to catch the public's eye. In Europe, Wedgwood, Wilkinson, Krupp, and Vickers, and in America, Carnegie and Ford were great figures in industrial organization. Many enterprises were the work not of single individuals, but of groups of individuals, who formed joint stock companies and corporations.

Where large sums of fixed capital were needed for large permanent investments for canals, railroads, insurance companies, and the like, such organizations were formed. Government regulation was necessary. England permitted incorporation as early as 1844, if an association presented the signatures of seven acceptable persons, a statement of purpose, the names of the proposed directors, and a guarantee of a definite sum of money. The government made yearly checks on the operation of corporations. A stockholder was exempt from liability for debts incurred by the company beyond the amount of his individual investment. Joint-stock companies rapidly increased in number. In 1885, there were fewer than 9,000 in England, but in 1930, there were more than 105,000. They have been a great boon to industry, but they have also presented many serious problems.

Finances. Facilities for handling money and the use of money were adjuncts to industrial and commercial developments. The investment habit existed to a limited degree in England and in Holland at the beginning of the 19th century. The idea of investment received a sad blow in the notorious failure of the Mississippi Company in France and the bursting of the South Sea Bubble in England. Cautiously and slowly, people began to trust banks and investment companies; but as late as 1848, the use of checks was unknown in France. The Rothschilds, a family of Jewish financiers, started banking in southern Germany late in the 18th century. Nathan Rothschild established a branch bank in England in 1800.

Speculation in canal and railroad building was responsible for the accumulation of many large fortunes in the United States. Jay Gould and William H. Vanderbilt acquired colossal fortunes in that way. Andrew Carnegie became a multimillionaire through the organization of steelworks, and John D. Rockefeller made a for-

tune similarly in oil. Investments appealed to many people in all walks of life. Small investors, as well as large, hoped to become rich through the purchase and sale of stocks and bonds of corporations. The sale of stocks led to the formation of a stock market. Cotton clearinghouses (one was established in Liverpool in 1816) and the wheat pits of Chicago and Minneapolis provided for speculation in cotton and wheat. The total capitalization of the stocks and bonds of public service corporations in the United States amounted to $20,000,000,000 in 1915.

Competition. Competition was regarded as a law of progress and the life of trade. Industrial growth following the Industrial Revolution opened what seemed to be limitless opportunities for people with ambition and a little capital. Wherever there was a high reward for capital and labor, newcomers would invade the field. New ideas were introduced, to try to capture a market; manufacturers sought to reduce the cost of production, in order to undersell rivals; and advertising filled newspapers and magazines for the purpose of luring new buyers. The buying public profited from competition among producers. Purchasers were permitted to buy at a lower market and were furnished a better product than might otherwise have been available. Cutthroat competition, however, was not a healthy thing from the point of view of the industrialist. Competition often jeopardizes profit, and profit is the motive in any private business enterprise. Consequently, a realization dawned that the life of trade and the possibilities of profit were more likely through cooperation than through competition.

Combinations. A good example of cooperation can be found in the formation of trade unions, where workmen tried to establish the principle that wages should not be pushed below a recognized standard through competition for jobs. In this respect, capital learned a lesson from labor. Industrialists attempted to assure profit by limiting or, if possible, by eliminating competition with each other. There were two types of combinations attempted: horizontal and vertical. A horizontal combination provided for rival sellers of the same commodity to join hands and work together on the same basis. A vertical combination united the interests which controlled the source of raw materials, the factories that manufacture the goods, and, if possible, the industries that use the finished product.

Vertical combinations have been used extensively in the iron industry. It has been found advantageous to unite under one firm all the processes, from mining to the production and the sale of the finished article. In this way, material is obtained at cost, the middleman profits are eliminated, and a greater assurance of a market is realized. The Krupp works in Germany and the Sheffield firm in England are two of many vertical combinations that were in operation before the close of the 19th century.

Cartels, or combinations of firms to maintain prices, were frequently international in character. Shipping "rings" fixed freight rates and passenger fares on most of the world's ocean lines. The armament industry was controlled by a few large producers—the Krupp works in Germany, Schneider corporation in France, and Vickers in England. They agreed to share in the markets of the world. In addition to cartels, there were other forms of combinations that united various firms. This was primarily a postwar activity, but it started before 1914. J. and P. Coats, an English sewing-cotton firm, united the four chief rivals and formed a monopoly that virtually controlled the thread industry of the whole world. The Lever Brothers gained control of a vast world-wide soap industry. Nobel, in 1866, formed a combination that controlled the dynamite companies in Germany and in Great Britian. Kreuger, a Swedish engineer, built a match monopoly that produced 80 per cent of the world's supply of matches.

International Trade. There was a time in the history of mankind when a community or even a state was economically self-sufficient; today this condition does not exist except in the most primitive communities. In 1914, England imported all the oil, about 50 per cent of the meat, and 80 per cent of the wheat that she used. A vast network of trade has developed, connecting every portion of the globe with every other. Foreign trade composes a large percentage of every great nation's economic activity. It is so interrelated that an economic depression in one region spreads throughout the world. Between Waterloo and the outbreak of World War I, international trade increased twentyfold, to the amount of $40,000,000,000. England was the leading country, controlling about one-sixth of the world's trade in 1913. Germany was second of the European Powers, controlling approximately one-eighth of the total trade. Commodities of every kind and

description were included, but the bulk of trade between states can be divided into three large classes: first, the exchange of goods, cotton, rice, cocoa, coffee, tea, rubber, spices, cane sugar, and fruits between the tropics and temperate zones; second, trade in grain, wool, oil, minerals, lumber, meats, and manufactured goods between agricultural and industrial sections; third, trade between industrial areas exchanging goods that one section might be able to produce and another could not.[1]

Protection and Free Trade. International trade brings up the bitterly contested topic of the policy that the government is to take toward imports and exports. States did not trade with each other as political units but as a matter of personal or corporate buying or selling. Americans sold to Germans as individuals, not as a matter of exchange between governments. The government may choose to adopt a policy of free trade, that is, to allow imports to come in without duty; or it may see fit to inaugurate a protectionist policy by placing a duty on imports. The validity of these points of view depends to a great extent on the individual country or, in practice, on the influence that economic interests may have on the government.

The free trader argues that natural conditions should determine whether or not imports are to be admitted. If producers in one country can undersell those in another because of the availability of natural resources or any other factor, people should be given the advantage of the cheaper price. The protectionist has a variety of arguments to support his contention. One is patriotism. Every state should encourage industrial activity for national defense and for the sake of increasing the wealth and prestige of the country as a whole. In time of war, a state should be able to depend on its own means of production, and that could not be done if imports were admitted freely in time of peace. That new industries should be protected until they are strong enough to compete with foreign markets is a much-used argument of protectionists. Furthermore, it is argued that revenue obtained from tariffs is a handy asset—one that is easy to collect and that imposes no apparent hardship on the citizen body.

Commercial Policies. Protection gained favor in both Europe and America after the Napoleonic Wars. During the postwar

[1] Heaton, *Economic History of Europe*, 660.

depression, producers, hurt by lower prices and contracting markets, agitated for protection. The English extended the Corn Laws, placing a ban on wheat imports that sold under 10 shillings a bushel. Wool and hundreds of other items were put on the list. France had virtually a prohibitive tariff by 1826, and Russia and Prussia fell into line with similar regulations. England was the first to relinquish her protectionist policy. English industrialists felt that they could compete in the world markets and that they needed cheap food supplies and raw materials. The Navigation Laws were repealed in 1854; this opened British ports to foreign vessels without restriction. By 1882, duties on all but 12 imported articles were repealed. Reciprocity agreements were made with France, in 1860, in which each country promised the "most-favored nation" treatment. Similar treaties were made by other countries. The *Zollverein* (1818), or the customs union among the various German states, abolished most of the numerous trade restrictions. Holland, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, and Russia took steps to lower their tariffs. In the last quarter of the 19th century, there was a noticeable tendency to return to protection, which continued until World War I.

Beginnings of Economic Transformation in the United States. Economic transformation in the United States paralleled rather closely the European developments. The Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812 stimulated industrialization in America. Before the outbreak of the Civil War, textile, boot and shoe, and iron and steel industries were established as profitable and growing enterprises. The United States enjoyed many circumstances favorable to developing a great industrial state. Natural resources, including lumber, coal, and iron, were available in large quantities. There was a large market for all kinds of manufactured goods at home, with the ever-increasing population and the expanding frontier. Europeans were anxious to invest the needed capital, as well as to supply skilled and unskilled workmen. The government aided the young industries, after 1816, by adopting a protective tariff. The Civil War brought a rapid increase in tariff duties. The immediate cause for the increase was to take care of the fiscal needs of the government. However, after the war, there was a marked tendency to levy higher duties, culminating in the Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1909. After the election of Woodrow Wilson in 1912, a more moder-

ate protection act was passed. The trend was interrupted by World War I, but soon was renewed.

American Industry. The textile industry was the first to assume definite proportions in the United States. The first machine-made cotton warp was produced about 1790 in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. Mechanical methods were used for spinning and weaving cloth in Massachusetts in 1813. By the middle of the 19th century, cloth manufacturing became a thriving industry in New England. The value of the output of American cotton amounted to $115,-681,774 in 1860, at which time there were over 5,000,000 spindles in operation. The woolen industry developed more slowly than the cotton, but by the outbreak of the Civil War there were more than 2,000 mills operating on a paying basis. The iron industry made remarkable progress after ore deposits were discovered near soft-coal beds in western Pennsylvania in 1855. Agricultural machinery, household necessities, firearms, rails for railways, and steam engines were produced on as extensive a scale as anywhere else in the world.

Canals and railroads facilitated industrial progress in the United States. The Erie Canal was completed in 1825, and the first transcontinental railroad was ready for use in 1869. In 1900, there were 198,964 miles of railroads in the United States. Agriculture developed in a less striking fashion. The Civil War was a stimulus to improvement in agricultural methods because of the increased demand for foodstuff. A foreign demand for agricultural products also was evident. England purchased much of her food material from the United States until, in a later period, Canada, Australia, the Argentine, and Russia became important sources of supply. On the eve of World War I, American agriculture was experiencing great handicaps. The increased use of machinery and the steady rise in the value of land increased the farmers' investments. Many, who clung to primitive methods, were subjected to stringent economy in order to live. Most farmers were small-scale producers and had to buy accordingly. As a result many of their commodities had to be bought at high prices.

Further Development. The Civil War was a turning point in American industrial development. Machine production and the factory system took a firm grip on industrial life in the United

States. By 1890, manufacturing was the principal source of income for the people. Industrial centers spread from New England to other parts of the country. The South and the Middle West robbed New England of its former predominance. The South began to make cotton cloth and St. Louis became a great shoe-manufacturing center. The discovery of iron-ore deposits in northern Michigan and Minnesota moved the iron-producing center westward, and the United States became one of the leading iron producers in the world. Steel-ingot and casting production amounted to 26,095,000 long tons in 1910. Petroleum, electricity, and automobiles were leading products in American industry.

China and Japan. The rise of Japan as a great industrial power is one of the most significant events in modern history. At the time of the Civil War in the United States, Japan was still slumbering in her medieval seclusion; yet within a little over a quarter of a century, there were more than 4,500 industrial and commercial companies operating on the basis of westernized economy. Foreign trade, which amounted to almost nothing in the middle of the 19th century, reached the value of $680,000,000 in 1913. The cotton industry, in Japan, employed 127,000 in 1914, and silk, toys, matches, and cement were exported in large quantities, threatening markets formerly monopolized by Western Powers. This rare accomplishment by Japan was made in spite of the fact that she lacked most of the raw materials needed by a great manufacturing nation. In such resources as the industrial triumvirate—coal, iron, and oil—she is practically a poverty-stricken land.

Such conditions necessitate the utmost efficiency for successful competition in the world's markets. An important factor in this efficiency was monopoly. Seventy per cent of the Japanese industry lay in the hands of 15 interests. One of Japan's greatest assets in the field of industry was human resources, cheap labor. She was able to compete with other industrial powers by driving down labor costs in proportion to the rise in cost of materials. In 1934, Japan's labor cost per unit of production was 45.2 as compared with 77.7 in the United States. China has been less fortunate than Japan. She failed to develop her industries on a Western basis, and her vast stores of raw materials and markets have invited intervention

and domination by other states. Japan, realizing this situation, tried to remedy her own lack of raw materials by gaining control over China and the islands of the Pacific.

3. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENTS IN THE 19TH CENTURY; ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL THEORIES

Two Points of View. The economic and social order that was an outgrowth of the industrial changes of the 18th century has had many unfortunate results. While the factory system lifted one class to prosperity and comfort, it resulted in misery and privation for another. The wage earner was subjected to the not altogether tender mercies of his employer, while his family lived in a miserable home in the crowded section of a large industrial city. Freedom of family life was gone. Fresh air, sunshine, and home-grown food were luxuries that the city worker could not obtain. Disease, crime, and misery haunted the streets of every large industrial city. There were many people affected in this way. Could the new industrial age be justified in the face of these realities? Philosophers were divided on the question. One group idealized capitalistic individualism and another condemned it. The battle has continued to rage, gaining momentum as the gulf between capitalism and labor has widened.

Economic Liberalism in Europe and America. The economic liberalists, supporting the economic doctrine of *laissez faire* and the political theory of individualism, came to the defense of capitalism. Their work began, before the Industrial Revolution, in an attack against the restrictive economic policies of governments. After the industrial changes, they sought the exclusion of government interference. They found authority for their action in the writings of Adam Smith and in the arguments of the French physiocrats. Neither Adam Smith nor the physiocrats, however, foresaw the use that the defenders of capitalism were to make of their work.

Opposition to social legislation was read into Smith's theories by capitalistic economists. Malthus (1766–1834), Ricardo (1772–1823), and James Mill (1773–1836), in England, eulogized the virtues of free competition in business, with the government maintaining a hands-off policy. Malthus contended that government intervention was not only harmful but also useless, since a

large part of the people were doomed to misery in any system. Ricardo, in his "subsistence theory of wages," argued that wages should be the controlling factor. This allows the laboring class to exist and perpetuate itself with no change in numbers. If, he argued, you pay laborers more money, they increase in numbers and the problem is the same.

The outstanding advocates of economic liberalism in France were Say (1767–1832) and Bastiat (1801–1850). Say attempted to distinguish between an economist and a statesman. The economist should confine himself to formulating theories, but leave to the statesman the practical art of applying them. He eulogized capitalistic economy and believed that if the capitalists were let alone to pursue their own course the correct social order would follow of its own accord. Bastiat enthusiastically sponsored free trade. Both he and Say refused to recognize the existence of poverty and misery among the proletariat and saw only the blessings that were bestowed on the capitalists. Thunen (1783–1850) and Rau (1792–1870) were German economic liberals and Carey (1793–1870) sponsored the cause in America.

Conformity with Other Philosophies. The economic liberalists were accepted enthusiastically by capitalists, who helped to popularize and spread the ideas. The philosophy was in conformity with the prevailing romanticism, that denied the feasibility of artificial aid to progress, and with political individualism, advocated by Humboldt and John Stuart Mill. In intellectual circles it was generally accepted.

Contributions. The economic liberalists did a great deal of good, even though they retarded much-needed progressive legislation. They forced into disrepute the outworn mercantilistic theory. Most of the state governments had been committed to this, and it had to be removed before a new industrial program could be inaugurated. Through the influence of the economic liberalists, free trade was encouraged, political reform bills were sponsored, slavery was condemned, and criminal codes were made less severe. Poor relief was urged as a preventive treatment for social evils, and a more liberal policy on the part of a mother country toward its colonies was urged. The proletariat, as a class, did not benefit materially from any of these measures. Self-improvement among the laborers was frowned upon. Many

beneficent people strove to free the Negro, but at the same time they overlooked the fact that many of their white countrymen were entangled in industrial slavery.

Evolutionary Theory and Economic Liberalism. Economic liberalism fitted in well with the evolutionary hypothesis, which gained headway in the Age of Reason. Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) believed that progress is the fundamental law of nature, not merely a human phenomenon. Individualism, by the dictates of nature, is the end of creation. "The ultimate development of the ideal of man is certain. . . . Always towards perfection in the mighty movement—towards a complete development and a more unmixed good." The natural unimpaired course of nature would remove evils without the interference of the state. "The duty of the state is to protect, to enforce the law of equal freedom; to maintain men's rights, or, as we commonly express it, to administer justice. . . . Whenever the state begins to exceed its power of protector, it begins to lose protective power." Spencer invoked the agnostic realism of the Deists and the physiocrats, who believed the physical universe to be presided over by a law-giving and law-abiding Providence, in support of individualism. Social evolution would be controlled by the same conditions that control biological evolution.

Opposition. Economic liberalism had its critics. The argument that all would be well in the end, irrespective of apparent hardships, failed to impress the unfortunate victims of circumstances. The ever-increasing wealth and prestige of a few was counteracted by the misery apparent in a large percentage of the population. Poor wages, miserable conditions in the factories, crowded tenement districts, unemployment, and disease did not escape the attention of the humanitarian. A school of economists attacked economic liberalism as being unsound. There were champions of a social theory of wealth, instead of a one-class benefit. Lord Lauderdale (1759–1839) in his *Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Public Wealth*, distinguished public from private interest and public wealth from private riches. The latter, he maintained, were gained usually at the expense of the former. John Rae (1786–1873), a Canadian, was one of the early champions of state interference and regulation, as opposed to the laissez-faire policy. A Swiss scholar, Sismondi (1773–1842), was an early supporter of applied

sociology. He advocated a program of reform that had an intimation of trade-unionism, factory legislation, and social insurance.

Reformers. The move for remedial legislation to better the conditions of workmen gradually gained momentum. The plight of the children working in the factories ultimately was brought to the attention of the outside world. Articles appeared in newspapers, members of parliament called attention to what was going on, and books appeared on the plight of children in factories. Elizabeth Barrett Browning issued an appeal in her "Cry of the Children":

> Do ye hear the children weeping, O my brothers,
> Ere the sorrow comes with years?
> They are leaning their young heads against their mothers,
> And that cannot stop their tears.
> The young lambs are bleating in the meadows;
> The young birds are chirping in the nest;
> The young fawns are playing with the shadows;
> The young flowers are blowing toward the west;
> But the young, young children, O my brothers!
> They are weeping bitterly.
> They are weeping in the playtime of the others,
> In the country of the free.
>
> . . . .
>
> They look up with their pale and sunken faces,
> And their look is dread to see,
> For they mind you of their angels in high places,
> With eyes turned on Deity.
> "How long," they say, "how long, O cruel nation,
> Will you stand, to move the world, on a child's heart,
> Stifle down with a mailed heel its palpitation,
> And tread onward to your throne amid the mart?"

Public-spirited men like Sir Robert Peel (1788–1850), himself an employer of a thousand such children, caused a bill to be introduced in Parliament in 1802, called the "Health and Morals Act to Regulate the Labor of Bound Children in Cotton Factories." It prohibited nightwork and limited the working day to 12 hours. This was the first of the Factory acts, which, although restricted in application, did provide for further government regulation.

Robert Owen (1771–1858) was a very active supporter of reform legislation in England. He, a successful manufacturer, declared that he was more interested in "living" machinery—men, women, and children—than in "dead" machinery, such as mechanical devices. At New Lanark he was the moving spirit of an ideal community of workingmen and their families. His pamphlets were read by men throughout the world, including Napoleon, John Quincy Adams, and the Czar of Russia.

Early Factory Legislation in England. Factory legislation was one of the most discussed issues in the English Parliament in the 19th century. The second Factory Act, an extension of the first, became law in 1819 after a bitter struggle. Children who were not pauper apprentices came under its regulation, factory conditions were to be improved, and a half hour had to be allowed for breakfast and an hour for dinner. In 1833, similar regulations were applied to all textile mills. Each child had to have a physician's certificate of physical fitness, and factory inspectors were appointed to see that the laws were properly carried out. The Children's Half-time Act, passed in 1844, restricted working hours for children to one-half day or the whole of alternate days, and included all women in the same regulations. The Ten-hour Act of 1847 limited the working hours for the same group to 10 hours a day.

All the above-mentioned acts applied only to textile workers; yet conditions were just as miserable in mines, where women and children were subjected to intolerable punishment. A bill passed in 1842 prohibited boys under ten years of age and women from working in mines. Other laws were passed that revised and extended the laws already in operation. One of the most important of these was the Factory Acts Extension Act of 1867. This defined a factory and brought all such organizations under the control of the factory laws. The Factory and Workshop Consolidation Act of 1878 was a veritable factory code for the regulation of industrial establishments. The bill filled more than 50 printed pages of a statute book.

Later Labor Acts. The English government took action in social and economic affairs, in addition to passing bills to regulate conditions in factories. The establishment of a postal system proved how effectively certain types of work for the benefit of all could be done by the central government. The post-office savings

bank was established in 1861. It provided that any sum from one shilling upward to £200 would be accepted as a deposit and provided for interest at 3½ per cent. Parcel post (1883), the telegraph (1870), and the telephone (1878) were taken over by the government. The Workingmen's Compensation Act (1897) required that employers insure their workingmen against accidents.

Between 1906 and 1914, many social reforms were passed in England. Industrial insurance, bills for the special welfare of children and for general comfort of employees became law. The Old Age Pension Law (1908) provided that every man or woman seventy years of age, whose income did not exceed $150 per year, should receive a pension from the national government. After 1909, government labor exchanges were instituted, to promote employment. In 1917, there were 1,555,223 positions filled through this agency. National insurance against sickness and unemployment was made a reality in 1911. Sickness insurance was compulsory for all workingmen receiving less than $800 per year, and unemployment insurance was demanded in special trades. Minimum-wage boards composed of employers and employees, together with a representative of the government, were agreed upon. This was a revolutionary experiment in economic and social legislation. It established the principle that wages might be fixed and then enforced by the government. The old theory of *laissez faire* was shoved into the background. However, "rugged individualism" still had its champions, in spite of the fact that the idea was losing ground.

Legislation in France. England was not the only country where labor legislation was undertaken. Most of the countries copied the precedent set by England, but as a general rule the hostility toward state regulation was not so bitter elsewhere as it had been in England. France was the first Continental country to adopt systematic legislation for the protection of labor. Napoleon took some interest in labor legislation, mainly to control laborers rather than to protect their rights. The Child Labor Law of 1841 was the first important law of the kind in France. The minimum age of employed children was set at eight, the maximum number of hours for a working day was prescribed, and provision was made for the education of children under twelve years of age.

An interesting, although unsuccessful, experiment in labor legislation was made during the brief existence of the Republic of

1848. Louis Blanc (1811–1882), insistent upon a regeneration of society for the benefit of the wage-earning class, put through a series of drastic measures, which included public control of property, the provision of work and wages for everyone who needed them, and the establishment of a labor commisssion to be composed of workingmen, employers, and political economists. Endless trouble developed. Workmen clamored for shorter hours, the national workshops proved a failure, and the government neglected to provide the necessary funds to carry out the work. The most inclusive bill was passed in 1874; it extended the protective measures theretofore applicable to child labor, it provided protection for women workers, and it created a special inspection officer for the enforcement of the laws.

In 1906, the Ministry of Labor was made an administrative department of the national government. A labor code was begun in 1910. It was arranged in seven books. The first contained labor contracts, and the second provided for labor inspection and the regulation of labor. World War I prevented the immediate completion of the code.

Legislation in Germany. The need for labor regulation in Prussia was brought graphically to the attention of the government by means of a report submitted by recruiting officers. It showed that on account of the inferior physical condition of the young workers it was impossible to raise the prescribed contingents for the army. As a result, a law was passed in 1839 that limited the working day of children. With the completion of the North German Confederation, in 1867, the need for uniform labor laws became apparent. Following the Franco-Prussian War, in 1871, and the industrial expansion that accompanied it, there was demand for further legislation. An extensive industrial code was promulgated in 1891. Child labor was stringently regulated, factories were to be carefully inspected, while Sunday rest and the protection of women were strictly enforced. Germany had an excellent law but, unfortunately, it was not uniformly enforced throughout the empire.

Labor Legislation in the United States. Labor legislation in the United States before the Civil War related chiefly to the securing of a ten-hour day and to the prohibition of child labor, although this practice was not widespread and in many respects lagged behind similar trends in several European countries. During the

last half of the 19th century, laws to protect the safety of workers in factories and mercantile establishments were enacted and inspection was provided. By 1900, most of the states with mines had laws requiring the installation of safety devices and regulating hours of labor. Women were prohibited from employment in mines, barrooms, and smelting and refining works. Child-labor regulations forbade employment during school hours and kept the children out of dangerous or immoral occupations. In 1892, a federal law designated eight hours as the working day for government employees. Court action often set aside regulations of hours for work. The Supreme Court upheld a law to limit the length of employment in underground work to eight hours (1898). This encouraged further legislation of a similar nature.

Legislation in the 20th century followed the trend begun in the preceding period. In 1912, the eight-hour day was designated by the government for mechanics and laborers, with some exceptions; and in 1916, the same ruling was applied to railroad employees. The growth in child-labor regulations was impressive. From 1904 to 1922, the number of states that had an eight-hour day for children under sixteen increased from one to thirty-two. The national child-labor law of 1916 prohibited the shipment, in foreign and interstate commerce, of goods produced where children under fourteen years of age were employed. The Supreme Court, however, ruled this law unconstitutional. Some states did go ahead with child-labor restrictions, but not much was accomplished before World War I. Social-insurance and social-security legislation were not general until after that war.

Legislation in Other Countries. By 1914, most of the European countries west of Russia had labor regulation and labor inspection. Even a country as backward as Austria had laws modeled on those of England and Germany. Switzerland's labor laws date from 1815, and they were kept up to date. Belgium had a good labor law by 1905. Holland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark had laws as liberal as any in Europe. Spain and Italy were backward, but some progress had been made.

4. TRADE-UNIONS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

The Problem. The attempts on the part of the state to regulate labor in order to protect the workmen from unscrupulous employers had been referred to. Improvements were made, but in

most cases factory legislation did not go far enough to satisfy the labor group. Laborers ultimately found, after painful experience, that by forming combinations and working together they could make their demands much more impressive. There were many problems facing such attempts. The best type of organization, the way to appeal to fellow workers, dissension in their own ranks, difficulty of agreement on aims, and the best manner of confronting employers were questions that brought forth many plans and a variety of opinions. Leaders were agreed on two things—replacement of individual bargaining between workmen and employer with collective bargaining, for the purpose of obtaining a standard wage and standard working hours, and a united front on the part of labor to prevent one person from underselling labor in general. The aim was to use peaceful negotiations but, if that method failed, a strike might be used as a last resort. The labor movement in modern times has followed three lines of development: unionism, cooperation, and politics.

Beginnings. Probably the first semblance of a modern trade-union can be found in the journeyman's associations in the guilds in the 17th century. The journeyman did not carry his demands far, because of the relative certainty that he would become a master craftsman and thus be relieved of the abuses about which he complained. There was no permanency in the status of the worker, and he lived in hopes of rising above the position of mere workman. This is an ambition that many common laborers still have. The Industrial Revolution altered the position of the common worker. The establishment of the factory system drew the employee and the employer further and further apart. The factory, at the same time, gathered together in one group a large number of laborers, all of whom had common interests. These were generally opposed to the interests of the employer, and the natural tendency was for the workers to combine in order to promote their own interests.

Obstacles. Progress in labor organization was very slow. Laborers were ignorant and without experience; laws in most countries made combinations illegal; and public opinion, largely because of capitalistic propaganda, was hostile. In England, the Combination acts, passed at various times between 1700 and 1800, prevented artisans or tradesmen, either employers or employees,

from combining for the purpose of changing rates of wages. The enforcement of the law seemed to be entirely in favor of the employer. In fact, there was, on the part of the upper class, a prevailing fear of democratic movements on the part of the masses. The clergy, philanthropists, and economists were suspicious of the motives and policies of labor organizations. The movement toward trade-unionism faced what appeared to be insurmountable obstacles in the incompetency of labor leaders, in the influence of the employers in official circles, in the existence of prohibitory laws, and in the hostility of public opinion However, one by one, these obstructions have been either removed or greatly reduced.

Legalization in England. The laws restricting labor combinations were not in conformity with the spirit of liberalism, which had gained so much headway in England in the 19th century. The general abolition of various restrictions in conformity with the philosophic tendency brought about the repeal of the Combination Acts (1825). Parliament, however, still insisted that violence and intimidation on the part of both employer and employee was illegal. Collective bargaining was acknowledged as legal. More restrictions were removed in 1871 and in 1875, and this gave the trade-union in England legal rights much the same as any other organization. The result was the gradual disappearance of public suspicion and animosity against trade-unions.

Expansion. Trade-unions grew rapidly after their legalization. Funds were created through dues, in order to help the cause along and to aid members who were forced out of work because of illness. Unions to include workmen in different occupations were formed and annual trade-union congresses were started in 1864. Regular yearly meetings have been held since 1869. English laborers send delegates to London while Parliament is in session, to try to obtain favorable legislation and the appointment of officials in the interest of trade-unions. On the whole, they have been very successful. The principles of labor combinations used in England were later applied in Germany, France, Italy, and the United States.

Organization in Germany. German labor organizations go back at least to the Franco-Prussian War. Labor leaders faced a hostile government. Antisocialist laws were on the statute books in Germany until 1890, but by 1914 labor was well organized. German employers resisted labor groups by organizing to oppose

them. The Central Union of German Industralists, made up of the colliery proprietors and ironmasters of Westphalia, is an example. They attempted to boycott the unions by refusing to give employment to trade-unionists and socialists. The struggle was still going on when World War I broke out, in 1914.

Organization in France. Labor organization in France was slower and more irregular than in England or Germany. Labor combinations were forbidden by Napoleon; the problem was discussed at great length in the famous Penal Code of 1810. There was no marked relaxation until after the Revolution of 1830. At that time, the programs of Saint-Simon and Fourier began to attract attention. Napoleon III (1851) revived the labor legislation of the great Napoleon, and it was not until 1864 that combinations of workmen were legalized. The famous Waldeck-Rousseau law of 1884 gave labor the recognition in France that it had gained in Germany and England. The *Confederation générale du travail* (the general confederation of labor, 1895), one of the largest and most influential labor organizations in the world, was organized at Limoges. It excluded politics and declared that its sole object was the unification of workingmen "in the economic domain and by bonds of close solidarity, in the struggle for their integral emancipation." The society was active in the propagation of revolutionary syndicalism. It published a paper, *La voix du peuple*, which carried ideas to the workmen so effectively that in 1906 there were 1,309 strikes involving 438,466 workmen.

The Labor Party. Trade-unions found a means of expression in politics in England. Members were urged to vote for certain candidates, and in 1893 a separate party was organized. Not until 1900 did they succeed in electing a member to Parliament. In 1906, seven labor candidates were sent to represent laborites in the government. Two famous cases, the Taff Vale case (1901) and the Osborne Judgment (1909), accentuated political activity on the part of the laborites. The Taff Vale decision, handed down by the House of Lords, the highest court of appeal in England, declared that trade-unions might be sued and, if convicted, be forced to pay damages for loss incurred to a company's property through strikes. Enough pressure was brought to bear to force Parliament to pass, in 1906, the Trade Disputes Act, which practically reversed the decision. The Osborne Judgment declared it illegal for trade-unions

to defray the expense of members in Parliament. As members of Parliament received no pay, it was virtually impossible for a representative of the workers to serve, because of lack of funds. In 1911, the Labor party members requested a bill for the payment of salaries to all members of the House of Commons, and it was passed. The Labor party was strong enough during World War I to become a part of a coalition government.

Trade-unionism in the United States. There were few attempts to organize labor in the United States prior to the Civil War. With improved transportation facilities and with the great increase in the number of factory workers, organization was made easier. The real labor movement probably began in 1827, when the Mechanics Union of Trade Associations was organized in Philadelphia. By 1836, there were five trades and national unions: cordwainers, combmakers, carpenters, weavers, and printers. The printers' union is the oldest existing union in the United States. A shoemakers' union, with several thousand members, was organized in 1867. In the same year, a National Labor Congress was held in Baltimore. The representatives organized to demand an eight-hour day, a national labor bureau, immigration restrictions, tariff reductions on necessities, and the abolition of prison labor. The Knights of Labor was formed in Philadelphia, in 1869, with the idea of uniting all workers into one central union. In 1885, there were 100,000 members. They asked for better working conditions, the referendum, a bureau of labor statistics, prohibition of child labor, graduated income and inheritance taxes, a postal savings-bank system, government ownership of railways and telegraphs, arbitration of labor disputes, and an eight-hour day.

The American Federation of Labor, in an attempt to unite all wage earners into a single organization, came into being in 1881. It was limited to wage earners. Political activity was opposed and the strike was declared legal. In 1920, there was a membership of 4,100,000, but some groups were not induced to join. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, The Amalgamated Textile Workers, the Industrial Workers of the World, the Locomotive Engineers, the Railway Conductors, the Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, and the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen remained independent. The Industrial Workers of the World was a more radical organization, advocating sabotage and general violence to

secure their desires. They challenged the existing order in their warlike songs, such as this:

"We hate their rotten system more than any mortals do,
Our aim is not to patch it up, but build it all anew,
And what we'll have for government when finally we're through
Is one big Industrial Union."

5. SOCIALISM

Origin. Middle-class rule superseded the domination of the aristocracy of the old regime. The middle class demanded written constitutions, in order that political institutions might serve their interests against arbitrary interference by absolute monarchs and against the aspirations of the lower class. When the new governments were established, legislation restricting business enterprises was abolished and little, if anything, was done to improve conditions of the workers. Socialism was the proletariat's answer to the restrictions imposed upon them by middle-class rule. The socialist idea of political organization has many variations, ranging from legislative reform without disturbing the political structure of the state to a general overthrow of existing governments and the establishment of a political order controlled by the workers.

The root of Socialism can be traced to the French Revolution, when all sorts of ideas for the reconstruction of society were born. Babeuf, the "Father of Socialism," advocated compulsory nationalization of wealth, social equality, and abolition of property. He observed:

> When I see the poor without the clothing and shoes which they themselves are engaged in making, and contemplate the small minority who do not work and yet want for nothing, I am convinced that government is still the old conspiracy of the few against the many, only it takes a new form.

Babeuf popularized his ideas through his own newspaper and through many popular songs that he sponsored. Charged with causing an uprising, he was arrested and executed in 1797.

Utopian Socialism. A group of idealists, including Saint-Simon, Owen, and Fourier, sponsored what has been called Utopian Socialism, named after Sir Thomas More's *Utopia.* They recommended the voluntary formation of social groups into large, familylike organizations, in order that the unit could live together.

Owen's experiments at New Lanark, in England, to which we have referred, and at New Harmony, in Indiana, are examples. Saint-Simon (1760–1825), one of the many Frenchmen who fought in the American Revolution under Washington, spent a fortune on an unsuccessful social experiment. He advocated common ownership of all land and capital, to be managed scientifically by the state. His slogan was "From each according to his capacity and to each according to his need."

Fourier (1772–1837) believed that people should be divided into industrial communities consisting of about 1,800 persons each. The earnings should be divided, after each citizen was given a stated sum, giving labor five parts, capital four, and talent three parts of the remainder. Several attempts were made to carry out his plans. Brook Farm Colony in Massachusetts was such an experiment made in America. Greeley, Hawthorne, and Dana were prominent Americans interested in the scheme. The Christian Socialists may be classed as Utopian Socialists. They believed that the ideal society could be reached through the application of the principles of Christianity. The Utopian Socialists had only a small following, even among the working class. Their ideas were too theoretical and idealistic to be carried out, but they did attract the attention of reformers to the need for change, and thus indirectly accomplished a great deal.

Decline. The Socialist movement had made little headway in England and in the European countries by the middle of the 19th century. Most of the experiments before that time had failed miserably. The leaders were theorists who, dissatisfied with the existing conditions in society, found satisfaction in planning ideal Utopias, in which property was held in common and injustice was unknown. With the possible exception of Owen, the Socialist writers before Marx paid no attention to either of the questions as to how their experiment could be realized or how it could be made practicable. Most of them believed that mankind, when informed of the virtues of their scheme, would flock to its support. In this they were disappointed and, because of that, their plans were discredited.

Karl Marx. Marx (1818–1883) was the founder of scientific Socialism. He formulated his theory and then proceeded to sketch the kind of society that he desired. He provided the working-

men's organization with a social philosophy and a program for social reform. Marx had a varied career. After the collapse of the revolution in 1848, he was expelled from France and settled in London. He spent his life in writing and organizing workers throughout Europe.

Communist Manifesto and Das Kapital. The *Communist Manifesto,* one of the most famous documents in the history of Socialism, was written by Marx and his co-worker, Frederick Engels (1820–1895), during the Paris Revolution of 1848. This was an impassioned appeal to the workers of Europe to unite and throw off their chains. *Das Kapital* was a much more detailed and scholarly work on the Socialist theory. Modern scientific Socialism is based on these two works. The two basic principles involved are the theory of value and the materialistic conception of history.

Surplus Value. Marx's Theory of Value contends that labor is the source of value and that all wealth is produced by it. Laborers under the capitalistic system do not receive the total product. In fact, they receive just enough for themselves and their families to live on, "a living wage." The "surplus" wealth, which the capitalist receives, is the difference between what laborers produce and what they receive. The appropriation of surplus value constitutes what Marx called the fundamental injustice of the modern industrial system. This, he believed, was little short of a slave society. The workman works under a free contract, that he voluntarily enters; but, as he is unprovided with the means of production, he has no alternative except to sell his labor to the capitalist, who pockets the proceeds after a meager wage is paid.

Materialistic Conception of History. In his materialistic conception of history, Marx explained the rise of the small privileged class. First, he showed that the most determining factor in history is the interplay of economic forces. He believed in the inevitability of a class war. In fact, he contended that class war has existed in every period of history, but that it became especially pronounced in the 18th and 19th centuries, with the introduction of the factory system, where money, machines, and industries are the chief sources of wealth. The capitalists drove the nobles from power and established a government dominated by bourgeois capitalists. Marx predicted that this capitalistic stage would pass and that the proletariat would rise to power and obtain the means of production.

The victory of the proletariat would cause the complete alteration of the social structure and the abolition of all class distinction.

Importance of Marx's Influence. The influence of Marx would be difficult to overestimate. The Russian Communist state was based upon his fundamental concepts, and since its origin it has been a great influence on the proletariat. It predicts ultimate victory for the working class. Workers have a definite program and a definite assurance that, in spite of temporary setbacks, they will succeed. Almost every form of socialism leans heavily on the works of Marx for a program.

Fabian Socialism. Marxian Socialism, as has been noted, was distinctly revolutionary. It preached the inevitability of class war. Not all social-minded people were willing to go that far. An influential group, which sponsored what is called evolutionary socialism, was the Fabian Society in England. It was organized in 1884 with an aim for "the reorganization of society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting them in the community for the common benefit." The members were mainly journalists, artists, literary men and women, social workers, and teachers. They took their name from the Roman general Quintus Fabius, whose tactics they copied in endeavoring to conquer by delay. They spread their propaganda through the publication of pamphlets; three-quarters of a million were circulated within less than 10 years.

The Fabians, unlike Marx, do not attack capital as being stolen funds of labor, but admit that the capitalist has a useful part to play in society. The capitalists deserved a reward for the organization of industry but ultimately they should be superseded by paid employers. The Fabians believed that there were many values created wholly by the community, which should be used not for private profit but for the benefit of the whole community. The instruments of production—railways, mines, roads, and canals—should be utilized for the general welfare, instead of being exploited for the enrichment of a few.

Syndicalism. Another form of social control that attracts considerable attention is syndicalism. It is based on trade-union organization, which is considered to be the foundation of the new society and the means whereby it can be brought into existence. It accepts the Marxian theory of an inevitable struggle between

capital and labor, and proposes the abolition of private ownership of the means of production. This provides for a producers' control, giving the workers charge of the economic and political affairs of the state. Syndicalism claims to be more the product of the workers than any other form of socialism and, consequently, is much more in conformity with their needs. Its efficiency is also emphasized. If workers own and control the industry in which they work, they will have a greater personal interest in the conduct of the plant and enjoy a greater amount of freedom than that offered by the capitalistic system.

Guild Socialism. Guild Socialism, which is closely associated with syndicalism, aimed at "the abolition of the wage system and the establishment of self-government in industry by the workers, through a democratic system of national guilds, working in conjunction with other democratic functional organizations in the community." The administration was not intended to be so democratic as the other forms of socialism. Power and responsibility in society were to be related and proportional to the importance of the work that the individuals perform. Guild Socialists believed that industry should be supervised by technical experts and not by unskilled workmen. Furthermore, the interests of the consumer were to be taken into consideration. This they proposed to guarantee through consumer's councils, which, acting in cooperation with producers' guilds, would fix prices and control the distribution of goods.

Anarchism. The most radical form of socialism is anarchism. Originally, the anarchists were affiliated with the Communists,[1] but they were expelled in 1869 at the fourth congress of the First International. Under the leadership of Bakunin (1814–1876) and Kropotkin (1842–1921), a separate organization was formed. They preached the destruction of existing governments and, as Kropotkin pointed out, they stood for

> a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government—harmony in such a society being obtained not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being.

Anarchists were not definite as to how this state of society could

[1] Communism will be discussed in connection with present-day Russia. (See Chap. IX.)

be brought about and were not specific in the stipulation of how it could be maintained after it had been brought about. However, they were quite definite in their criticism of existing forms of government.

Problems. Socialistic ideas have gained headway in the last half century. A considerable number of people no longer accept political democracy as the last word in government. In fact, there are many who contend that it has failed. The rise in the power and influence of the proletariat has been accompanied with increased toleration of socialism. Democracy has been condemned as an agency of the bourgeois for the suppression of the proletariat. Socialist theories, in spite of their growing popularity, have many fundamental weaknesses. All forms of socialism are based on the assumption that men are willing to work for the common good of society and not for their own pecuniary profit. This assumption seems questionable. The incentive to do better financially than one's neighbor is one of the most dynamic forces to spur men to greater things.

There are, of course, ways and incentives to make men work. "To consume without producing" is regarded by the Socialists as a sin and subject to punishment. How well it can be enforced remains to be seen. The question of administration of the Socialist state is a problem of great magnitude. Most Socialists believe in the necessity of a fundamental change in existing political systems. What adequate substitution can be made? Chaos has followed practically every Socialist experiment. Centralization of authority destroys the Socialist aim. Something must be found as a substitute for the state. Some central authority to regulate economic and social activities in a harmonious group seems indispensable. Revolutionary Socialists, by far the most dynamic group, insist upon the complete destruction of the capitalistic system. This would mean, not only a long period of chaos, but also the destruction of many important contributions that we owe to capitalism. The risk of a revolution is great and the ruling class that emerges from it may not be what the idealist prefers. However, these dangers are not insurmountable obstacles.

IV. ART

The Age. Art, passing through phases of neoclassicism, romanticism, and realism, became increasingly more inclusive in

subject matter. It manifested the many variations and tastes at work among men and women. In the 19th century, art expression dropped somewhat, because of the predominating materialism that gripped the people after the Industrial Revolution. Economics proved much more valuable and utilitarian than art. Haste in production, the desire for immediate profits, and the lack of time for enjoying things merely because they were beautiful pushed art into the background. Some of the artists pursued their work under the ever-present urge for making money. Great art is not produced in such an environment. Segregated from the engrossing affairs of life, works of art were considered a luxury—something to be treated with indifference or as a means of ostentation. Mass production, machinery, and standardization have taken away much of the opportunity and incentive for self-expression, and masterpieces in art are the product of self-expression. When all these things are taken into consideration, it is not surprising that artistic expression in the modern world should be quite different from that of the past.

1. THE NEOCLASSICAL SCHOOL

Neoclassicism. During the reign of Louis XVI, through the period of the French Revolution, and under Napoleon, artists made a valiant attempt to pattern their art expression on the classical ideal. The early leaders of the French Revolution, most of them educated in the classical fashion, liked to think of themselves as modern representatives of the tastes and virtues of ancient Greece and Rome. Classic art, they believed, more nearly represented their own ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity than did the elegant rococo style of the Age of Louis XIV. Napoleon also contributed an antique and classical touch. He admired the pyramids of Egypt and bestowed upon his son and heir the title of "King of Rome." He was a "Caesar" and adopted the Roman Imperial Eagle for a symbol. To commemorate his victories, he built columns and arches modeled upon those of ancient Rome.

Painting. The French painter David (1748–1825), dictator and foremost exemplar of the movement, presents the true spirit of neoclassicism in his formal historical paintings and fine portraits. His "Oath of the Horatii," "Brutus," "Oath of the Tennis Court," "Death of Socrates," and "Assassination of Marat" reflect the

spirit of the French Revolution set in a classical background. His "Coronation in Notre Dame" and "Distribution of the Eagles" gave Napoleon the imperial classical interpretation that especially pleased him. David was criticized later by the romanticists, but he was one of the founders of modern painting. He was a good observer, a careful draftsman, and a master of the art of grouping. One of his pupils, Ingres (1780–1867), most gifted of the neoclassicists, pro-



FIG. 46.—David, "Death of Socrates." Neoclassical school. (*Courtesy, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*)

duced extraordinarily fine portraits, and lived to be the last firm defense against the oncoming wave of romanticism. Classicism was of broader extent than simply a mode of revolutionary France. Mengs (1728–1779), a German of an earlier generation, was a true devotee and noteworthy exponent of the classical. Lawrence (1769–1830), a painter of English royalty and fashionable celebrities, may be included in the neoclassical school. In his gallery of portraits of the dignitaries who were prominent in the Congress of Vienna, painted to the order of King George IV, he has shown them as "resplendent champions of antique European civilization and nobility."[1] His work was brilliant but superficial.

[1] Hayes, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*, I, 737. By permission of The Macmillan Company.

Sculpture. Although he lived well over into the period of revolution and reconstruction in Europe, the French sculptor Houdon (1741–1828) was too great an artist tc be swayed by fads or fashions. His great aim was to copy nature only, to copy nature truly. In this he achieved rare success, as can be seen in his portrait works, ranging from the seated figure of Voltaire in the Théâtre français, Paris, to lovely busts of young children. Included among subjects for his numerous portraits are such celebrities as Catherine II of Russia, D'Alembert, Buffon, Moliere, Rousseau, Diderot, Napoleon, and Marshal Ney, in Europe, and George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, in America. His contemporary, Chaudet (1763–1810), however, was a strict classicist, who produced statues and busts of Napoleon in the approved style.

In all Europe, Canova (1757–1822), an Italian, and Thorvaldsen (1770–1844), a Dane, were the most successful in reviving the manner of classical sculpture. Both gained inspiration in Rome, itself. Canova filled commissions from Germany, England, and France, and executed tombs for Popes Clement XIII and Clement XIV. His graceful, polished statues of Perseus, Orpheus and Eurydice, Cupid and Psyche, and many similar figures from antiquity had wide popularity, and his influence was far-reaching; but his art is not vigorous enough to be placed among the greatest. Thorvaldsen truly drank in the spirit of classic sculpture and transmitted it in his own statues and reliefs. Much of his work was done in Rome. In honor of Napoleon on a visit there, he carved in relief a frieze of "The Triumph of Alexander." He also had the task of restoring some ancient Greek sculptures. Among his bas-reliefs, "Night" and "Morning" are most familiar. For his own country, he produced chiefly religious sculptures, such as the statues of Christ and the Apostles for a church in Copenhagen. The world-renowned "Lion of Lucerne," a memorial to the Swiss Guard who died in defense of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, was carved, after Thorvaldsen's design, in the native rock at Lucerne.

Among the early sculptors in the United States, almost all went to Italy for training and, while there, were thoroughly imbued with the revived classicism. Greenough (1805–1852), one of the first, made a gigantic statue of George Washington in the guise of Olympian Zeus, with the scant draperies of a Greek deity. It was too ponderous for its intended place in the Capitol at Washington

and is now in the Smithsonian Institution. Of the host of graceful and then greatly admired marble youths and maidens out of classical story, issuing from the hands of American sculptors of that initial period, the one generally conceded first place is the "Greek Slave" by Powers (1805–1873).

Architecture. The neoclassical trend in art is best represented in architecture. The whole revived interest in things classical in the 18th and 19th centuries was stirred up principally by Winckelmann (1717–1768), a German historian and archaeologist, who studied Roman and Greek remains and, in his writings, called attention to their neglected beauty. Examples of neoclassical architecture in France are the Pantheon, Saint Sulpice, the Madeleine, the Palais Bourbon, and the Château Malmaison. Fontaine (1762–1853) and Percier (1764–1838), the leading French architects of the time, were really dictators of style in building. A few outstanding examples of this type of architecture outside of France are the Bank of England and the British Museum in London, the Brandenburg Gate and the Museum in Berlin, and numerous public buildings in the United States, where the classic influence was felt very early. It appears in force in the city of Washington, the plans for which were laid out (1789–1791) by the French architect and engineer, L'Enfant. The Capitol in its very earliest form set an example of classic style, as did the White House. Latrobe (1764–1820), who was architect of the Capitol after it was burned in 1814, had already designed a Greek structure for Philadelphia in the Bank of Pennsylvania. Bulfinch's State House in Boston and Thomas Jefferson's University of Virginia are also notable early examples. Others that followed include the Treasury Building in Washington, the Subtreasury and the Custom House in New York, Boston's Custom House, and Girard College in Philadelphia.

Decline. Neoclassicism was obviously a passing taste. Much can be said for its simplicity and dignity, but it was not in keeping with the spirit of the time. Like Napoleon, one of its strongest sponsors, it rose to great heights and then declined very suddenly. The middle class, enthroned by the Industrial Revolution, were not impressed by palaces built in the Roman and Greek styles. They desired something more elaborate. The Gothic was more to their liking and, as a consequence, this style was revived in various forms.

2. ROMANTICISM, A PHASE OF REALISM; AND LATER ARTISTIC TRENDS

The Spirit of Romanticism. Romanticism was a more representative influence in modern art than was classicism. The term *romanticism* is a rather vague one applied to a variety of forms of expression, some of which seem contradictory. However, contradictions characterize the age. Romanticism in politics claimed men with divergent views, such as Burke, Chateaubriand, and Scott, on the side of conservatism; and Byron, Heine, and Lamartine, on the side of liberalism. In philosophy, there were nominalists (Owen, Mill, and Comte) and romanticists with opposing views, such as Blake and Shelley.

In general, the romanticists protested against the rigid spirit and measured forms of classicism. Their ideal was the natural expression of life itself rather than the inspiration of the Greeks and Romans. Familiar and contemporary themes, such as sunsets, mountains, lakes, scenes of homely living, or moments of stirring action, seemed to them more worth reproducing than did stately columns and man-made domes or traditional events of the past. Fantasy, romance, adventure, and even horror were a welcome relief in exchange for the coldness and formalism of the classical attitude.

The supporters of the romantic in art were, in large part, from the uncultivated middle class, who had little interest in the formalized, over-intellectualized, and overrationalized tastes of the old artistocracy. To many romanticists the Age of Enlightenment, which culminated in the extremes reached during the French Revolution and under Napoleon, stood for disillusionment. Perhaps, after all, they contended, feeling, not reason, is the true guide of man's action.

Paintings by the Romanticists. As in life, so in art, no two periods are set apart from each other by a definite line. There are preliminary tendencies like sidepaths leading into the broader and more conspicuous highway of a great movement. There had been various indications in Europe during the 18th century that artificiality must soon give way to realism; and romanticism may be regarded as one phase of realism. In Spain, quite independently, Goya (1746–1828) was painting vividly alive and truthful records

of people and events as he saw them, so that today he is regarded as a master of realism. From sympathetically painted portraits of children and beautiful women to scenes of extreme cruelty and violence his genius ranged, drawing no veil of artifice or pretense over pain or ugliness. War and the bullfight were depicted as stark horror without glorification.

In England, Morland (1763–1804) painted simple episodes of the tavern, the barnyard, and country life in general that captured wide popular enthusiasm. Out-of-door painting, with natural landscape as the only interest in the picture, became the most important contribution of English artists to the world. It is best exemplified in the finest work of Crome (1769–1821), Constable (1776–1837), and Turner (1775–1851). Such views as Constable's "Landscape with Mill" and "The Haywain" and Turner's early canvases are typical English countryside. The latter painter, however, turned afterward to a method and conception of his own, in which imagination and romantic splendor lend enchantment to scenes where light and color have free play, as in the familiar painting of "The Fighting Temeraire." Blake (1757–1827), the mystic, was unique, and left expression of his genius in art that is now esteemed of high importance.

In France itself, amid the artificial grandeurs of the monarchy, Chardin (1669–1779) had portrayed the humbler pursuits of the bourgeois and presented still-life objects with a grace that had in it something of magic. Through the period of classic severity, Greuze (1725–1805) and Mme Vigée-Lebrun (1755–1842) had found a ready response from a public that loved the sweet sentimentality of a falling tear and tender loveliness of form and face set in an atmosphere of affection. But the romantic movement proper, in the accepted sense, had for its leaders Gericault (1791–1824) and Delacroix (1799–1863), both of whom had studied in England and felt the breath of romanticism prevailing there. Both used dramatic anecdotes for their subjects and gave the impression of stirring or violent movement that was at times melodramatic. The appearance of their work in the salons initiated reaction against neoclassic regulation. Géricault's most celebrated work is "The Raft of the Medusa." Delacroix, the greater of the two, painted scenes from Dante's *Inferno*, the French Revolution, and other literary and historical sources.

The spirit of romanticism did not belong exclusively to a single period. It had had representatives all along from very early times and continued to influence expression through later days, after it ceased to be the dominant force. Realism assumed varying forms and tried various methods. Taking a suggestion from England, some Frenchmen went out of doors to paint and to become intimately acquainted with nature. They are called the Barbizon group and they accomplished a variety of results in their landscapes, from the exact, naturalistic detailed work of Rousseau (1812–1867) to the misty, poetic, almost impressionistic trees and glades of Corot (1796–1875), whose once-overlooked figure paintings are now more highly esteemed than his landscapes. Millet (1814–1875) belongs somewhere between the romanticists and the later realists, with his truthful portrayal of peasant life, as in the well-known "Man with the Hoe," "The Angelus," and "The Gleaners." He let the beauty and the simplicity of true peasant life speak for themselves.

The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, established in England about 1848 by an intellectual group, had for its purpose to free art of the weakness and conventionality that had settled upon it and return to the naturalness of expression of the times before Raphael. Dante Gabriel Rosetti, William Holman Hunt, and John Millais were the leading members—none of them very great painters.

Realism and Impressionism. The first painter accused of being a *réaliste* was the Frenchman Courbet (1819–1877), who painted actual objects literally. Each with individual differences in the way of presenting the real, Manet (1832–1883) and Degas (1834–1917) are grouped with Courbet as having turned away from the attitudes and methods of the past in their painting. The next step was to apply to painting the scientific study of light—to use dots or streaks of the colors into which white light can be broken up and to let the eye of the spectator combine them into the effects of light found in nature. Monet (1840–1926) and Pissarro (1831–1903) led the way in what is known as *impressionism*, but Renoir (1841–1919) went further in the accomplishment of luminous effects of atmosphere surrounding and bathing the forms that he painted.

Postimpressionist Art. Truly revolutionary changes in painting followed. For lack of a better term, they were for some time included under the general name *postimpressionism*, but are now

more significantly termed *expressionistic.* There are several branches of expressionism and many individual uses of it. Form is important, but not the actual form of visual objects. Abstraction is one of the aims. For other artists, the decorative value is of utmost importance. It was Cézanne (1839–1906) who, turning from realism, "brought together nature and abstraction." For him, drawing and coloring were united in one process. His paintings have the rhythm of poetry or of music. Gauguin (1848–1903) produced works brilliant in color and of high decorative quality. Van Gogh (1853–1890), a Dutch painter who worked in France, intense in his emotions, sought expression for the feelings stirring within him in intense color and individual treatment of form. These three make up the vanguard of the expressionists.

Other European Painters. Böcklin (1827–1901), a German-Swiss who tried to personify natural forces with an extravagant use of color and to express moods symbolically, had a considerable influence in Germany. Russian painters of some renown are Vereshchagin (1842–1904), who made historical pictures; Repin (1844–1930), a realist, painting portraits, historical and genre scenes, who tried to discredit the Romanovs; and Anisfeld (1879–), Bakst (1867–1924), and Roerich (1874–), who represent the modernistic trend, concerned chiefly with decoration. Russian artists of the late 19th century show a creative fancy, brilliant coloring, a fine taste for decoration, and intense fervor in their works.

Painting in the United States. In a country where the land itself had to be brought out of a wild state for man's habitation, it was natural that art expression must wait for generations and that in the newly established nation some time must pass before there could be a national art. National consciousness must grow to full stature first. In the colonies and in the young United States, whatever attempt at art there was stemmed inevitably from the homelands of those who transplanted their civilization in America —chiefly from England. Naturally, for many years young artists had to go to Europe to learn technique and gather inspiration where art had history and background. Of the many painters who had part in building toward a national art for our country, there can be included here only those who made themselves felt internationally or who arrived at the same understanding of methods or

effects as were "discovered" by men in Europe who were acclaimed as founders of movements.

Far from Barbizon, Innes (1825–1894) worked out by himself some of the same results as were reached by the French group and paralleled their achievement, becoming the "father of the



FIG. 47.—Sargent, "El Jaleo." (*Courtesy, The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.*)

naturalistic movement in American landscape." Sensitive to the scene around him, he gave it form and color on canvases that bear well the scrutiny of passing years.

Homer (1836–1910), who worked out his own development of expression, is generally counted to be the first who gave to painting a note typically American. His vigorous portrayal of sea, rocks, and coast, and of men who go down to the sea is original and realistic. La Farge (1835–1910), fascinated by the study of light as it affects local color, made use of his scientific knowledge of the composition of light, and in the field of decoration applied what he had learned. His mural paintings were the first of note in the country, and his preoccupation with colored light found play in designing and making windows of colored glass, where he introduced a

new kind of colored glass, giving more varied effects. In his investigations of light and color he anticipated the impressionists.

The portraits and figure paintings of Eakins (1844–1916) offer striking examples of realism as used by Courbet and his followers. The artist's attitude toward his subject was objective and unemotional. Sargent (1856–1925) studied in European centers and lived long in London, where he had the utmost success as a portraitist, with a brilliant technique reproducing the external aspect and indicating the mannerisms of persons prominent in the social world. Later, he painted greatly admired murals, the most notable of which are in Boston.

Truly international is Whistler (1834–1903), who was born in the United States, was trained in Paris, and lived and worked in London. Both France and England claim him. Besides, he took as his own the Oriental comprehension of nature, learned from the Japanese—the unity of effect achieved by nature out of actual irregularities. Employing color as a musician uses sound, he produced his "symphonies" and "nocturnes" and made formalized studies, of great delicacy and decorative beauty. In portraits, such as that of his mother, the one of Carlyle, and others, is revealed an understanding of values not only aesthetic, but spiritual and universal, as well.

Another artist who perceived and expressed more than is apparent to the outer eye is Albert P. Ryder (1847–1917). Now, more than ever before, his landscapes, his paintings of skies and seas are esteemed as among the most valuable contributions made by American painters, because of his imagination and vision, his grasp of the abstract, his power to create poetic patterns in form and color. Like Whistler and Ryder, Twachtman (1853–1921) gave expression to the abstract, using the technique of the impressionists superlatively well in painting lovely, luminous landscapes.

Sculpture. There were several 19th-century sculptors who added luster to the age. Stevens (1818–1875), an Englishman, is best known for his statue of Wellington, which stands in St. Paul's Cathedral in London. France produced most of the great sculptors. Among other decorative works, Rude (1784–1855) made the great "Marseillaise" group on the Arc de Triomphe and Carpeaux (1827–1875), the "Dancing Group" that adorns the façade of the Opera House in Paris. Dubois (1829–1905) was an enthusiastic

follower of Donatello. Rodin (1840–1917), rounding out the tale of realism, achieved fame with such portraits as those of Victor Hugo and Balzac and statues like "The Thinker," "Flight of Love," and "The Age of Bronze." He was influenced by Donatello and Michelangelo. His achievements marked the culmination of 19th-century



FIG. 48.—Rodin, "Flight of Love." (*Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*)

sculpture. Meunier (1831–1905), of Belgium, chose miners and artisans for his subjects. Rauch (1777–1857), who was the sculptor of the famous equestrian statue of Frederick the Great in Berlin; Reitschel (1804–1861), who made the "Lessing Monument" and the "Goethe and Schiller Monuments"; and Reinhold Begas (1831–1911), who is memorable for his "Bismarck Memorial" in Berlin and others, were three able German sculptors of the 19th century. Antokolski (1843–1902), famous particularly for his statue of Ivan

the Terrible, and Troubetzkoy (1866–1936), known for his impressionistic statues, added Russia to the list of countries that produced sculptors of note.

American sculptors of the same period include Saint-Gaudens (1848–1907), immortal for his two statues of Lincoln in Chicago, his other memorials of Civil War heroes, and his "Adams Memorial" in Washington; French (1850–1931), sculptor of the admirable and impressive seated statue of Lincoln in the Lincoln Memorial at Washington; and Lorado Taft (1860–1936), who will be especially remembered for his large memorials and fountains. One of Saint-Gaudens's figures of Lincoln, representing the "Great Emancipator" standing before a chair, about to speak, seems to reveal the nature of the man with particular truth. The whole effect is serene and restrained.

Architecture. The 19th century witnessed a revival of the Gothic and Romanesque styles in architecture. In England, the House of Parliament (London) and the Liverpool Cathedral are examples of the modern Gothic. The Romanesque type became extraordinarily popular in the United States as a result of the masterly use of the style by H. H. Richardson in Trinity Church, Boston, and other important buildings. Aside from adaptations of the Gothic and Romanesque styles, the really outstanding contributions in architecture of the 19th century were made in the United States. McKim (1847–1909) and Stanford White (1853–1906) were two of the leading architects. The Boston Public Library is an example of their genius in designing. The Chicago Exposition (1892–1893) brought together a group of the foremost architects of the country, whose work is a landmark in the development of American architecture. There was a marked classical influence in what they did, but it was adapted sufficiently to make the work distinctive. The Palace of Fine Arts, designed by Atwood, is the most representative. Louis Sullivan (1856–1924) was one of the first architects to make designs for skyscrapers. His theory that the outward form of a building should not conceal but express the function of the structure has had far-reaching influence.

3. MUSIC

Character. Music, better than any other form of art, reflects the vicissitudes of the 19th century. The Industrial Revolution, with its newly aroused middle class, demanded a new form of musi-

cal entertainment. The romanticists contributed the desire for emotional expression, and the nationalists required a patriotic music in keeping with the fervor of their program. The result of these combined forces, together with many others, led to the development of new types of music and resulted in the emergence of great composers, who put into their music the spirit of the time. In the 19th century, musicians had the advantage of building upon the notable foundations laid by Bach, Handel, and Haydn of the preceding century, and also of the steady improvement in the construction of musical instruments, permitting a greater variety of expression. Music in the 19th century offers so varied a panorama that it is difficult to characterize. There were many great national schools, with diversity of styles, and so many composers of note whose qualities were individualistic that it is practically necessary to consider them separately rather than collectively. One of the outstanding musical achievements of the century was the triumph of the romantic opera.

Orchestral Music. Beethoven (1770–1827) holds the first place among the composers. Next to Bach, he is ranked as the greatest musical figure in modern history. His Third Symphony, called the "Eroica Symphony," was at first dedicated to Napoleon, who later ceased to be his admired hero. His Fifth Symphony contained the fiery spirit of German nationalism and his Seventh Symphony, played during the Congress of Vienna, struck the exultant note of the celebration of the overthrow of Napoleon. The Ninth Symphony has been said to be "the greatest masterpiece in musical literature." Beethoven left a rich store of music for the piano in his 32 sonatas, the best known of which is the "Moonlight Sonata." Orchestral music came into its own with the works of Beethoven but succeeding masters continued the work. Mendelssohn (1809–1847), Schumann (1810–1856), Schubert (1797–1828), and Brahms (1833–1897) were later German masters who contributed a wealth of widely diversified compositions of immeasurable worth. French composers of the same school were Franck (1822–1890) and Massenet (1842–1912). Russia added to the already imposing list Moussorgsky (1839–1881), Rubinstein (1829–1894), Tchaikovsky (1840–1893), and Rimski-Korsakov (1844–1908).

Opera. Wagner (1813–1883), German master of the opera, emphasized and magnified orchestration. He derived many of his

themes from old German folklore. His music dramas, which command universal enthusiasm, include "Lohengrin," "Der Ring des Nibelungen" (comprised of four operas), "Tannhauser," "Die Meistersinger," "Tristan und Isolde," and "Parsifal." Italians were prominent in the production of the new opera. In Italy, Verdi (1813–1901), a master of melody, wrote "Aida," "Rigoletto," "La Traviata," "Il Trovatore," and others. Of the operas of Rossini (1792–1868), also a noted Italian composer, "The Barber of Seville" and "William Tell," are favorites today. Bizet (1838–1875), a French composer, was made famous by his opera "Carmen." The two Englishmen, Gilbert and Sullivan, deserve a place here because of their immensely popular satirical ballad operas. Sullivan composed the music; Gilbert wrote the librettos.

Piano and Voice. Piano music was of great importance, both in orchestral compositions and for solo performance. Liszt (1811–1886), a Hungarian, and Chopin (1810–1849), a Pole, stand at the head of the list of composers for the piano. Liszt was a brilliant pianist and a prolific composer of sparkling concertos, rhapsodies, and symphonic poems, while Chopin is well known for his melodious concertos, polonaises, waltzes, and other works. The 19th century claims a long list of vocal artists who sang in a way that makes their work parallel with other lines of development. Some of the most famous are Jenny Lind, Patti, Companari, Nilsson, Lehmann, Campanini, and the brothers De Reszke.

Contributions of Romanticism. Romanticism typifies the characteristic aspirations of the late 19th century. In music, new tone colors were introduced in an effort to break away from classical restrictions of form. Music written in the romantic spirit described realistically the effects of nature in tone poems. Folk melodies with striking emotional appeal were frequently used to stimulate the spirit of nationalism. Other forms of art expressed the same spirit. In France, the glorification of the Napoleonic legend was given substantial form in the Arc de Triomphe. The spirit of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" was illustrated in the works of Gericault and Millet, with emphasis on individual freedom rather than on communal action. The Rousseau idea of return to nature led to landscapes such as those of Friedrich in Germany, and of Constable and Turner in England. To a very great degree, romanticism underlies almost every movement for civic and intellectual

betterment in the 20th century. Romanticism led man to dream of past or future glory and carried him away from existing actualities. Napoleon represented the ideal of the conqueror, and in the career of Queen Victoria women found new encouragement of their emancipation from inferior positions. Scientific research provided thinkers with new aspects of man's own inner self revealed in nature. Even the ugly slums of the industrial city inspired men to dream of a Utopia to eliminate undesirable conditions. In place of industrial enslavement, there would be peaceful and universal prosperity. The spirit of man was stirring, reaching toward far goals—nebulous, perhaps, as yet.

V. RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

1. RELIGION

Religion suffered from the attacks of rationalism in the 18th century. Reason, pushed to its logical conclusion, threatened to overthrow all faith in religion. There appeared to be no compromise between science and religion. The turn of events, however, gave religion a new hold on life and, for a time, it seemed destined to regain the fervor it had in the Middle Ages. The romantic reaction to all forms of rationalism, the aesthetic interest of the intellectual leaders, and the opposition to excesses of the French Revolution gave strength to this general tendency. Christianity was regarded as a bulwark against revolutions, because religion had suffered at the hands of the French revolutionists. There was talk of a union of state and church. Czar Alexander called on all nations to unite on the basis of historic Christianity in his Holy Alliance. Chateaubriand for the Catholics and Kant for the Protestants were living spirits of the reaction. It bore fruit among all classes, especially those enslaved by the factory system and those exposed to the rigors of frontier life.

Reaction in the Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic Church gained most from the *volte-face* and was most active in the reactionary movements of the time. Pope Pius IX (1846–1878), frightened by the Revolutions of 1848, became a confirmed conservative. He promulgated two dogmas: the doctrine of Immaculate Conception of the Virgin (1854) and the principle of papal infallibility (1869). Both had long been held by the church, but were now enunciated with authority. The dogma of Immaculate Conception maintains

that the Virgin Mary "from the first instant of her conception was . . . preserved from all stain of Original Sin, is a doctrine revealed by God, and therefore to be firmly and steadfastly believed by all the faithful." The dogma of papal infallibility was a pointed commitment against all liberal tendencies. It does not claim that the opinions of the pope are infallible, as is frequently contended, nor does it maintain that he is sinless. Infallibility is limited to questions relating to faith and morals and then only when the pope speaks *ex cathedra*, "that is, in discharge of the office of pastor and doctor of all Christians." The Syllabus of Errors (1864) condemned the tendencies of the age. "It is an error to believe that the Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself to, and agree with, progress, liberalism, and contemporary civilization" were the concluding words of this ringing appeal.

Controversy in the Church. The statement of papal infallibility brought a storm of criticism. Liberal Catholics, nationalists, and scientists condemned it. The modernist movement within the Catholic Church tried to induce the followers of the faith to concede to the findings of modern scholarship. Rulers feared that the Pope was trying to extend a definition of "faith and morals" to include politics and to restore the papacy to control all secular states. The Austrian government denounced the decree. Bismarck bitterly attacked the Catholic Church in Prussia and Gladstone warned his countrymen of papal intolerance and papal influence in political affairs. Pius IX succeeded in arousing the supporters of nationalism and liberalism against the church.

Leo XIII and Pius X. Fortunately for the future of the Roman Catholic Church, Leo XIII (1878–1903) was much more liberal and tolerant than his predecessor had been. He took the broad-minded view that between true science and true religion there was no conflict. He encouraged the study of church history and placed the valuable archives of the Vatican at the disposal of scholars, in order that the real truth about church history might be known. He encouraged science and congratulated Pasteur and Mendel, both devout Catholics, for their epoch-making discoveries.

In a famous encyclical, *Rerum Novarum* (1891), Leo XIII expressed his views relative to capital and labor. He insisted upon the right of private property and pleaded for a better under-

standing between classes; an appeal to "the laboring man and the artisan to carry out honestly and fairly all equitable agreements freely entered into; never to injure the property nor to outrage the person of an employer; never to resort to violence in defending their own cause, nor to engage in riots or disorder; and to have nothing to do with men of evil principles, who work upon the people with artful promises, and excite foolish hopes, which usually end in disaster and in repentance when too late." This stand won for Pope Leo XIII the title of "the workingman's pope" and made the Catholic Church more popular with the masses. Pius X (1903–1914), largely in protest against Darwinism, tried to extirpate modernism from the Catholic Church. Several influential modernists were excommunicated and a bitter conflict between clericals and anticlericals was revived.

Protestants. A similar controversy raged in the Protestant churches. A number of new sects appeared. By the close of the 19th century, there were about 300 groups, each differing from the other on some more or less significant point. Some were liberal and others were conservative, and there was enough variation to suit almost everyone. Protestants were active in carrying out their ideas. They entered the missionary field, especially in Asia and in Africa. This helped to spread Protestant beliefs and it added to most of them a zeal that had been lacking before. Some evangelical groups joined with the Catholics in condemning evolution and in opposing criticisms of well-established religious principles. This group came to be known as fundamentalists. Others accepted the teaching of evolution and were friendly to Biblical scholarship. They took the title, Devout Modernists. While maintaining their belief in God and in the divinity of Christ, they were friendly to the doctrine of evolution as applied to the universe, to the earth, and to mankind. They were more interested in the "beauty" than in the "truth" of the Bible and the Christian religion. To them the most important thing about the Bible was its literary and philosophical merit.

Mormonism, Christian Science, and the Salvation Army. Other groups attained positions of prominence in the religious world by establishing new organizations. Mormonism, founded by Joseph Smith and Brigham Young in the middle of the 19th century, built up a thriving colony in Utah. Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910)

founded the Christian Science religion and system of healing. Her ideas were published in a book called *Science and Health*, which is a metaphysical interpretation of Christian doctrine. The belief has a "Father-Mother-God" symbolism that appeals to many people. It contains an insistence that disease and evil are temporary and unreal; only what is eternal and indestructible is real. Quite different in character and of world-wide influence is the Salvation Army, founded originally in England by William Booth (1829–1912). It is a quasi-military organization whose members are possessed of a passion for saving and serving the poor both physically and spiritually. The organization, which is international in scope, has general headquarters in London and includes about 10,000 posts, 25,000 officers, and nearly 30,000 brass bands.

Religious Critics. Increased activities on the part of religious groups led to bitter attacks from many sources. Scientists, Huxley and Haeckel, for example, criticized religion because of its attacks on science. Clemenceau assailed Christianity and the church on political grounds. Robert Ingersoll popularized evolution and Biblical criticism, and condemned religious organizations. Anarchists were mainly atheist and condemned religion as well as political organizations. The International Free-thinkers' League was organized in 1880 and the Rationalist Press Association was active in spreading antireligious propaganda.

Supporters of Religion. Criticisms of religion led to the formation of groups to repel disbelief. The Religious Tract Society (1799) and the Oxford Movement were active in upholding the true faith of religion. Several members of the Oxford Movement (Cardinal Newman and Cardinal Manning are examples), although originally Protestants, turned to Roman Catholicism in their zeal to revive the true religion and to crush its opponents. The zeal of certain churchmen for social reform did a great deal to revive interest in religion. They attacked the evils of the factory system and slavery and carried on an active campaign for prison reform. For all purposes, this work was more practical and effective than was quarreling over details of church doctrine.

The Far East. There has been a constant effort to introduce Christianity into the Far East, but progress has been slow. This is due partly to the extreme contrast between the Oriental and the Occidental point of view. Unfortunately, the entrance of mission-

aries to spread the teachings of Christ in the Orient coincided in time with the forceful invasions of European powers for political and commercial domination. The skeptical Oriental could not reconcile the doctrine of brotherly love with the roar of the conquering cannon. The disillusionment of the Oriental in the Christian faith is illustrated in the life of Ramakrishna (1836–1886), a Brahman of Bengal, who for a time accepted Christ, but was forced to return to Hinduism to satisfy his conscience.

The inroads of modernism into China have reduced the influence of Confucianism as a religious force. The Chinese modernists were freethinkers and openly hostile to religion. Recent revolutions have put an end to an official religion. Many of the leaders—Chiang Kai-shek, for example—were educated in Christian schools, but the new ideal is clearly nationalism rather than Christianity.

In Japan, state Shinto dominated both religion and thought. It was used in the process of nationalistic unification, which constituted the most conspicuous trend in that country prior to World War II. There were two somewhat distinct types of Shinto—the sectarian and the state. Sectarian Shinto, or the Shinto of the people, was administered by a bureau of religions in the Department of Education. Thereby, the central government maintained a monopolistic influence even in this local and personal phase of the religion. Folklore, ethical precepts and spiritual insights, purification ceremonies, mountain worship, and faith healing were all intermingled with practices of the individual Shinto sanctuaries. The state system was administered by a bureau of shrines in the Department of Home Affairs. Adherence to the rules of the state system was required by national authority and was propagated by the unique power of the state itself. Every Japanese citizen was regarded as an active recipient of advice from the state shrines.

One of the most prominent of the sanctuaries was the Nation-protecting Shrine on Kudan Hill near Tokyo. Here the war dead of the nation throughout the entire period of modern Japanese history were enshrined and deified. The warrior dead, exalted to the ranks of the *Kami*, were made guardian deities of the state. All this became more personal when the *Kami* were considered as protectors of soldiers on the field of battle. On Kudan Hill the family of a departed soldier could commune with him. In the

words of a Japanese emperor, "All unseen by mortal eye, the souls of the men who died on land and sea and left their bodies exposed in foreign lands have now come back to the national capital with the returning armies."

The great Sun-goddess, enshrined at Ise, was regarded as the ancestress of the royal line, and constituted the very heart of state Shinto. This deity was credited with establishing the structure of the Japanese state, which was ordained to last forever. The dogma upon which this unique organization rested came from heaven itself. All this was above the individual, who could only receive it and apply it to his greater good. Loyalty to the emperor and worship at the shrine of the Sun-goddess were one and the same. The god-emperor and the deity mediated one and the same will. Every shrine to the goddess was an altar to the imperial throne.

Christianity never made much headway in Japan. It was legislated against in 1868, but these restrictions were repealed in 1873. While no official discrimination was made, Christianity was never accorded a warm official reception. In 1899, religious instruction in all schemes was prohibited, but instruction in state Shinto was established as a foundation course in national instruction. The Shinto shrine, by official declaration, was nonreligious, but in practice all the functions were of a religious nature. Christian churches were asked to accept the official interpretation, which nullified most of the Christian influence among Japanese. Officials in the Christian church have performed obeisance before the principal shrines of the Shinto state religion.

Buddhism, although it had many more followers in Japan than did Christianity, was subjected to about the same position. Japanese religious organizations so compromised and so accommodated themselves that, from almost every point of view, they sold themselves to the services of the state. The effect of this on the role of Japan in foreign affairs will be discussed in a later chapter.

2. PHILOSOPHY

Modern philosophy has become an individual and personal matter. Men do not share a common view of life and of the universe as they did in the Middle Ages, or even as they did as late as the 18th century. The industrial age, at least until recently, was characterized by growth and expansion. There was little heed of

philosophical criticism. Religion has ceased to be the center of philosophical speculation and social ideals have taken its place. Philosophical speculation today is centered mainly about two problems: the development of a suitable interpretation of nature and the determination of the ends of human action and social control.

Materialism and Pessimism. German philosophers greatly influenced 19th-century philosophy. Hegel (d. 1831), who attempted to unite the universe and God in an evolutionary world, had many followers in Europe and in America and was popular among the Devout Modernists. However, Hegel's ideas were not in conformity with the growing mechanistic conceptions. The materialistic attitude that was introduced by machinery and commercial organization tended to breed despair and pessimism. Schopenhauer (1788–1860) believed that science might answer the problems of external phenomena, but that one would have to resort to intuition for final realities. He believed that will was irrational and that, as a consequence, pessimism was inevitable. He concluded that to be born was the worst possible evil and that happiness was futile. Nietzsche (1844–1900), a follower of Schopenhauer, broke entirely from absolutism and assigned to man the task of facing destiny with power with which nature had endowed him. He advanced the doctrine of the superman. Morality he regarded from two points of view—the morality of the strong, backed by intelligence and force, and the morality of the weak, founded upon weakness and resignation.

Spencer and Comte. The materialist school had a far-reaching influence in most of the Western countries. Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) popularized the evolutionary point of view. He applied it to almost every phase of human thought and social action. His views were expressed in the book, *First Principles.* John Fiske (1842–1901), an American philosopher, sponsored Spencer in his widely read *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy* (1874). Comte (1798–1857) founded the Positivist School. He insisted that, if scientific methods were applied to human affairs, nature and man could be joined in an ideal synthesis. Both Spencer and Comte strove to make the much-needed adjustment between scientific attitudes and philosophical formulations. This would go a long way toward creating a more harmonious feeling between the divergent views of intellectuals.

The American School. Three American-born men may be classed with the outstanding philosophers of the 19th century—William James (1842–1910), Pierce (1839–1914), and John Dewey (1859–). James, the foremost psychologist of his time, used psychology as the basis of his philosophical deductions and, along with Pierce, established the doctrine of instrumentalism. Thought, he contended, is a tool for action, but because of the limitations of the human mind, man cannot fathom ultimates. Consequently, an arrival at absolute assurance of right and wrong cannot be attained. He stated that the practical test of accuracy (pragmatism) is whether or not a thing is applicable in human experience. Spiritual or materialistic unity, he believed, is impossible to attain. In its stead, he advocated pluralism, the belief that the rule of nature is diversity. Dewey goes further than James in the interpretation of instrumentalism. He is interested in the development of a philosophy that is applicable in political and social fields of human endeavor.

Bergson. Bergson (1859–1941), a Frenchman, must be considered in a different classification from that of his contemporaries, but his influence is no less important. He attempted a reconciliation between idealism and the new scientific conceptions. He saw decided limitations in science that he believed would not permit it to fathom the ultimate reality. The findings of science are valuable to serve as a starting point, but an understanding of the reality depends upon intuition. Time, rather than the concept of space upon which most philosophies have relied, was one of his cardinal principles. Duration should be considered as the heart of existence and life force, dominating the universe, and struggling constantly with obstructive and static matter. He summarized his philosophy in what he calls "creative evolution," a philosophy of motion.

Gandhi. No survey of modern philosophy should omit the name of Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869–). For five years (1930–1935), this unassuming little man was the spiritual and political leader of 320,000,000 Indians, who gave him the title *Mahatma.* He disciplines himself rigidly. Often for months at a time, he eats nothing but milk and fruit. "I can as well do without my eyes as without fasts. What the eyes are for the outer world, fasts are for the inner." He lived with his wife as brother with sister. He recommended a campaign of civil disobedience rather than mob rule in

order to induce England to carry out reforms. He rejected modern industry and called upon his followers to return to the simple life of agriculture and domestic industry. Homespun should be used to boycott the alien and mechanical textiles, and thereby bring back happiness and economic security to the people. The revolt against industry failed, but it helped to unite India into a more compact unit and, in time, it may bear fruit.

Summary. The foregoing survey indicates that philosophy of the 19th century fits into two reasonably well-defined groups: one, based on 18th-century idealism; the other, reflecting the progress of science and industry. Hegel and Schopenhauer were representatives of the first and Comte embodied the second. The most truthful generalization that can be made about modern philosophy declares its effort to make man more completely at home on earth. The central theme is materialism, but modern philosophy is more than that. It aims to bring mankind, in the struggle for existence, to the point of a vast associative enterprise of all nations and peoples. To a great degree this is a search for unity—not a unity of faith, which was the ideal of the Middle Ages, but a unity of political, economic, social, and intellectual forces. Trade, communication and transportation, intellectual developments, and international political organizations presage the dawn of a new age, about which modern philosophers dream.

VI. LITERATURE

1. GENERAL CHARACTER

Evolution. The literature of every age has its own characteristics. The Renaissance marked the revival of classicism. Nationalistic literature, with a decided middle-class character, was produced in the 17th and 18th centuries. The discovery, settlement, and exploration of the New World opened a new field and furnished new subject matter for writers. Utopias were visualized in far-away lands, and strange settings about strange people were introduced. The materialism that followed the Industrial Revolution found expression in literature. Eulogies of businessmen and their success, together with a description of the glories of capitalism, were among the topics utilized by authors. Others criticized the new order as degrading and devastating. The condition of the working class was described, the rich were attacked, and new social orders were

recommended. Patriotic literature increased in quantity as nationalism progressed. National heroes were immortalized and the glory of death in the service of the fatherland was woven into many stories. Science secured attention by opening up a new field of human endeavor. Early romanticism set the mood. Next came realism, which merged into naturalism and finally developed into social criticism.

Mass Production. There has been an ever-increasing volume of literature, until today one is confronted with so much reading matter that even to sample only portions of it is an insurmountable task. There has been a trend to popularize most forms of literature. The newspaper is one of the most important mediums of literary expression. Modern communication enables it to present to the reader the happenings in the whole world within a few hours after their occurrence. The newspaper is primarily a news-dispensing agency, but through it a great deal of propaganda is poured out to an unsuspecting public. It is difficult indeed to find a newspaper that does not go out of the way to sponsor a cause through overemphasis of one side of a question. Mass production, in the opinion of many, has detracted from the quality of literature. There are few highly distinguished authors and still fewer books with lasting merits. Today one might question whether there is any writer who promises to become so eminent a literary figure as was Wordsworth, Coleridge, Scott, or Dickens in 19th-century English literature.

2. ROMANTICISM

The French Revolution and the enthusiasm for freedom that inspired and accompanied it serve as a background for the lively play of romanticism in literature and in the other realms of art. As we know, the movement was not confined to France. Reaction against the stiff limits of pseudoclassic modes awakened with strength through widely scattered areas. The strange, adventurous, and picturesque elements of medieval song and story became particularly attractive by contrast with the austere models in vogue before the revolutionary era.

English Romantic Poetry. In England, Coleridge (1772–1834) and Wordsworth (1770–1850) presented the essence of romanticism in their poetry, wherein both common human emotions and lofty

mystical religious feelings are given beautiful expression. Scott (1771–1832) gained wide popularity through his fascinating tales of Scottish love and prowess both in verse and in prose. Of his metrical romances, *Marmion* and *The Lady of the Lake* are shining examples. Byron (1788–1824), who had a rich gift of poetic imagery, was the idol of romantic readers, not only among the English, but also among other Europeans and Americans. His *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and other long narrative poems introduced the "Byronic hero," tragic, mysterious, and touched with crime. Byron added to his glory by putting into practice the romanticism that he had vividly portrayed in words—giving his life for the cause of Greek independence when he was only thirty-six years old. Shelley (1792–1822) was a poet from whose pen came the most delicate lyric verse of the century—the impassioned outpouring of an eager spirit. His *Prometheus Unbound* unfolds a dream of some vague future when men shall be free. The poet, who ardently hated tyranny, condemned it in exquisite and impressive language. Keats (1795–1821), although he died at the age of twenty-six, attained a mastery of form and phrase seldom surpassed. Such poems as his "Ode on a Grecian Urn," "To Autumn," and "Ode to a Nightingale" abound in melodic charm and rare imagery. A stanza from the "Ode on a Grecian Urn" will reveal the qualities of his verse better than can any description:

> "O Attic shape! Fair attitude! with brede
> Of marble men and maidens overwrought,
> With forest branches and the trodden weed;
> Thou, silent form, dost tease us out of thought
> As doth eternity: Cold Pastoral!
> When old age shall this generation waste,
> Thou shalt remain, in midst of other woe
> Than ours, a friend to man, to whom thou say'st,
> 'Beauty is truth, truth beauty,'—that is all
> Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know."

English Novelists and Essayists. The Romantic spirit also found adequate expression in English prose. Scott abandoned writing poetical narratives about 1815, and during the rest of his life worked on the long series of Waverley novels. He loved his native land, its people, and its history. He was a born storyteller and

he captivated his readers with his art. Jane Austen (1775–1817) was a shy, obscure woman with great literary talent. Scott, her contemporary, wrote: "That young lady had a talent for describing the involvements, feelings, and characters of ordinary life which is to me the most wonderful I have ever met with." She wrote of the ironies and foibles of the capitalists and the aristocracy. Three English essayists who have a claim to preeminence, and who should be considered along with the novelists, are Hazlitt (1778–1830), Lamb (1774–1834), and De Quincey (1785–1859). Hazlitt was essentially a critic and stylist. Lamb was a reformer and humorist. Two of his famous essays written in this vein are "The Praise of Chimney-sweepers" and "Dissertation upon Roast Pig." De Quincey made a lasting impression with his *Confessions of an English Opium Eater*—an introspection of the author, who was a drug addict.

Romanticism in France, Italy, and Germany. Lamartine (1799–1869), Hugo (1802–1885), De Vigny (1797–1863), and De Musset (1810–1857) were outstanding French romantic poets. Lamartine's poetry was musical, genuine, fresh, and stimulating. His best-known poem is *The Lake*. Hugo was the "Prince of Poets." He wrote satirical attacks about politicians (Napoleon III was the object of much criticism), lyrical ballads, philosophy, dramas, and novels. His dramas were popular at the time, but he is best known for his prose. His most widely read books are *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, *Toilers of the Sea*, and *Les Misérables*. De Vigny was a stylist, whose works were restrained, austere, and thoughtful. De Musset's writings reflect melancholy, but a touch of humor prevents them from being morbid. Dumas (1803–1870) and Balzac (1799–1850) are outstanding French romanticists. The characters of Dumas, who is very widely read, are so real that they appear to be verily figures who "stand up and walk, or swagger, in their own boots, and who speak with living voices."[1] Balzac's works represent a trend toward realism and a break from romanticism.

Romanticism found its way into the literature of most countries. In Italy, Prati (1815–1884) and Manzoni (1785–1873) gave it expression. Goethe (1749–1832), poet, novelist, dramatist, and philosopher, was its dominating exponent in German literature. In his early writing, he stressed the romantic spirit, although later

[1] Macy, *op. cit.*, 407.

in life he turned to classicism. His *Faust*, a literary masterpiece, is one of the greatest works of all time. In its recital of man's transient states of change and growth, from youthful sensuousness to the dignity of an old age devoted to social achievements, and in its stirring theme that man is not lost so long as restlessness urges him on, we have the firmest support of serenity in all modern secular literature. Heine (1797–1856), though he was a romanticist, sympathized with liberal and nationalistic ideals. Some of his poems take their place among the world's best.

Romanticism in the United States. William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878), James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851), and Washington Irving (1783–1859) were eminent exponents of romanticism in the United States. Bryant, a lover of nature, wrote contemplative poetry in language of fine simplicity. Cooper portrayed American frontier life in his *Leather Stocking Tales*, which attracted attention in other lands and were translated into various European languages. Irving was the first internationally known American man of letters. His essays have a quiet and kindly humor. "Rip Van Winkle," from *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.*, is well known to every American school child and is loved by many an older reader. Irving also wrote historical and biographical works.

3. LATER LITERARY DEVELOPMENTS

Romanticism ultimately ran its course in literature as it did in other forms of artistic expression. When naturalism and realism supplanted it, commonplace things, even the sordid and degraded in current civilization, were brought to the front. In style, realism emphasized factual expression in the description of social situations. Much literature of this type was produced with an aim toward social reform and represented minute inspection of the dregs of society. There was also a tendency to reflect the characteristics and thoughts of the writer in his works—a sort of a concealed autobiographical analysis.

In England. The Victorian age of English literature (roughly, 1850–1890), which ranged in time and character from Scott to Shaw, was dominated by a serious moral purpose and a common opposition to frivolity. Writers aimed to arouse and to glorify the deeper passion of mankind. Tennyson (1809–1892), Browning (1812–1889), and Kipling (1865–1936) expressed the Victorian

ideal in poetry. Representative of Tennyson's work are *Idylls of the King*, *The Princess*, and many short poems. He possessed the art of being able to make people feel and see things as he saw them. He was, and still is, immensely popular. Browning was less a poet of the people. One must learn to enjoy Browning but once the acquaintance is made, the reader is absorbed with his courageous fighting optimism. *The Ring and the Book* is one of his best known later works. Kipling, exponent of imperialism, rounds out the Victorian age in poetry. His stories about British soldiers in the Far East captured the imagination of both English and American readers.

Dickens (1812–1870) was the outstanding novelist of the period. His *Pickwick Papers*, first in a long line that includes *Oliver Twist*, *Nicholas Nickleby*, and *David Copperfield*, took the world by storm. The author introduced a maze of characters from the ordinary walks of contemporary life. Readers could see themselves and laugh or cry, as the circumstance demanded. He was a great story-teller and a master of plot. He aroused on the part of his readers an interest in the many social abuses that were calling for reform. Kingsley (1819–1875) portrayed in his *Alton Locke* the poor and the oppressed in England even more effectively than Dickens did. Interest in his historical novels, such as *Hypatia* and *Westward Ho*, and in his classics for children, *Water Babies* and others, is still active. Thackeray (1811–1863) struck home with his bitter criticism of the scandals and snobberies of the upper class. His memorable *Vanity Fair*—a novel without a hero, but with a remarkable female protagonist, Becky Sharp—established his reputation as a man of letters. George Eliot (1819–1880) wrote about the middle class with literary excellence and moral fervor. The later years, extending in some cases into the post-Victorian period, included such well-known writers as Meredith (1828–1909), Hardy (1840–1928), and Stevenson (1850–1894). Meredith was noted as a character analyst; Hardy as a pessimist, representing man as a helpless creature subjected to fate; and Stevenson as a writer of thrilling adventure tales, entertaining essays, and poetry for the young.

In France. French transition from romanticism to realism is represented in the works of George Sand (1783–1842). She was interested in social reform and was an advocate of Utopian Socialism. Baudelaire (1821–1867), an outstanding poet of the Second

Empire, advocated French Symbolism with poetical charm. Sainte-Beuve (1804–1869), Taine (1828–1893), and Renan (1823–1892) were distinguished French prose writers. Sainte-Beuve founded a school of literary criticism and showed his ability as a historian in his *History of Port-Royal.* Taine interpreted the period of the French Revolution and Napoleon. Renan was noted for his works on Oriental history, especially on the Jews and on the Old Testament.

Maupassant (1850–1893) is the best representative of the French realist school. Zola (1840–1902) criticized the middle class and believed that there were evidences of human degeneracy. He became a leading political figure through his exposure of the infamous conspiracy against Dreyfus. Barres (1862–1923), a fanatical patriot, aided in building up the cause against Germany for the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine. Anatole France (1844–1924) was one of the most influential writers in modern times. He was essentially a pessimist and was convinced of the stupidity and silliness of mankind. His best-known works are *Penguin Island* and *The Revolt of the Angels.*

In Germany and Scandinavia. Germany and the Scandinavian countries can boast of important literary contributions in the late 19th and the early 20th century. Realism and naturalism were predominating influences. Thomas Mann (1875–) is the leading literary figures of contemporary Germany. *Buddenbrooks*, the story of the decline and disintegration of a family of patricians, is one of his important works. Hauptmann (1862–) and Sudermann (1857–1928) are the leading German dramatists. Hauptmann gets away from the mystic belief in human guilt and places responsibility either in the universe or in the corporate, rather than on the individual. His characters are not hopeless sinners, but people who have been sinned against. Sudermann enjoys a wide popularity, but he does not rank so high in drama as Hauptmann. Hans Christian Andersen (1805–1875), a Dane, is unique as a writer of children's stories and fairy tales. Georg Brandes (1842–1927), a fellow countryman of Andersen, was the leading literary critic of his age. Bjornson (1832–1910), a Norwegian, brought old Norse heroes to life in poetry and drama. Ibsen (1828–1906), also of Norway, has the reputation of being the supreme dramatist of the last century and a half. He ranks with Aeschylus, with Shakespeare, and with Corneille. *Brand, Peer Gynt, A Doll's House,*

Ghosts, and *An Enemy of the People* are familiar to theatergoers, the world over.

In Russia. Russian literature, at least until recently, did not enjoy a wide popularity outside Russia, because of unfamiliarity with the language and a general lack of understanding of the Russian people. Two romantic poets, Pushkin (1799–1837) and Lermontov (1814–1844), gained a reputation for Russian literature. The latter ridiculed the upper class in Russia by comparing them with mountaineers from the Caucasus. Pushkin was an outstanding stylist. He wrote poetry, prose, and plays, using as subject matter fairy tales, legends, gypsy and Tartar life, and events of his own time.

Turgenev (1816–1883), Dostoievski (1821–1881), and Tolstoy (1828–1910) are three prominent Russian writers. Turgenev portrays the struggle between absolutism and revolution. Dostoievski, for a long time an exile in a Siberian prison camp, believed that suffering and even crime were the only means of salvation. Tolstoy, the best known of the three, condemned civilization and modern progress. He preached the value of doing good to others and in his later days lived a simple peasant's life, which he glorified in *Anna Karenina*. Chekhov (1860–1904), the leading Russian dramatist, was less morbid than his contemporaries. *The Cherry Orchard* combines a sadly humorous feeling with a painful situation. Gorky (1868–1936) was really one of the peasants. A propagandist for their cause, he is well known outside Russia.

In America. Comparison between literary trends in America and those in Europe shows how closely the peoples are connected intellectually. Longfellow (1807–1882), Whittier (1807–1892), and Poe (1809–1849) represent American poetry at its best. Longfellow was a scholar, whose learning and humanity are reflected in his poetry. Whittier wrote delightfully about nature and attacked slavery. Poe is best known for his haunting and imaginative lyrics. Howells (1837–1920) and Henry James (1843–1916) are well-known American novelists. Howells admired the businessman, but exposed many of the abuses in American capitalism. James lived the greater part of his life in Europe as an expatriate. He contrasted American and European life and criticized, with marked appreciation, the leisure class. Mark Twain (1835–1910), one of the most beloved of American authors, was a master of satire and

humor. He pictured Western life and attacked the politics and economics that were practiced at the close of the Civil War.

Mysticism and Symbolism. Late in the 19th century, realism, as a form of literary expression, gave way to mysticism and symbolism. Symbolism was, no doubt, a reaction to science, in which it is demonstrated that man is an insignificant object in a universal machine. All that is left for him to do is to seek sensations, concluding that form and sound are more important than content and sense. Verlaine (1844–1896) in his poetry spread the idea in France. Pater (1839–1894), Swinburne (1837–1909), and Wilde (1856–1900) created a stir in England with their literary interpretations of symbolism. Pater expressed his love for the "modern" and the "pagan" in his *Marius the Epicurean.* Swinburne sympathized with Nietzsche's attack upon Christianity and openly expressed disgust for priests and kings. Wilde was the most extreme of the group, with his perverted ideas and his Bohemian manners. A milder form of symbolism appeared in what was called the "realism of frankness," supported by Butler (1835–1902) of England, Moore (1852–1933) of Ireland, and D'Annunzio (1863–1938) of Italy. They detested sham and pretense and ridiculed many established religions. D'Annunzio was an apostle of national egotism and urged his native country to conquer Dalmatia.

VII. EDUCATION AND LEARNING

1. EDUCATION

Background. Modern education is the result of centuries of effort to raise the intellectual and ethical standards of mankind, to improve society as a whole, and to transmit all cultural values and ideas to succeeding generations. The Greeks contributed the theory of a liberal education. They were interested primarily in the development of personality, "the good life," as Plato expressed it. The practical and realistic Romans emphasized a narrow moral training for a chosen profession and neglected aesthetic values. Roman education, at least in the late period of the empire, became rigidly institutionalized. Learning was not considered a preparation for life but for school. Consequently, intellectual stagnation blotted Roman life and was instrumental in the general decline.

Christianity appeared as a dominant factor in education in the Middle Ages. The Christian Fathers were interested in the preparation of leaders for the church and for the state. They turned to the schools for aid. A perplexing problem arose because much of the subject matter taught in the schools was pagan in origin. Unfortunately, the Christian Fathers rejected classical learning and heathen books. "Better to remain in ignorance of classical learning than to be ensnared by its errors," one venerable churchman declared. Education for the masses was to prepare them to become loyal adherents of the faith in order to ensure salvation. Education in the real sense of the word was confined to a select few, who were to be leaders in the church and rulers of the state. In general, education was defined in terms of piety, faith, and otherworldliness.

This did not change until the time of the Renaissance. Gradually, the study of mankind was substituted for theology and schools became secularized. The establishment of popular governments, which gave most of the people some authority, necessitated training for their new role. Industrialism increased the demand for physical and natural science. New ideas were required and there was an open field of competition for men with intelligence and ambition. Nationalism, with the support of Protestantism, demanded public support for education. Nationalism attacked religious superstitions and advanced an argument for a logical and scientific approach to the problems of life. Romanticism required the cultivation of individualism and self-expression. Learning was indispensable for accomplishing this.

Development of Educational Theory. The growth of nationalism and democracy, the influence of rationalism and romanticism, the materialistic impetus of industrialization, and the decline of the monopoly of theology in intellectual circles made possible the advancement of public education in the 19th century. The idea was not entirely new, as philosophers and public-spirited men had brought forward the theory of education for the masses long before the 19th century. In almost every age and in every great civilization, there were voices calling in the wilderness for the general advancement of learning.

Rousseau argued for the democratization of the educational process. There was a veritable pedagogical revolution, at the close of the 18th century, in the works of Basedow (1723–1790), Pesta-

lozzi (1746–1827), and Herbart (1776–1841). They attempted to make practical some of the idealistic theories of Rousseau Froebel (1782–1852) recommended that less emphasis be put on the problem of the teacher and that more be put on the child. He established the first kindergarten and the first experimental school (see page 448). G. Stanley Hall (1846–1924), an American psychologist, contributed the basic theories of genetic psychology and child study. The importance of the social basis of human life as a means of obtaining rational social control for the betterment of mankind was advocated by leading sociologists.

Application. As has been previously indicated, public education had been sponsored by some of the enlightened despots in the 18th century. The French revolutionists and Napoleon saw the value of education. Public elementary education was provided in France in 1833 and was made compulsory in 1882. England was slow in providing state-supported schools. Grants were made to the church schools and other private schools, beginning in 1833, and the Education Act of 1870 provided for the first public elementary schools. Not until 1918 was there an adequate public-school system in England. Public schools in the United States were encouraged by Jefferson (1743–1826), Horace Mann (1796–1859), and Henry Barnard (1811–1900). Pennsylvania was the first state to provide for free public education (1834), but within less than half a century, most of the states in the union had similar laws. A graduated system of schools, ranging from the kindergarten to the college or university, many of them state supported, was gradually worked out. Graduate schools for more advanced study were introduced in Germany in the early part of the 19th century and soon were adopted in other countries, notably the United States.

Curriculum. The forces that brought pressure to bear for education at the same time demanded new emphasis and new content matter in the subjects taught. Medievalism and Humanism no longer sufficed. Natural science, history, economics, sociology, psychology, and anthropology were added, by degrees, to the college curriculum. Greater freedom of choice for courses taken and specialization in certain fields were demanded. The elective system was introduced in Harvard by President Eliot in 1869. Professional schools to provide training for teachers, lawyers, doctors, businessmen, engineers, and a variety of other professions

were established, as the demand for trained men in these fields increased and as the possibilities for monetary reward became more evident.

Military schools, such as that at West Point, gave courses in practical engineering. The first school for engineering courses alone was the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, which opened at Troy, New York, in 1824. Industrial education, in one form or another, such as manual training, household arts, agriculture, horticulture, and business, were added to the course of study. Science made greater inroads in the curriculum than did any other study. Schools in the United States were leaders in this field. Harvard introduced a course in physics in 1860. Columbia University (King's College) and the University of Pennsylvania followed, in close order. At the present time, science is one of the largest departments in almost every college in the United States.

Problems in Modern Education. The growing importance of education in modern society has produced a variety of problems. Democracy demands an equal opportunity for school attendance, but mass education presents many difficulties. Unselected students require a particular type of curriculum, which must be broad and shallow—broad, so that it will be acceptable to many diverse interests, and shallow, in order that it may appeal to the less capable. This has raised the level of the lower class but, at the same time, it has resulted in a more mediocre standard in education as a whole. The superior child, in a sense, is neglected, and cultural progress, as a result, has been retarded.

Mass education has placed a heavy financial burden on society. The elementary and secondary schools in the United States in 1932 had enrolled 27,560,000 students. At the same time, there were 4,000,000 students in public high schools and almost 1,000,000 in colleges and universities. In addition, there were approximately 2,000,000 adults enrolled in correspondence and extension courses. A million teachers were employed to teach this army of students. The annual cost for public and private education in the United States amounts to $3,234,638,567. The average cost per annum is $67.82 for each elementary school pupil; $144.03 for each high-school pupil; and $500 for each college and university student.

From the educational point of view, school organization and administration in mass education have not been satisfactory.

Children of all types and abilities are subjected to a uniform body of content and a standardized method of presentation. This results in many misfits. Administrators, and even teachers, have been forced to spend too much time on routine matters, such as budgets, supplies, classification of students, reports, schedule making, and discipline, while the actual teaching had to suffer.

Utilitarian versus Cultural Motives. In modern education, there is a growing conflict between the advocates of utilitarianism and those who believe in emphasizing cultural aims. The materialistic standards in modern society call for something that can be used in increasing the material well-being of the individual. This has had a marked effect in the educational program. The student, oftentimes encouraged by parents, chooses courses that will be an aid in the making of money when the course is completed. This has become so prevalent that cultural education is in danger of complete submergence. High schools are emphasizing commercial work to such a degree that many freshmen enter college with an inadequate cultural background.

The college curriculum is so cluttered with prelegal, preengineering, premedical, and teacher-training courses that little time is left for basic cultural subjects. The true value of a cultural education has lost much of its significance. A good cultural course serves as an excellent background for any professional career. It emphasizes the highest values in life; it enables one to see things in a true perspective, to make proper adjustments in society, and to build spiritual and moral ideals.

Academic Freedom and Propaganda. Restriction of academic freedom and the use of propaganda are two threats against educational progress in a democracy. Academic freedom is necessary if a teacher is to perform the function that is expected of him. Both sides of a question should be presented without outside interference. The scientist faces the opposition of the fundamentalist. Vested interests, capital, and labor often oppose certain theories in economics and sociology. Frequently, the classroom is used as a place for spreading propaganda on the plastic mind of the younger generation. Evidences of what can be done along these lines were obvious in Germany, Italy, and Russia. Propaganda is carried out, not only by teachers, but also through numerous influences, such as endowments and bequests with the stipulation that certain

economic and social theories be taught, or through the distribution of free material in the form of commercial art with a propaganda tint, to students. These are delicate questions, because propaganda is not always obvious on the surface.

2. SCIENCE

Background. Science, more than any other form of intellectual activity, dominates modern society. The 20th century is decidedly a scientific age. Every phase of life is influenced by it and almost every field of intellectual endeavor has scientific characteristics. In a broad sense, the scientific attitude is a method of approaching the truth. In contrast with speculative philosophy and dogmatic theology, both of which lack data for scientific development, science tests in a laboratory the degree of certainty of a hypothesis. Modern science, which is generally accepted today, is the product of long centuries of painful struggle. We have referred to scientific progress in earlier periods, all of which must be kept in mind for an understanding of our present-day accomplishments.

Time and space do not permit a recapitulation of what took place in the earlier periods, but a brief résumé may be of value. Roger Bacon, in the 13th century, advocated the discovery of truth by observation and experimentation. Francis Bacon, in the 16th century, classified human learning and laid the foundation upon which the superstructure of science has been built. Descartes developed the scientific method. Harvey founded anatomical studies on a scientific basis. Galileo opened the field for a scientific study of the universe, which Newton extended with the law of gravitation. From these basic and phenomenal studies, 19th-century scientific study evolved. Important as was the technique of science that these men introduced, still more important was the acquisition of a receptive attitude on the part of the masses toward a scientific point of view. Without it, science could never have reached the important position that it holds today.

Character of Science of the 19th Century. Science in the 19th century was clearly an outgrowth of the work done in the 18th century, but there were several marked changes in emphasis. Much of the work was in classifying, organizing, and verifying what had been started in the previous century. Chemists and physicists worked on details of the atomic theory, explained the

transmission of heat and light waves in ether, and worked out principles of thermodynamics. Astronomers and mathematicians continued the work of Newton and advanced the nebular hypothesis. Biologists emphasized the study of bacteriology. Applied science was stressed by increased emphasis. The mechanized and industrialized existence of today is proof of how far this has gone. Transportation, communications, material comfort, and bodily health occupy the time and attention of most scientists. When science proved its utilitarian value, its general acceptance was definitely assured.

Evolution. The doctrine of evolution was one of the most significant deductions of the 19th century. It was significant not only because of its intrinsic scientific value, but also because of the intense controversy that it aroused in the intellectual world. It marked the climax of a long struggle between science and religion, and furnished a definite issue over which opposing forces could align. It has become a veritable battlefield for the warfare of science and religion. The struggle is by no means over; neither side has succeeded in completely overcoming the other, but the advantage seems to be definitely on the side of the scientist. Whether one accepts the theory of evolution or not, it is, nevertheless, a basic factor in our educational process. Evolution is more inclusive than a principle in biological science. It is a doctrine of change that has been accepted in the social sciences as well as in the physical sciences.

The basic principles in Darwin's theory of evolution (see Chapter II) need not be repeated here, but a word about its application is in order. Liberals found in Darwin's works support for their concept of free competition. It provided social reformers with a weapon to attack what they considered to be outworn principles. Political reformers found in Darwinism an excuse for the destruction of old political organizations. Militarists and dictators found in the "survival of the fittest" an argument in favor of conquest and domination.

Mathematics and Astronomy. Mathematics advanced further than most of the other sciences. The most outstanding accomplishment of early 19th-century scientists was the verification of astronomical theories. Laplace (1749–1827), in addition to the nebular hypothesis, contributed proof of Newton's theory of gravi-

tation, which he published in his *Celestial Mechanics*. Leverrier (1811–1877), a director of the observatory at Paris, proved through mathematical calculations that there must be a planet beyond Uranus in the solar system. This was verified through the use of a telescope in 1846, and the newly discovered planet was named Neptune.

Physics. Industries encouraged special work in optics, in magnetism, in electricity, and in thermodynamics. The last of these was an aid in the development of the steam engine. Joule (1818–1889) worked out the mechanical energy needed to raise the weight of a given body to any given extent, which is called the principle of the mechanical equivalent of heat. Von Helmholtz (1821–1894) advanced the law of conservation of energy, that all the force in nature cannot be increased or diminished. Kelvin (1824–1907) added the theory of dissipation of energy, which states that, while the amount of energy is constant, there is a degeneration into nonavailable, or "dissipated," heat. Maxwell (1831–1879) substantiated the kinetic theory of gases, that minute particles within the body move in a straight line at a high rate of speed constantly striking one another, thereby changing their individual direction and velocity. Foucault (1819–1868) proved that the velocity of light waves in different media varies inversely as the refractive character of the media.

The spectroscope was perfected in 1860 by two Germans, Bunsen (1811–1899), a chemist, and Kirchhoff (1824–1887), a physicist. Electrical science was one of the most original and important scientific advances of the century. Franklin, Galvani, and Volta had made a start in this important study in the preceding century. James Maxwell established the epoch-making theory of electromagnetism, which Marconi was able to use in his invention of wireless telegraphy. Electromagnetism connects optics with electricity and proves that light waves are similar to electromagnetic oscillations in the air. X rays, or Roentgen rays, were discovered in 1895. Pierre Curie (1859–1906) introduced the study of radioactivity.

Chemistry. Modern chemistry, to a very great degree, is based upon the atomic theory. The atomic and molecular construction of matter was proved by John Dalton (1766–1844). Avogadro (1776–1856) proved that gases contain small particles.

which he called molecules. In general usage, the term *molecule* is used to denote a unit of matter and *atom* is used to denote one of the particles of a simple element. Patient research also proved (1890) that electricity is made up of particles, called electrons. Electrochemistry is used to commercial advantage in electroplating and electrotyping, as well as in many other industrial enterprises.

Synthetic chemistry, a repudiation of the old theory of the distinction between animals and minerals on the one hand and vegetables on the other, is used in the production of fertilizers, dyes, drugs, and rubber. This promises to become one of the most profitable branches of science. Pasteur (1822–1895), one of the most renowned of all chemists, brought chemistry to the rescue of biological science. He worked on bacteria from which he inaugurated aseptic surgery, controlled the silkworm malady that was threatening one of the most important industries in France, found a cure for hydrophobia, and introduced "pasteurization" of milk. Chemistry is one of the most truly basic sciences, because it is used in so many associated fields. An ally of physics, biology, medicine, and surgery, it is used by the soldier to kill his enemy and by the promoters of public health to make an effort to conserve human life.

Biology and Physiology. Biology was introduced as a field of scientific endeavor by a German physician and naturalist, Treviranus (1776–1837). He advocated, as a fundamental principle, "that all living forms are the result of physical influences which are still in operation, and vary only in degree and direction." Modern embryology was begun by Baer (1792–1876) when he pointed out that human beings reproduce by fertilization of eggs, the same as do birds, fishes, and reptiles. Schwann (1810–1882), with the aid of the microscope, advocated the cell theory, that all living things grow in structural units, called cells.

Physiology was closely associated with biology and medical science. Muller (1801–1858) in his *Handbook* gave a résumé of the advances that had been made and added his findings of facts concerning the nervous system and the functioning of the senses. Bernard (1813–1878) discovered the vasomotor system, gland functions, and internal secretions. Chloroform and cocaine were introduced as anesthetics by the middle of the 19th century. Scientific dental surgery had its initiation about the same time.

Aseptic surgery was practiced by Joseph Lister (1827–1912) with the use of carbolic acid as a safeguard against infections. He also introduced the use of carbolized catgut for surgical sewings. Inoculations against certain types of diseases were proved successful by Robert Koch (1843–1910), who had based his studies on smallpox inoculations introduced by Edward Jenner (1749–1823). From these beginnings, preventive medicine was developed. Preventive serums were discovered, to control the germs of lockjaw, diphtheria, malaria, bubonic plague, and sleeping sickness.

Natural Science. Lamarck (1744–1829), Cuvier (1769–1832), von Humboldt (1769–1859), and Agassiz (1807–1873) were leading naturalists of the 19th century. Lamarck established the developmental relationship between all forms of life. Cuvier classified and elaborated on the work that had been done in geology and zoology. Humboldt, the father of the science of climatology, invented the idea of *isothermal lines* to denote temperature ranges on maps. Agassiz was interested in the study of fish and later devoted his attention to geology.

Importance of Science. Science and industry have been responsible for the dynamic changes that have taken place in recent years. Scientific progress can be traced to the discoveries in astronomy, physics, and mathematics that were made in the 16th and 17th centuries. Work along these lines was carried on in the 18th century to such a degree that it has been referred to as the scientific renaissance. In spite of all these revolutionary discoveries, it was not until the 19th century that scientific research particularly influenced the life of the common man. Changes in transportation are very significant. It took almost three years to circumnavigate the globe in the 17th century, while Howard Hughes flew around the world in 1938 in less than four days. The rocket plane has revolutionized transportation still further, and there is no end in sight. The use of electricity, in one form or another, has become almost universal. Science, which has provided innumerable devices to aid man in all his occupations, promises for him a larger, happier, and more useful life.

3. THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

The science of social relationship has lagged far behind what has taken place in the pure sciences. "The newest in science is

accepted without question, while the most timid suggestions of social and political readjustment and the most evident parallels from history are rejected without hesitation, . . . (these differences) are a challenging comment on science and civilization."[1] The scientific procedure has not been applied to human institutions. Not until the 19th century were the social sciences recognized as a study separate from political philosophy. The tendency was to consider politics, economics, ethics, and international relations as a part of political philosophy. When it becomes possible to utilize the gains of science, not only as applied science, but also as remedial human science, social progress can be expected.

History. Some advancement has been made in the utilitarian use of the social sciences. Saint-Simon, living at the beginning of the 19th century, was one of the first to advocate the study of the social sciences as a separate unit. The new history (see Chapter I) has broken from the old idea of emphasizing political events, wars, and exploits and has centered attention on man's social, intellectual, and industrial activities. It emphasizes all the activities and endeavors of man to explain the various problems that confront society. There is a conscientious endeavor to explain existing conditions in the light of the past. Let us hope that some progress can be made in avoiding in the future the mistakes of the past. The possibilities of success are not too encouraging. With apparent disregard of past experiences, statesmen blunder into mistakes that have occurred and recurred many times. This is particularly true in international affairs. European states traveled the same well-worn path that had led to hostilities in 1914, with apparent disregard of the danger signs that history had posted. Mussolini and Hitler established dictatorships by means of the same materials and workmanship that earlier dictators had used, while showing conspicuous neglect of the weaknesses that led to the downfall of those who went before.

Sociology. Sociology is one of the newer members of the social science group. It is an attempt to understand and improve society as a whole. Considering the many social problems that confront us today, this subject should become most important. Comte first used the term *sociology* in 1839 and Herbert Spencer proposed the ex-

[1] Guy Stanton Ford, *Science and Civilization* (University of Minnesota Press, 1933), 9.

tension of evolution to the "social organism." The inclusiveness and the comparative newness of the subject have led to the formation of many divergent theories. The organicists attempt to show the similarities between human society and the individual biological organism. Darwin's notion of the struggle for existence (warfare) was suggested by another group as the chief factor in human progress. An opposing school contends that cultural competition should be substituted for physical warfare as an impetus to progress. More recent sociologists are spending less time in the definition of terms and are concentrating their attention on an analysis of social processes and institutions. The theory of social causation was advanced by Giddings. Ross pointed out the relationship between psychological factors in social control. Social reform based upon philosophy and anthropology was advocated by Leonard Hobhouse. Out of this complicated group of theoretical principles, a much needed practical sociology may arise.

Economics. The study of economics has attracted a great deal of attention since the effects of industrialization were first felt. Early economists lined up either in defense of capitalism or against it. The classical economists, Malthus, Ricardo, and James Mill, were the most important group in the early part of the 19th century. The German Historical School, which studied economic life from the point of view of the evolution of economic institutions, were a more practical group. The so-called "welfare" economists emphasized the general welfare of individuals in society rather than wealth. Not until the close of the century did economics cease to be a collection of rules based upon pecuniary logic and become a real social science. Several well-known economists aided in the transition. Marshall, Bücher, Weber, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, John and Barbara Hammond, and Hobson emphasized the historical evolution of economic institutions with a view to attempting to understand the present. Thorstein Veblen founded institutional economics in the United States. Many data have been collected, but there is still a great variety of opinion as to their usage. Objective studies in the spirit used by the natural scientists have not been realized in economics. However, it is hoped that such studies may be possible in future procedure.

Archaeology and Anthropology. Interest in the past led to emphasis on archaeology. Vast sums have been spent to study re-

mains of ancient cities, and much valuable information has been accumulated on early cultural history. Studies in the biological and cultural history of man created interest in anthropology. After it had been established that man had evolved from lower organic types, anthropologists began the search for evidence on the origin of man to be obtained by the study of human fossils. The cultural anthropologists studied all evidences of culture in the remains of the early people. The archaeologists and anthropologists have contributed toward the telling of the story of the evolution of early civilization much information that throws considerable light on our present status.

Political Science and Jurisprudence. Early 19th-century political science was concerned mainly with definition of terms, classification of forms of government, and types of political institutions. General emphasis was laid on the study of democracy. De Tocqueville (1805–1859) and Bryce (1838–1922) analyzed American democracy. More recent investigators have concerned themselves with the influence of social forces on political life. They have investigated also the growing importance of the social functions performed by political institutions. The growth of democracy led to a different approach to jurisprudence. Divine origin of law was disputed, and law was interpreted as the state's command. During the 19th century, attempts were made to reevaluate law. One school (historical) maintained that law was a product of cultural forces. Another (comparative) contended that legal systems should be studied comparatively in order that their character and values might be determined. Clearly, we are in an evolutionary stage in these important studies. There is still much work to be done before intelligent conclusions can be made.

4. PROGRESS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The 19th century produced more sensational changes than were ever recorded in any other similar period in human history. Many trends that reached far back into earlier periods came to maturity during this century. New developments also were in the process of emerging. Especially is this true in the scientific and economic fields.

Politics. The first fruits of democracy began to mature in England and in the United States. The French Revolution marked

the earliest inroads into the citadel of autocracy on the continent of Europe, and while much of its effect was lost in the period of reaction following the Napoleonic period, it did set a precedent for later developments.

Aggressive nationalism, which in many instances led to imperialism, was permitted to run its course without effective opposition. The unification of Germany, the formation of the two great alliances, and the subsequent friction between them inevitably led to World War I. The peace of Versailles, including the League of Nations, ineffectively tried to preserve the fruits of victory. World War II offers impressive evidence of the failure to accomplish that end. The time probably will come when World War I and World War II will be considered as one conflict, rather than as separate struggles.

Economics. The impact of the Industrial Revolution and the factory system became more and more evident as the 19th century drew to a close. Large-scale production led to concern over supplies of raw materials and over markets for manufactured goods. Improvements in facilities for transportation and in communication brought the peoples of the world much closer together. Large fortunes were acquired by many capitalists and huge corporations began to appear.

However, all was not well in the economic world. Depressions, unemployment, and widespread poverty resulted in increasing criticism of the capitalistic system and of existing political institutions. Reparations and war debts handicapped recovery and led to economic nationalism, manifest in tariff walls. The climax was a world economic depression.

Science and Learning. Theories relating to the nature of heat and light were explored and applied. Electricity was harnessed for power and illumination. The germ theory of disease and the use of antisepsis in surgery heralded the dawn of a new age in the study of medicine. The theory of evolution brought to a head the long controversy between science and religion. Progress and evolution were stressed in 19th-century philosophy, and science was accepted as fundamental in spite of traditional religious beliefs.

Literature is considered to have been one of the greatest intellectual contributions of the 19th century. The romanticists frowned upon the cold formalism of the age of reason, emphasizing nature

Line of Time

The American Revolution.
Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations.

Death of Voltaire. Death of Rousseau.
Crompton's "Mule."

1780

Joseph II abolishes serfdom.

Peace of Versailles.

Meeting of the Estates-General. Fall of the Bastille. Rights of Man.

1790

Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Burke's Reflections.

Execution of Louis XVI.
End of the Reign of Terror.
The Directory. Third Partition of Poland.
Bonaparte's Italian campaign. Nebular Hypothesis of Laplace.

The Consulate.

1800

Owen at New Lanark.

Napoleon Emperor. Code Napoleon.

End of Holy Roman Empire.
Prussian serfs free.

Lamarck's theory of evolution.

1810

Congress of Vienna.
The Hundred Days.

1820

The Monroe Doctrine.

Stockton and Darlington railway.

Death of Beethoven. Death of Laplace. Death of Pestalozzi.

1830 — The July Revolution.
Death of Goethe. First Reform Bill in England.

1840 — Mill's System of Logic.

Simpson uses Chloroform.

1850 — Crimean War.

Bessemer process.

Darwin's Origin of Species.
1860 — Lister uses antiseptics.
Abraham Lincoln President.

Prussia defeats Austria.
Das Kapital of Karl Marx.

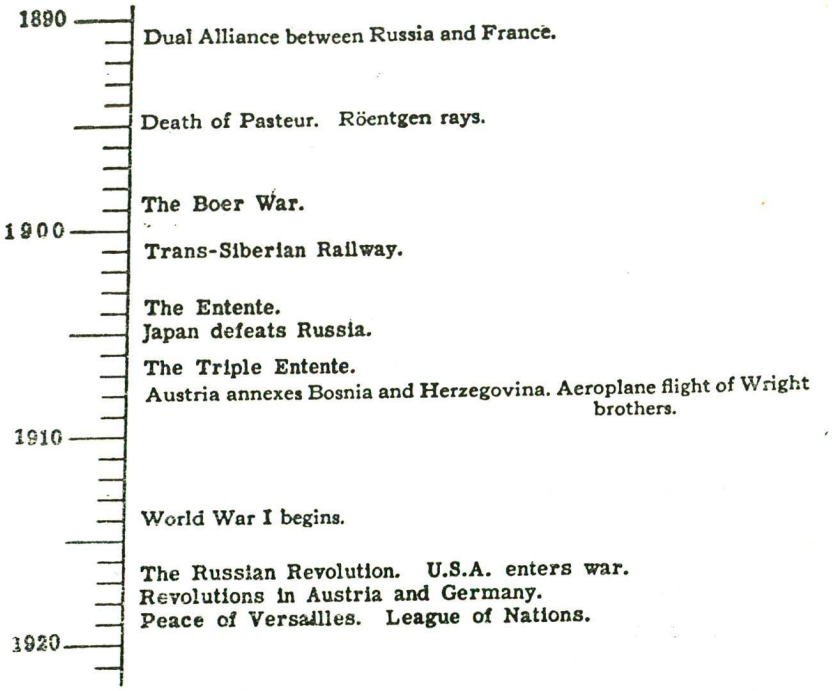
1870 — Franco-German War.
The German Empire. Treaty of Frankfort. The Paris Commune.

Third Republic established in France.

Treaty of San Stefano. Berlin Conference.

1880 — The Triple Alliance.

Death of Victor Hugo.



and love of living. Social criticism, as subject matter, gradually gained recognition through the works of such writers as Zola and Anatole France. Beethoven, Brahms, Wagner, Verdi, and Tchaikovsky contributed a golden age in music. In architecture, there was a revival of past styles, but before the end of the century engineers developed new methods of construction of a functional nature. Painters and sculptors denied the accepted academic standards and emphasized structure and design.

Review Questions

1. "There are but two important events in modern history, the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution." To what degree is this true?

2. Show how inequalities provided important causes for the French Revolution.

3. What similarity is there between the French Revolution of 1789 and the Russian Revolution of 1917?

4. Give the steps in the evolution of the domestic system to the industrialization of society.

5. What effect did the Industrial Revolution have upon society, art, politics, and religion?

6. Why was the Agricultural Revolution a natural sequence to the Industrial Revolution?

7. What important contributions did Napoleon make?

8. Is it possible to compare Napoleon with modern dictators? How did he differ?

9. What were the chief weaknesses of the settlements made at Vienna in 1815?

10. What comparison can be made between the period following the Congress of Vienna and the period following the Congress of Versailles?

11. Enumerate the important changes in the English constitution in the 17th and 18th centuries.

12. What important changes were made in the political parties in the United States prior to the Civil War?

13. Describe the formation of the two great alliances in Europe prior to World War I.

14. Classify the causes for World War I.

15. What are the important obstacles to international conciliation?

16. Describe the League of Nations. What were its chief weaknesses?

17. Discuss the arguments for and against capitalism.

18. What are the fundamental economic factors in cooperatives?

19. Define Socialism. What are its weaknesses?

20. What are the chief characteristics of art in the neoclassical and romantic schools?

21. Characterize religion and philosophy in the 19th century.

22. Describe the romantic movement in literature. Give the most outstanding examples in England, France, and the United States.

23. Account for the new developments in educational theory.

24. What trends do you note that may prove harmful?

25. Evaluate scientific progress in the 19th century.

26. Why have the social sciences lagged so far behind?

27. Identify: *lettre de cachet*, Cardinal Fleury, Third Estate, Turgot, Necker, "Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen," Tennis Court Oath, The Reign of Terror, domestic system, entrepreneur, Arkwright, Whitney, James Watt, "cash nexus," Agricultural Revolution, Bakewell, Consulate, *ancien régime*, Quadruple Alliance, concert of Europe, "Carbonari," Jefferson, Bismarck, Bundesrat, Pan-Slavism, Monroe Doctrine, "balance of power," League of Three Emperors, *Entente Cordiale*, Hague Court, Moroccan Crisis, World Court, "Great Western," Malthus, Peel, Winckelmann, Goya, Bergson, Gandhi, Byron, Jane Austin, Lamartine, Maupassant, Pushkin, symbolism, Joule, and Marconi.

Problems

1. Compare the Congress of Vienna (1815) and the Congress of Versailles (1919) as to (*a*) problems discussed, (*b*) states represented, (*c*) success, and (*d*) failure.

Did the Congress of Versailles demonstrate any progress in international government over earlier congresses? If so, what?

2. "Art is a reflection of the fundamental traits of the age in which it is produced." Give specific illustrations in 19th-century art to prove this point.

3. What inconsistencies were there in the application of economic laissez-faire policies in the 19th century? Account for this.

Map Study V

Denoyer-Geppert Outline Map No. 18002a

1. Show Napoleon's empire at its greatest extent.
2. Designate the territorial changes made in Europe at the Congress of Vienna.
3. Show the states that were members of the two great alliances in 1914. Indicate changes made after the war began.
4. Show the principal railway and inland water routes in Europe in 1914.
5. Indicate the territories that would have been included in a successful Pan-German program. In a Pan-Slavic program.
6. Show the territorial changes made at the Congress of Versailles.
7. Bound the internationalized territories of Europe in 1920.
8. Locate the capitals of the European states in 1920.

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