The Age of Revolution

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The American Revolution was both conservative and radical. It was conservative in the sense that Americans believed they were fighting to maintain the traditional political system that they had enjoyed from the beginning, including the traditional "rights of Englishmen." On the international stage, however, it was radical, for it resulted in a new nation with a liberal government such as the world had never seen.

Causes. While the immediate causes of the revolution stemmed directly from the Seven Years' War, the long range causes went as far back as the founding of the British colonies. As John Adams, one of the leading lights of the revolution, once said, "The Revolution was effected before the war commenced. The Revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people…This radical change in the principles, opinions, sentiments and affections of the people, was the real American Revolution."

Tradition of Self-Government. Since the founding of the colonies the Americans had developed a tradition of self-government. This tradition included the all-important right to control their own property and consent to their own taxation. Theoretically the crown had full authority over the colonies, and Parliament could pass any kind of legislation, including taxes, affecting any part of the empire. From the beginning, however, there was little interference with the prerogatives of the colonial legislatures, which usually represented all property holders (most of the people in the colonies) in their respective colonies. Britain derived its wealth from trade with the colonies in the means of income made in Great Britain. When, after 1763, Parliament asserted its rights to tax the colonies to pay for the Seven Years' War, the Americans believed their rights were being violated since only women, children and slaves were taxed without a voice in the Parliament.

Social Distinctions. Since the colonies had been settled by the commoners of Great Britain for the most part, the Americans developed a social structure and social attitudes different from those of the English. There were plenty of elites among them, but their elitism was based on wealth and talent, not on noble birth or patronage. Except for the existence of slavery, democratic attitudes rapidly developed. Because of the way the Americans developed from uninhabited by the Europeans to the most wealthy region in the world, psychologically the Americans were well prepared for the Enlightenment ideals relating to the worth of the individual, the ability of the people to be self-governing and natural rights.

International Ramifications. Internationally, the Americans sought military and financial aid wherever they could, attempting to build on old European rivalries to help their own cause. France, Britain's historic enemy, sympathized with the Americans from the beginning; although they did not at first officially join the war, the French actually supplied a large portion of the guns and gunpowder used by American troops. French volunteers, too, came to fight, the most notable of whom was the 18-year-od Marquis de Lafayette, who soon became one of George Washington's most trusted generals. In 1779 and 1780, respectively, the Spanish and Dutch, seeking an opportunity to weaken the naval power of the British, declared war on Britain, as allies of France. Russia, meanwhile, helped form the League of Armed Neutrality to help protect neutral shipping rights, and Britain found itself involved in a war against most of Europe. England also had colonies in India and the West Indies that had to be protected and defended in the continuing struggle of the European powers for empire.

It was these extended involvements that helped tip the scales in favor of ending the America war with as few losses as possible. This explains why, at the Treaty of Paris, the British offered the Americans the land east of the Mississippi, excluding Canada. The French and Spanish would not have allowed the vast western territory to be given to the Americans (the French wanted the land back since they had lost in the Seven Years' War), but the British would rather have a weak American nation in the Mississippi Valley than a major European power. The American negotiators understood what was going on, wisely refused to tie themselves to the French negotiations, and actually conducted separate negotiations.

Impact of the American Revolution. The American Revolution was the first time an overseas possession had rebelled successfully against a European power. It also resulted in the first modern state to have a written constitution, and the first in which it was explicitly declared that the exercise of power was to be based on the consent of the governed, not on divine right. The revolution was significant, then, because it created a new and different type of state. In effect, it "changed the rules" of politics for much of the Western world.

The American Declaration of Independence said that "all men are created equal," meaning "equal before the law," and Americans did all they could to make this reality, They extended the franchise until

all white males could vote (property requirements were necessary, but almost all owned property). Many states passed laws forbidding importation of slavery (the South was close to outlawing slavery). They also abolished established churches, and freedom of religion became the law of the land. In addition, all thirteen state constitutions included a bill of rights, which guaranteed the natural rights of citizens.

Internally, the era of the American Revolution may not have been very revolutionary, for it resulted in nothing like the vast social and economic reorganization that later characterized the French and Russian Revolutions. At the time, however, it had a profound impact on European observers. It meant that the ideas of the Enlightenment were more than interesting abstractions, for a new state had been established with a workable system of government based on the rights of the individual. To absolutists this spelled danger. For liberals, America became a symbol of freedom and opportunity.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The American Revolution undoubtedly hastened the French Revolution, but it was the latter that opened the modern era of European politics. The French Revolution not only overthrew monarchy, it threw out the entire system of hereditary class and privilege, giving royalists, aristocrats and other conservatives throughout Europe even more to think about than the revolution across the Atlantic.

Causes of the Revolution.

The Three Estates. Legally, France's 25 million people were classified into three "estates." The first, the clergy, owned considerable land, paid practically no taxes, and was often characterized at the top levels by aristocratic, political appointees. The nobility, the second estate, owned one-fourth of the land, was not heavily taxed, and enjoyed a wide variety of privileges and immunities, including the right to tax the peasants. The third estate, the commoners, consisted of everyone else, comprised about 98 percent of the population. Members of this highly fragmented estate (merchants, doctors, artisans, but mostly workers and peasants) had little in common except for their opposition to the privileges of the two higher estates.

These orders, however, were not rigid. By the 1780s French society was actually based on wealth and economic achievement, and the more wealthy within the third estate had much in common with the nobility. Both groups opposed the claims of the monarchy to absolute authority and chafed under the economic bungling of the bureaucracy. Both were concerned with protecting private property and expanding their investments, and it was not uncommon for members of the third estate to attain noble status through government service or by purchasing offices that carried noble rank with them. Often the two estates were also linked by marriage.

Weakness of the Monarchy. Another factor was the weakness of the monarchy. Despite the king's claim to absolute authority, the clergy, the provinces, the towns and various corporate bodies retained numerous rights and privileges. Furthermore, the nobility and influential commoners were frequently in a position to frustrate efforts of the crown to raise taxes and to do other things that worked against their economic interests.

Economic Chaos. The most immediate problem was pure economic chaos, especially after the cost of participating in the American war for independence sent the national debt soaring to such heights that half of the continually burgeoning budget went to pay the interest. Essential government services were suffering, and there seemed to be no solution except to raise taxes. But the tax system itself was blatantly outmoded and unfair; it relied on taxing the already overburdened peasantry and on manorial dues, and it was impossible to obtain more revenue from either of these sources. The growing wealth of the middle class (bourgeoisie) was the only place taxes could be raised, however, this group was demanding more political power in exchange for helping with the current situation. Reforming the system would affect the vested interests of every element of society, and the effort at reform sparked the move to change not just the economic system but the political and social system as well.

PHASE I: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LIMITED MONARCHY

In 1787 the economic crisis was so severe that Louis XVI and his ministers attempted to tax all landowners, regardless of status or legal privileges. In response, powerful nobles and high-ranking churchmen demanded that the king call together the Estates General, a body that represented all three estates but had not met since 1614. After considerable resistance and political turmoil, the king relented and called for it to meet in the spring of 1787.

Estates General. In the impassioned elected campaign of 1788 to 1789, each estate elected representatives to the forthcoming assembly. Most of those elected were intent on making sweeping liberal

reforms: the monarchy must be constitutionally limited, the Estates General must meet regularly and approve all laws and taxes (based on the British model) and individual liberties must be guaranteed.

National Assembly. The 1200 delegates met at Versailles, just twelve miles outside Paris, in May 1789. Almost immediately they found themselves deadlocked over how they should transact business. The third estate, which represented the vast majority of the people and was led by the likes of the Marquis de Lafayette, refused to meet separately and have only one vote in the meeting, which meant it could be overpowered by an alliance of the two higher estates. Finally on June 17 and after six weeks of wrangling, the third estate declared itself to be the National Assembly. On July 20, meeting in a large indoor tennis court out of fear their delegates would be intimidated by the other representatives of the two higher estates, the delegates pledged themselves to never disband until they had written a new constitution.

In one sense this "Tennis Court Oath" was the real beginning of the French Revolution, because from that point, some kind of transformation of the government was virtually inevitable. On June 23 the king gave a conciliatory address, promising a constitution and other reforms, and then ordered the three estates to meet in their separate halls. Again the third estate refused to meet in the Estates General Hall because of their fear of being overpowered by the other estates. The king, in desperation, ordered the two privileged estates to meet with the National Assembly. The Estates General was destroyed. The monarchy, however, was not quite dead. The kind had ordered the meeting of the larger assembly knowing it would never come to any agreement and probably end with violence. The king ordered 20,000 troops to the area of Paris to seize control of the Assembly when it broke apart and restore the absolute power of the monarchy.

The Bastille. Meanwhile, the French masses were caught in the grip of economic disaster, partly the result of a poor harvest in 1788. The price of bread was far beyond what the poor could afford; in Paris, one-fourth of the people were unemployed. Their outrage was only compounded when rumors began to circulate the king's troops were about to sack the city, and they began to seize arms for defense. On July 14, 1789, hundreds of citizens stormed the Bastille, a medieval fortress long used as a prison, in search of gunpowder. In the melee ninety-eight people were killed, and the governor of the prison finally surrendered. The fury and spontaneous brutality of the masses was illustrated when both he and the mayor were butchered. Paris was no longer loyal to the king. He was forced to recall his troops, and the National Assembly in Versailles was saved.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE OLD REGIME

Throughout the summer spontaneous popular insurrections spread across France. During the Great Fear, as it has been called, peasants looted homes of the lords, burned legal documents, seized lands and forests, and generally caused hysteria. At Versailles, the nobles got the message and agreed to eliminate all remaining vestiges of serfdom as well as to give up most their exclusive privileges.

Living in Paris at the time was the Marquis de Lafayette, a delegate to the National Assembly whom the citizens had made the commander of the city's armed forces after they had stormed the Bastille. There, too, was his friend Thomas Jefferson, American ambassador to France. Lafayette, like man other nobles, was deeply concerned with the need for a declaration of rights, and he consulted with Jefferson on his own drafts of such a document. On August 27, 1789, the National Assembly issued its Declaration of Rights of Man. Much shorter than the American Declaration of Independence, it nevertheless contained many of the same essential elements, including the ideals of equality before the law, representative government, and individual freedom. The next task was to draft a constitution, which the new National Assembly had vowed in June was its essential mission.

October Violence. At that point the Revolution again to turned violent, but this time the perpetrators were the working women of Paris, whose meager incomes were essential to their families. When the depression threw many of them out of work, their anger erupted into fury. On October 5, some 7,000 women marched from Paris to Versailles brandishing scythes, pikes, axes, guns and sticks and demanding some kind of action that would bring them bread. Perhaps they despised no one more than the queen, Marie Antionette. When they raided the royal apartments, hacking to death some of the royal bodyguards, they were breathing threats against her. Ultimately they forced the king and his family to move to Paris, where the king would be virtually imprisoned. The bizarre procession that paraded back to Paris on October 6 included the royal bodyguard, the king's carriage, and the mob eating and drinking and hurling insults at the queen. It was also chanting, symbolically, that it was bringing back "the baker, the baker's wife and the baker's boy."

The Old Regime Restructured. Over the next two years the National Assembly, acting as a constituent (or people's) assembly, completely restructured the Old Regime. It abolished the nobility and

created a constitutional monarchy. The constitution, completed in 1791, retained the king as head of state, but placed all legislative power in the hands of the Assembly. That body was elected by an indirect process, but those who could vote for electors, though limited by economic qualifications, included nearly two-thirds of adult males. Civil rights eventually were extended to all people. Local government, too, was affected; the Assembly abolished the historic jumble of provinces, each with different systems, and replaced them with eighty-three departments of roughly the same size with exactly the same governing institutions. The old judicial system, too, was swept away, being replaced with a system that included elected judges, trial by jury in all felony cases, and a new, liberal penal code. In addition, new paper currency was issued, backed up by former church property that had been nationalized.

For the time being, however, the members of the National Assembly believed the revolution was over, and on September 30, 1791, they dissolved the Assembly and went home. On one way they were right, for the most constructive and permanent reforms of the revolution were in place. Politically, however, the worst was yet to come.

PHASE II: THE RADICAL REPUBLIC

Before the National Assembly dissolved itself, it provided for the election of a new representative body to be known as the Legislative Assembly. Because no member of the old Assembly could be elected to the new body, the Legislative Assembly that met in October 1791 was much different in character. The new legislators, sometimes known as "Jacobins" because of a political club they were associated with, were so ardent in the commitment to liberalism that they took the revolution far beyond the objectives of its founders.

The first opportunity came from the outside. The monarchs of Europe, spurred by the French nobles who had fled their country, felt threatened themselves. They seriously contemplated invading France, restoring the monarchy, and, in the process, gaining some territory for themselves. The Jacobins actually welcomed this, not just an opportunity to solidify their position with the masses, but also an opportunity to export the revolution, "liberating" other peoples of Europe.

The Jacobins Go to War. In April 1792 they went to war with Austria and Prussia, but the war began poorly. French troops fled at first encounter; the enemy crossed French borders and began a drive toward Paris. At that point, however, fervent new nationalism seemed to inspire the masses. Army volunteers marched to battle singing a stirring song, "The Marseillaise," newly composed by one of their officers.

National Convention. When rumors began to spread that the king was in league with the enemy, angry patriots of Paris again mobilized themselves for action. On August 10 a mob captured the royal palace at the Tuileries, and the king and his family took refuge in the Legislative Assembly. Realizing that all hope for a constitutional monarchy was gone, and that its own existence no longer had legitimacy, the Assembly suspended the king, put him custody, and prepared to dissolve itself. It also ordered the creation of a new legislative body, to be known as the National Convention and to be elected by universal male suffrage. Monarchy in France was dead.

RADICALIZATION OF THE REVOLUTION

Events moved rapidly toward even greater radicalization and toward an era in which violence and death were commonplace.

The Guillotine. In September 1792 the newly elected National Convention adopted a new instrument of execution: a beveled blade suspended between two upright supports that, when let drop, could quickly dispatch a person's head. Used previously in Scotland, it was urged on the Convention by one of its member, Joseph Ignace Guillotin, a physician who believed that this uniform, presumably painless method was the only humane way to carry out executions. The guillotine, as it was soon called, became one of the horrors of the next few years and one of the most frightful symbols of the age.

The first wave of violence was the September Massacres in 1792. Enraged by stories that imprisoned counterrevolutionaries and aristocrats were in league with the invaders, Parisian crowds stormed the prisons, set up popular tribunals and executed over 1,000 prisioners.

The Republic Executes the Monarchs. The Convention, meanwhile, proclaimed France a republic. It also adopted a new calendar and a more informal style of address intended to carry the republic even further from the formal trappings of the aristocracy. It also agreed on the fate of the imprisoned Louis XVI. By a narrow majority, it found him guilty of treason. On January 21, 1793, stripped of even his kingly title, Louis Capet was executed. Marie Antoinette, was taken to the guillotine in October.

Another War and Internal Division. The fortunes of the French armies temporarily improved, and in February 1793 the Convention, hoping to keep other monarchs away, declared war on Britain, Holland and France. France was at war with nearly all of Europe. However, divisions began to appear at home as many peasants resisted being drafted into the army. Guerilla bands of Catholics and royalists occupied several cities and massacred patriots who still supported the revolution. The Convention was also bitterly divided between two factions. The Girondists and the Montagnards (the Mountain) were both determined to continue the war and to promote internal reforms, but they mistrusted each other intensely.

Sans-Culottes. New pressures, meanwhile, were put on the Convention by the bitterly antiaristocratic masses (artisans, shopkeepers and laborers). They were sometimes called the *sans-culottes* ("without breeches") for they wore trousers rather than the knee-breeches that characterized the dress of the aristocracy and the middle class. They also adopted other symbolic lifestyles intended to emphasize the virtue of their society and, by contrast, the decadence of their enemies. These included simplicity in dress and manners and the use of the word "citizen" as a form of address instead of titles such as "monsieur" or "madame." They became the driving political force in Paris. In the spring of 1793, after a poor harvest and a precipitous decline in the value of paper money spread scarcity and panic across the country, they demanded more radical political action in order to guarantee the steady supply of bread. The Montagnards joined with them. A popular uprising forced many Girondists to flee Paris, giving the Montagnards complete control of the Convention.

Robespierre. One of the most effective leaders of the Montagnards was Maximilien de Robespierre, a fierce democrat who fully believed that the common people were the ultimate possessors of both goodness and good sense. In his enthusiasm, however, he also believed that ruthless force was necessary to achieve unanimity. To him, the survival of the revolution was the highest value. To achieve this survival, he felt the central government must be both powerful and efficient and must withstand every threat to its continued existence. If that ideal came into conflict with his democratic sympathies, Robespierre's loyalty to the survival of the revolution won out.

In the Convention, the more moderate Girondists, those who had survived the uprising, thundreed against what they called the tyranny of the sans-cullotes. But on June 2, urged by Robespierre, the Convention had thirty-one Girondists expelled and arrested. Ultimately they were tried for treason. Robespierre was elected to the Committee of Public Safety, which had dictatorial powers to protect the reforms of the revolution.

Meanwhile, a revolt against the Convention was growing in cities and provinces outside Paris. Soon only the area around Paris and the eastern front were under the control of the Convention. This triggered the most brutal period of the entire revolution: the Reign of Terror.

The Reign of Terror. Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety, cooperating with the sans-culottes, attacked the crisis boldly. They instituted a kind of emergency socialism, with a planned economy such as Europe had never seen before. They tackled the problem of the brad supply with price controls, quality control, and rationing. They nationalized many small businesses, particularly those engaged in production of arms, munitions, and other things essential to the war effort, and they were not hesitant to obtain raw materials and military supplies simply through requisitioning.

Politically, the bloody Reign of Terror deserved its name. Anyone deemed to be an "enemy of the nation" was tried in newly created revolutionary courts. Some 40,000 men and women were executed or died in captivity. Another 300,000 were jammed into the overcrowded prisons. The rights of the accused were minimal at best. Execution was swift. In October 1793 the city of Lyons capitulated to the Convention's forces. The population was disarmed, the homes of many wealthy citizens were burned and nearly 2000 people were executed after hasty, on-the-spot courts-martial.

In Defense of the Republic. Despite the revolts outside Paris, Robespierre and the Committee of Public successfully marshaled the patriotic fervor of those who accepted revolutionary ideals. Imbued with a new sense of national mission, they thought of the war as a national crusade. The armed forces grew to 1 million men. They were led by young generals who had come up from the ranks – a different breed than the aristocratic, politically appointed officers were formerly dominated the military. By the spring of 1794, the French were victorious everywhere; by July they held the Austrian Netherlands and the Rhinelands. At the same time, the Convention was pragmatic enough to realize that it could not mount a universal crusade to bring "freedom" to all people of Europe. It steadfastly refused the temptations to invade or become involved in revolutionary movements in Holland, Poland and Italy.

PHASE III: THE THERMIDORIAN REACTION

At home, the Committee of Public Safety continued its terror, supported by the "impartiality" of the guillotine, until it finally became too much. A coalition of moderates and radicals organized a conspiracy against Robespierre. On 9 Thermidor, year II, of the revolutionary calendar (July 27, 1794), the Convention declared him an outlaw. The following day he and his closest associates climbed the steps to the guillotine. As it had done before, the revolution was eating its own children.

The "Thermidorian reaction" changed the focus of the National Convention, as moderates reasserted their authority, abolished many economic controls, and placed severe restrictions on the sans-culottes' political organization. The result was inflation, shortages, and distress among the poor, contrasted with a seeming orgy of renewed ostentatious living among the rich. Early in 1795 the Parisians revolted again, but the government quickly suppressed them. Weary of the struggle, the poor finally admitted defeat, and even the women called for peace.

The Directory. The Convention wrote still another constitution. It provided for five-man executive, the Directory, and a two-house Legislative Assembly. The new leaders, however, proved both ineffective and unprincipled. They kept up the war, but largely to keep men in the armies and thus reduce unemployment at home. The popular fervor for war was gone; in 1797 the disgusted voters elected several conservatives and monarchists. The Directory nullified the election, however, and began its own dictatorial but ineffective rule.

The Rise of Napoleon. The time was ripe for the appearance of a popular hero who could muster political support in the belief he could bring order out of chaos. Such a person could command almost unlimited power. The young General Napoleon Bonaparte turned out to be the man. Though of noble birth, Napoleon was a dedicated revolutionary and had won laurels for himself with brilliant military victories in Italy. As news of his exploits reached France he became a national hero. He arrived back in France just in time to become part of a plot against the Directory by prominent members of the Legislative Assembly. On November 9, 1799, with soldiers present to ensure success, the conspirators forced the directors to resign. The following day Napoleon was appointed one of a new ruling triumvirate called the Consulate.

Named first consul, the charming, talented and ambitious Napoleon dominated the Consulate. Another new constitution was overwhelmingly approved by a plebiscite in December and, for all practical purposes, Napoleon became a dictator.

Napoleonic Reforms. Napoleon brought civil strife to an end and instituted a series of domestic reforms that ultimately became his greatest permanent achievements. They also heightened his popularity with various classes. The Civil Code of 1804, renamed the Napoleonic Code in 1807, reasserted the equality of all citizens before the law and the sanctity of private property. Peasants were delighted when he reaffirmed their rights to land they had been allowed to purchase even though confiscated from the church or the nobility. He perfected the centralization of the state, which not only improved administration in the provinces, but gave him the power to appoint mayors, who, in turn, were naturally loyal to him. He appealed to the old nobility by granting amnesty to 100,000 emigres, provided they take loyalty oaths.

Perhaps his greatest coup was healing the breach in the French Catholic Church and, at the same time, gaining its loyalty. The Concordant of 1801, signed by Napoleon and Pope Pius VII, guaranteed religious freedom to Catholics; it also gave the government the right to nominate bishops and pay the clergy. Napoleon did not succeed in gaining universal support, but he placated most of France and thus solidified his position.

Emperor. At the same time, Napoleon undid some liberal reforms of the early revolution. Women's rights, for example, were rolled back. Penal and criminal procedures were tightened. In general, however, the French people felt both relief and new confidence in the future. Few seemed alarmed when, in 1802, Napoleon's ten-year consulship was converted into a lifetime position. It was only a short step from there to another constitutional revision that did away with the republic two years later. Napoleon was proclaimed emperor, with a hereditary title. On December 2, 1804, at a coronation ceremony presided over by the pope at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, the French hero crowned himself.

PHASE IV: THE IMPERIAL ERA

It was not just internal affairs that paved the way for Napoleon to gain the imperial title, but also the wartime atmosphere. Napoleon had an expansive dream of ruling an empire that covered all of Europe. Already his armies had taken Austria's Italian possessions and incorporated into France much of the German Rhinelands; he began to prepare for a cross-channel invasion of England. In October 1805,

however, the French navy suffered near annihilation at the Battle of Trafalgar. Britain remained the only country not seriously threatened by Napoleon. In December his armies defeated the combined Austrian-Russian forces at Austerlitz, and the following year they overran several small German states. By Napoleon's personal decree, the Holy Roman Empire came to an end; a new German union, the German Confederation of the Rhine, came into existence. The French emperor was its "protector."

The Height of the Empire. By 1810 Napoleon's empire reached its height. French borders had been expanded to include Belgium, the old Austrian Netherlands, parts of northern Italy and considerable German territory. There were also a number of satellite or dependent kingdoms, including northern Italy, Naples (southern Italy), Holland, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and Spain. In addition Prussia, Austria, the Kingdom of Norway and Denmark, and Russia were (or had become) Napoleonic allies. The satellite kingdoms were ruled by Napoleon's brothers or other close family members. Already, however, Spain was in revolt. In 1808, resentful of Napoleon's decision to depose the king and place his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, on the throne, various anti-Napoleonic elements resisted the French armies, took to the hills, and began a long, intense guerrilla war. Supported by British troops, the Spanish resistance sapped Napoleon's strength elsewhere.

Resentment of Napoleon's System. There was also resentment at Napoleon's "Continental System," which was aimed at bringing the undefeated England to its knees through economic warfare. With the British and Milan decrees of 1806 and 1807, Napoleon attempted to exclude all British goods, including those carried in neutral ship, form the European continent. Britain responded with the Orders-in-Council, which threatened to seize neutral ships that did not stop at British ports; thereupon Napoleon threatened to seize any neutral ship that obeyed the Orders-in-Council. The Mutual blockade had worldwide implications as both Britain and France were hurt and thousands of neutral ships, including many American ships, were seized each year. France and its satellites were hurt the most because of the scarcity of foreign goods and the resulting high prices of French goods; the whole affair only weakened Napoleon's position within his empire. Smuggling became rampant, for the emperor had created a system that was far beyond his power to enforce.

The Russian Campaign. With the rebellion brewing in Spain and elsewhere, and with economic ills beginning again to divide France, it would seem that Napoleon would rein in his ambitions and try to gain more firm control of what he had. Instead, in hopes of rallying national patriotism and tapping into German distrust of the Slavic Russians, his aspirations became even more grandiose. On June 22, 1812 he declared war on Russia. The Russian czar, Alexander I, was a reluctant ally and realizing his country's economic future rested with Britain, he withdrew support for the Continental System. Napoleon somehow became convinced that the success of his plans was dependent upon eliminating any possible military threat from Russia. That decision, however, proved to be the greatest blunder of his career.

Napoleon immediately invaded, but as his army of 600,000 men fought its way toward Moscow it overextended itself in the vast, unfriendly plain. When they reached the capital city in September, they found it deserted and mostly in ashes. Before evacuating, Alexander had ordered it burned, making it useless as a winter headquarters for the French conqueror. Furthermore, contrary to Napoleon's expectations, Alexander simply refused to negotiate. After five weeks of waiting, Napoleon began his disastrous return to France. Short of food and supplies, his fleeing troops were constantly harassed and riddled by guerrillas from a Russian army that was still very much in tact. Then came the freezing winter. By the time Napoleon's Grand Army struggled across the border into Prussia by mid-December, it was reduced to under 50,000 men. The hapless emperor returned to Paris, leaving behind a resentful remnant who felt he had deserted them. Worse, the Prussians deserted him, raising the specter of even more defections.

The War of Liberation. In fact, the empire was already beginning to fall apart. Spanish rebels had kept Napoleon's armies busy, the "Spanish ulcer," as he called it, inspired other Europeans with the realization that resistance to the French invaders was not impossible. The French were finally expelled in 1814, though in getting rid of Napoleon the Spanish also restored their monarchy and turned the clock back on many liberal reforms.

As a result of the Russian debacle, Napoleon lost his military advantage almost everywhere. In January 1813 Russia began a counteroffensive against him. In March Frederick William III of Prussia called for a war of liberation, and by June Russia, Prussia, Austria and England had formed a new quadruple alliance. With the support of patriots and well-trained armies all over Europe, the alliance soon closed for the final blow that would drive the invader from its territories. Napoleon stubbornly refused

even to negotiate. Finally in what has been called the Battle of Nations, he was defeated at Leipzig. The alliance then invaded France, and in April 1814 Napoleon agreed to unconditional abdication.

Final Defeat and Exile. The victors were generous with the emperor, allowing him to keep his title but banishing him to the isle of Elba, off the coast of Italy. They also restored the French monarchy, though it was limited by a new constitution that retained several revolutionary accomplishments.

Continuing unrest in France, however, seemed to give Napoleon another opportunity. In February 1815 he escaped from Elba, gathered together many of his former officers and troops who were still loyal to him, and marched on Paris. He drove out the king, Louis XVIII, and during the next hundred days fought several battles with the allies. On June 18 he was finally defeated by British troops at Waterloo. Again the constitutional monarchy was restored. This time Napoleon was permanently exiled to the island of St. Helena, in the South Atlantic. There he wrote his memoirs, presenting himself as the great liberator and reformer of Europe whose work had been tragically undone by reactionary forces.

THE WARS FOR INDEPENDENCE IN LATIN AMERICA

To some degree both the American and French revolutions helped inspire revolutions in Latin America. The background causes differed in many ways, but among the common elements were the ideas of the Enlightenment philosophes that filtered into Latin America. These alone, however, could hardly have fomented revolution – they could only help justify it.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Spanish claims in the Western Hemisphere included all of the present United States west of the Mississippi, and everything south to the tip of Cape Horn except Brazil.

Ethnic Groups and Social Classes. The revolutionary impulses in most places included not just efforts to break away from Spanish rule but also, at time, internal conflict between ethnic groups and social classes. Dominating economic and political life were the *peninsulares*, natives of Spain or Portugal who generally controlled economic activity. The *creoles*, white people of Spanish descent, were a little lower on the social scale and usually resentful of the power of the peninsulares. Subordinate to them were the people of mixed native and European ancestry, a nortive and African ancestry, and lower still were the Indians and Africans. Indian laborers, whose economy was especially depressed, felt they had special cause for grievance as they worked for creoles on lands that had once been taken from their own ancestors. Africans were still usually in bondage as slaves.

Racism and discrimination pervaded the colonies of Latin America, and it did not seem likely that the different classes could find much in common, let alone cooperate in a revolution. In some places, however, there was general dissatisfaction that the creole elite cooperated with the other groups in throwing out the Spanish.

In the last part of the eighteenth century the Bourbon government of Spain began an intensified effort to centralize colonial government and in the process gradually replaced the creoles with peninsulares. By 1790 only about a third of the bureaucracy were creoles, and, in an effort to avoid corruption, even they could not serve in their own provinces. To the creoles, this systematic elimination from government office meant loss of economic as well as political influence.

The colonies also experienced economic problems, despite the fact that a renewed Spanish mercantilism, due to the situation with France, stimulated production of various raw materials such as coffee, tobacco, sugar, hides, beef and silver. Colonial manufacturing, however, slowed down as cheaper textiles and other goods from Europe and the United States flowed in. In addition, export taxes on manufactured goods antagonized the colonists. High intercolonial transportation costs raised the price of domestic products to the point that imported goods were often cheaper than those produced at home. In addition, the people resented the increased levied by the crown in an effort to get them to pay a greater share of the costs of defending that part of the empire.

Indendence. When Napoleon deposed the Spansih emperor, creole elites saw this as an opportunity to seize political power for themselves. In 1810 Simon Bolivar, a gifted general who doon became the hero of Latin American independence, brought Francisco Miranda from London to lead a Venezualen revolution, but this sputtered out as the creoles were divided among themselves. That same year an indealistic creole priest in Mexico, Miguel Hidalgo y Costillo, led the Indians in an uprising. In this case, the creoles and penisularies collaborated to oppose him, and he was finally captured and placed before a firing squad. In 1813, however, there was a succesful uprising in Paraguay that led to that country´s independence.

Argentina declared its independence in 1816, and one of its poweful military leaders, Jose de San Martin, realized that if the revolution were to be secure and permanent it must take place throughout the continent and nt just in one state. Martim, therfore, led an army of Argentines and Chileans across the Andes in dramatic assault on Chile. Within two years the entire southern part of the continent was independent. He then moved on to Peru where, in Lima in 1821, another independent state was declared.

The following year Martin passed the revolutionary baton back to Bolivar, who had already led a successful revolution in Colombia and Venezuela and gounded the Gran Colombia, which included the present states of Colombia, Venezuala, Ecudor and Panama. He became its president in 1821. After his conference with Martin, Bolivar completed the liberation of Peru and then marched on to win independence fro what became Bolivia. The last Spanish garrison in South American surrendered in 1826.

In 1820 Augustin de Iturbide, a distinguished military leader who had hertofore bittlerly opposed the revolutionaries, came up with a plan that convinced most of the Mexican people to side with him in seeking independence. He promosed constitutional government that appealed to the church by protecting its privileges and property rights, appealed to creoles by assuring the property and political offices, and appealed to the natives by promising them the same priveleges as all other citizens. Mexican independence was achieved in 1821 as a united effort on the part of all classes. In July 1822 Iturbide was proclaimed Emperor Augustin I.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The Industrial Revolution had several roots, one of which was a commercial revolution that, beginning as far back as the sixteenth century, accompanied Europe's expansion overseas. Both exports and imports showed spectacular growth, particulary in England and France as colonialism took poor out of Europe and placed them in prosperous New World settings. Imports included a variety of new beverages, spices, and foodstuffs. Turkeys, guinea fowl, and Newfoundland cod, for example appeared on European tables with increasing frequency. At the same time, a growing export market took European textiles, hardware, firearms, ships and ships' goods around the world and brought money flowing back. Europe's economic institutions, particularly those in England, were strong, had wealth available for new investment, and seemed almost to be wating for some technological breakthrough that would expand their profit-making potential even more.

Why Great Britain?

That breakthrough came in Great Britain, where several economic advantages created a climate especially favorable to the encouragement of new technology. One was its geographic location at the crossroads of international trade. Internally, Britain was endowed with easily navigable natural waterways, which helped its trade and communication with the world. Beginning in the 1770s, it enjoyed a boom in canal building, which helped make its domestic markets more accessible. Because water transportation was the cheapest means of carrying goods to market, canals reduced prices and thus increased consumer demand. Great Britain also had rich deposits of coal that fed the factories spinging up in industrial areas and iron ore that provided the raw material for the manufacture of railroad equipment, tools and a variety of industrial and consumer goods.

Human and Political Potential. Another advantage was Britain's large population or rural, agricultural wage earners, as well as cottage workers, who had the potential of being more mobile than peasants of some other countries. Eventually they found their ways to the cities or mining communities and provided the human power upon which the Industrial Revolution was built. The British people were also consumers; the absence of internal tariffs, such as those that existed in France or Italy or between the German states, made Britain the largest free-trade area in Europe. Britain's relatively stable government also helped create an atmosphere conducive to industrial progress.

British Entrepreneurs. Great Britain's better-developed banking and credit system also helped speed the industrial process, as did the fact that it was home of an impressive array of entrepreneurs and inventors. Among them were a large number of Protestant noncomformists, whose religious principles encouraged thrift and industry rather than luxurious living and who tended to pour their profits back into their businesses, thus providing the basis for continued expansion. Such a family was the three generations of Abraham Darbys, entrpreneurs in the iron industry. In the seventeenth century Abraham I developed new methods for casting iron. He was among the first to use coke instread of charcoal in the smelting process. His son, Abraham II, improved the procedure. Eventually coke smelting became the standard technique almost everywhere. In the late eighteenth century Abraham III built the first cast iron bridge, a

196-foot-semi-arch that still spand the River Severn at the community of Ironbridge and is the major tourist attraction in Shrophire.

Agricultural Revolution. A precursor of the Industrial Revolution was a revolution in agricultural techniques. Ideas about agricultural reform developed first in Holland where, as early as the mid-seventeenth century, such "modern" methods as crop rotation, heavy fertilization and diversification were all in use. Dutch peasant farmers were known thorughout Europe for their agricultural innovations; but as British markets and opportunities grew the English quickly learned from them. As early as the seventeenth century the Dutch were helping them drain marshes and fens where, with the help of the advanced techniques, they grew new crops. By the mid-eighteenth century new agricultural methods as well as selective breeding of livestock had caught on throughout the country. One innovator was Jethro Tull, who promoted the use of drilling equipment to plant seeds. The long-range impact of such modernization is seen in the fact that between 1700 and 1870 food production increased by 300 percent.

The Enclosure Movement. Much of this increased production was consumed by Great Britain's burgeoning population, which between 1780 and 1851 grew from 9 million to nearly 21 million people. At the same time, people were moving to the city, partly because of the enclosure movement, that is, the fencing of common fields and pastures in order to provide more compact, efficient, privately held agricultural parcels that would produce more goods and greater profits. In the sixteenth century enclosures were usually used for creating sheep pastures, but by the eighteenth century new farming techniques made it advantageous for large landowners to seek enclosures in order to improve agricultural production. Between 1714 and 1820 over 6 million acres of English land were enclosed. As a result, many small, independent farmers were forced to sell out simply because they could not compete. Nonlandholding peasants and cottage workers, who worked for wages and grazed cows or pigs on the village common, were also hurt when the common was no longer available. It was such people who began to flock to the cities seeking employment and who found work in the factories that would transform the nation and, eventually, the world.

COTTON TEXTILES

The development of England's huge cotton mills in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth centuries was the first great achievement and major symbol of England's Industrial Revolution. Eventually this industry dwarfed all others. By 1831 it accounted for 22 percent of the nation's entire industrial production. It is worth noting that the production of more at cheaper prices also led to the more widespread use of those goods thus many changes in living styles. Before the Industrial Revolution, for example, only the more wealthy could afford soft, comfortable cotton underwear. The masses often had to wear nothing under their rough outer clothing. But as cotton textiles became cheaper and more plentiful, larger numbers could afford them, and lifestyles related to clothing changed dramatically.

The Need for a New Source of Power. The Industrial Revolution could not have happened, however, without a new reliable source of power to drive the wheels of the new machinery, pump water from mines and speed up transportation. Energy, in fact, was becoming a major problem in England in many ways. Wood, for example, was used for heating as well as for making charcoal to be used in producing iron, but England's great forests had long been used up. As a result, by the mid-eighteenth century the iron industry was suffering. England had great coal reserves, and coal had become the alternative to wood for heating homes and producing various products that required heat. But until the perfection of the steam engine, coal could not be used to power machines. In addition, the coal mining industry itself faced problems that only steam power could solve. As mines went deeper, they constantly filled with water. Mechanical pumps, usually operated by horses or other animals walking around in circles, were the only answers. But these were expensive and inefficient to operate. In the long run, it was the steam engine that transformed not only the tectile industry but other industries as well. It was also the steam engine more than any other invention that led to England's domination of the globe in the nineteenth century.

The Steam Engine. The first simple steam engines were invented by Thomas Savery and Thomas Newcomen in 1698 and 1705, repsectively. Three decades later many English and Scottish mines had them in operation. About 1763 a brilliant young Scotsman, James Watt, discovered ways to improve the Newcomen engine and make it more efficient. By 1800 some 500 of Watt's engines were in service throughout Great Britain, pumping water from mines and providing power to textile mills, iron furnaces, flour mills, and other industries.

More Innovation. By this time invention upon invention was affecting every phase of British industry. The cotton mills and the stream engines required more iron, steel and coal, which led to improved techniques in mining and metallurgy. As indicated earlier, the Darbys pioneered the method of substituting coke (made from coal) for charcoal in the smelting process. Henry Cort perfected the process further in 1780 with his "puddling" method of removing impurities. He also developed steam-powered rolling mills that could produce finsihed iron in almost any form. In 1800 Great Britain was producing more coal and iron than the rest of the world combined: 12 million tons of coal and 130,000 tons of iron. Sixty yearls later, these production figures were up to 57 million tons and 3.8 million tons, respectively. Cheap, plentiful and finding all kinds of new uses, iron was one of the essential elements of the new industrial economy.

The Railroad. At first both American and British engineers attempted to supply steam power to cars capable of carrying passengers on new hard-surfaced roads, but these proved impractable for many reasons, including the damge done to the roads. At the same time, the coal industry was moving its wagons on both planks and rails. In 1816 an iron rail capable of supporting a heavy locomotive had been developed. This immediately stimulated experiments with steam engines that could run on rails. In 1825 such an engine was successfully demonstrated by George Stephenson. Five years later the world's first major railroad, the Liverpool and Manchester Railway was completed; Stephenson's steam engine raced along the tracks at an amazing sixteen miles per hour. Significantly, Lancashire was the heart of industrial England; it largest city Manchester, was the center of the textile industry, and Liverpool was the major port through which Britain was connected with the rest of the world.

The Spread. The spread of the Industrial Revolution to the Continent was slow and uneven. One factor in the delay was the Napoleonic Wars, which inhibited contact with Britain and hence with its advancing technology until after 1815. Other reasons included political fragmentation on the continent, economic rivalries, and a multiplicity of tariffs that restricted the flow of goods. In addition, entrepreneurship was less imaginative and versatile, partly because of the tradition of catering to the wealthy. Furthermore, continental banking and credit institutions were not as developed as those of Britain. By mid-century, nevertheless, politicians and manufacturers on the Continent could readily see that British goods might well overwhelm them in the marketplace. They were ready to pay increasing attention to developing a greater industrial base.

Industrialization spread to the new country of Belgium, France, Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands by the last part of the century. Industrialization spread elsewhere, to the United States, the British dominions and, finally, to Japan, though the results wer uneven and varied. In 1860 the four great industrial nations, in order, were Great Britain, France, the US and Germany. The newer industrial nations, however, had the advantage of newer and more efficient factories; by 1900 the United States was the leading nation, followed in order by Germany, Great Britain and France.