Eighteenth-century faith in progress was reflected in Condorcet's *Progress of the Human Mind*, written in 1793 while the author was in hiding. The age of revolution was inspired by that spirit, but also shook its optimism.

Three influences came to overturn Europe by the mid-19th century. Intellectual excitement was pervasive. The ideas of such philosophers as Jean-Jacques Rousseau were widely read. Secondly, more and more Europeans were part of the commercial economy. Commercial wealth challenged traditional notions of the right to rule. Thirdly, the population revolution resulting from better nutrition, and limited control of diseases, led to population pressure. Proto-industrialization was spurred by the wealth of labor resulting from the population revolution.

When the British Atlantic colonies rebelled it was not truly a revolution, but a war of independence. The so-called American Revolution established a new government in 1776, and achieved its aims in 1789.

The French Revolution soon followed, beginning a profound political restructuring. Ideology called for reforms, and social change added a dimension to the struggles. However, the French government was too slow to adapt. When Louis XVI finally called a parliament in the summer of 1789, reform was forced upon him. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen proclaimed the ideology of the reformers. The taking of the Bastille, a symbol of royal power, on July 14th began widespread uprisings.

Calls for reform in 1789 turned to radicalism in 1792. The monarchy was abolished and the king beheaded by guillotine. Maximilien Robespierre led the radical revolution. Leading the "Terror", he also suppressed French Catholicism, but was finally guillotined himself. Universal male suffrage, abolition of colonial slavery, and universal conscription were among his policies. Nationalism added to calls for reform to crystallized adherence to the movement. The arrival on the scene of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1799 transformed the revolution. Monopolizing power, he nevertheless continued many of the liberal reforms. Legal reforms were promulgated under the Code Napoleon. Ambitious wars led to the undoing of Napoleon in 1815. Yet, the revolutionary legacy was great.

Following the defeat of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna met in 1815 to settle the peace. The principle of the balance of power was followed, and was successful for decades. The ascendancy of conservative goals was signaled by the
restoration of monarchies. Much of the Enlightenment ideology was pursued by Liberals, who formed in opposition to the Conservatives. Radicals wished to push reforms further. Nationalists allied sometimes with Radicals, sometimes with Liberals. The Greek Revolution in 1820 was one of many uprisings inspired by the French Revolution and the ideas of nationalism. The British Reform Bill of 1832 achieved many of the reformers’ goals without revolution.

Industrialization, added to the social upheavals, creating a working class with its own agenda. The Chartist movement in Britain hoped to extend suffrage, enact educational reforms, and improve working conditions. However, in the 1848–1849 revolutions, unrest peaked. Beginning with France, uprisings followed in Austria, Germany, Hungary, and Italy. These short-lived revolutions did not bear immediate fruit. In France itself, Napoleon III imposed authoritarian rule. The age of revolutions was over. Many of the goals of revolutionaries had been met, but governments had also learned how to control challenges.

The Consolidation of the Industrial Order, 1850–1914

- The second half of the 19th century was marked by growth and a growing infrastructure linking European countries. Urban life was improved by better sanitation and attention to the needs of the poor and sick. Crime rates stabilized or fell.
- Industrialization changed every aspect of life. Material well-being rose. Mortality rates among infants fell, and more effective methods limited childhood diseases. The work of Louis Pasteur accounted in a large part for massive improvement in health. At the same time, corporations transformed business, drawing on capital. Their workforces became a major political and economic power, while the political power of peasants declined.
- Politically, the agenda changed radically after the 1848 revolutions. The argument over absolutism and constitutions was resolved, and gave way to debates over workers’ rights and voting. Benjamin Disraeli, the British conservative prime minister, expanded the vote for men. Count Camillo di Cavour also responded to liberal demands. In Prussia, Otto von Bismarck extended the vote to all men, emancipated the Jews, and pushed mass education. These new conservatives also called upon nationalism to consolidate their power. National platforms often took the form of imperialism, as in the case of British and U.S. expansion. In Italy and Germany they were formative. Under Cavour’s leadership, Italy was unified in spite of papal opposition. Bismarck similarly used nationalism to unite Prussia. He maneuvered the country into war with Denmark and Austria, culminating in German unity in 1871. The American Civil War, from 1861–1865, reaffirmed the Union and ended slavery. France returned to its republican system. Across Europe, parliamentary systems allowed continuity in spite of changes in leadership, a process the Italians called transformismo.
- Governments increased their domestic scope after 1870. Agencies regulating education, health, industry, and welfare became common. Germany was a leader, implementing social insurance for illness and old age. The social question came to dominate political debates, leading to the emergence of socialism. Earlier socialists had general aims, often taking shape in utopian communities. Inspired
by the ideas of Karl Marx, new generations focused on his idea of the centrality of the class struggle, and the necessity of violent protest. Socialism became an important force by the last decades of the 19th century. Revisionist socialism called for achieving Marx’s ends without violence. Feminist movements added their agendas, demanding a political voice. Such leaders as Emmeline Pankhurst used strikes and protests to gain suffrage.

Cultural Transformations

- While the growing working class copied middle-class tastes, they also demanded entertaining leisure pursuits. On the supply side, meanwhile, producers had to stimulate demand to find a market for their goods. Mass leisure culture, informed and shaped in part by high-circulation newspapers, called for entertainment. Team sports developed along with nationalism to create new loyalties. In many ways mass culture replaced religion.

- Unlike the sciences in the Enlightenment, in the late 19th century, the sciences moved away from other intellectual pursuits, and professional scientists took the place of amateurs. In 1859, Charles Darwin published his influential work on the theory of evolution. His ideas conflicted not only with religious notions, but with the Enlightenment idea of an orderly natural world. Meanwhile, work in physics included discoveries in electromagnetism, particle physics, and astronomy. Albert Einstein came up with the idea of relativity, also a challenge to accepted ideas of the physical world. The late 1800s were a period of great development in the social sciences, including economics, sociology, and psychology. Sigmund Freud advanced his ideas on the human subconscious.

- In the arts, the prevalent movement in the early 1800s was romanticism. In reaction to the Enlightenment, romanticism emphasized individual emotional responses in the plastic arts, music, and literature. The end of the century saw a move to challenge every canon of representation, harmony, rhyme, and narrative.

Western Settler Societies

- Industrialization spurred the search for raw materials and markets. At the same time, it gave the West a military advantage, in its use of guns and steamships. These factors drove the expansion of settler societies in the United States, Canada, Australia, and South Africa.

- The new United States came to be a world power in the 19th century. Massively enlarging its territory with the Louisiana Purchase and settling the lands beyond the Mississippi, it was able to extend its influence partly due to a huge influx of Europeans. The American Civil War, 1861–1865, violently resolved the economic and cultural split between the north and south. The war pushed industrialization and the development of infrastructure. A railway linking the east and west coasts was key to exploiting western lands. Outside the Western Hemisphere, the influence of the United States was small.

- The British dominions of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand had been relatively sparsely-populated by indigenous peoples. In each area, governments followed western models. Canada was divided by French and British settlers. From 1839, the British began the process of giving Canada autonomy, to avoid an inde-
pendence movement. As in the United States, railways facilitated settlement. Australia was originally colonized as a penal colony, but by the middle of the century was an important wool producer. Gold strikes spurred settlement. Britain granted self-rule, and the Australian parliamentary government developed. New Zealand was different. Its Maori people were politically organized and resisted successfully for decades. Nevertheless, European immigration began in 1840, and the Maoris were defeated by 1870. New Zealand, Canada, and Australia remained closely linked to Britain, but developed along their own lines. With the United States and South America, they received the bulk of European immigrants in the 19th century.

**Diplomatic Tensions and World War I**

- German unification undermined the balance of power in Europe. At the same time, European leaders were looking for solutions through imperialism. Yet by 1900, there was little territory left to take.
- The alliance system replaced the balance of power. The Triple Alliance—Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy—and the Triple Entente—Britain, Russia, and France—set the powers of Europe against each other. Militarization, spurred by nationalism and industrialists, made the face-off volatile. Russia and Austria-Hungary were the least stable elements, susceptible to internal upheavals. As provinces of the Ottoman Empire sought independence, Balkan nationalism also threatened the peace. Serbia emerged and then sought to expand its territory.
- The causes of the First World War included militant nationalism. Industrialization was an indirect cause, as leaders used international undertakings to appease social unrest. Militarization, an economic plus, also led to conflict.
CHAPTER 24

Industrialization and Imperialism: The Making of the European Global Order

Shift to Land Empires in Asia

- Up to the 19th century, European powers had patronized enterprises in Asia, as opposed to forming empires. Profits were sought through cooperation with Asian countries. Communication with far-flung outposts was slow. The only empires built were those made ad hoc by Europeans abroad.

- Dutch Java is an example of on-the-spot empire building. Initially, the Dutch paid tribute to the sultans of Mataram, in control of most of Java. However, the Dutch increasingly involved themselves in internal political struggles. Locally recruited armies made the Dutch important players in local rivalries. At the same time, the Dutch controlled more and more territory, until they controlled all of Java by 1760.

- British rule in India developed along the same lines as Dutch rule in Java. Interference in Indian politics was accompanied by the recruitment of Indian sepoys into the British forces to best their rivals, with the unintended result of increasing British power on the subcontinent. The British Raj grew in power as part of British rivalry with the French. The battle of Plassey in 1757, gave Britain control over the south. Robert Clive, a British military leader, used Indian spies and Hindu financial backing against the Muslim prince Siraj-ud-daula. The battle was won more by espionage and corruption than by superior military power.

- The involvement of the East India Company in India increased as Mughal power declined. British rule was organized into the three presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta. Divisions in India between princes and between Muslims and Hindus made British expansion easier. India became the focus of the British empire, because of its position and its size.

- Early Dutch and British rule in Java and India left native systems essentially intact. Colonists also adapted to local customs in architecture, food, and dress. European men often lived with local women, and even marriages became common. However, such attitudes changed later, in the 1800s.

- The laissez-faire attitude of the Dutch and British in their early decades in Java and India was replaced by more direct action. Reform in India came because of corruption among East India Company officials. The term nabob was applied by the English to their countrymen who lived the high life in the colony. Lord
Charles Cornwallis, of Yorktown fame, led the reform of the British administration in India. Meanwhile, the British attitude towards Indians changed. Some came to consider the Indians degenerate, and focused on social customs such as sati. Ram Mohun Roy was one of many Western-educated Indians that supported the suppression of the latter practice. In India as well as elsewhere, Britain began to methodically impose its standards, its values, and its infrastructure.

Industrial Rivalries and the Partition of the World, 1870–1914

- As Belgium, France, Germany, and the United States competed with Britain as industrial nations, they came to view colonies as key to the competition. Repeated economic depressions brought social unrest, but no solutions. Public opinion added its weight to the push for overseas territories.
- Acquiring colonies was made easier for European powers by better communications—via railroads, new canals, and telegraphs. Improvements in firearms made most battles extremely one-sided. Yet colonial expansion met with determined resistance. The Zulu defeat of the British at Isandhlwana is an example, though the Zulu losses were much greater than the British.

Patterns of Dominance: Continuity and Change

- European colonies can be divided into the “tropical dependencies” and settlement colonies. Among the latter, the White Dominions included Canada, and Australia. Other areas, such as Kenya and Algeria combined characteristics of both.
- European rule in the tropical dependencies relied heavily on taking advantage of natural divisions within countries. Privileged minorities were recruited as servants of colonial governments. European rulers and administrators governed through local subordinates, generally from preexisting ruling groups. Higher education was generally unavailable to Africans, polarizing societies there.
- In the 19th centuries, the relationship between foreign rulers and the ruled changed in Africa and Asia. As European immigration increased, isolation from local populations also increased. Miscegenation was condemned. Ideas of white racial supremacy played a large role in these changes. In contrast with earlier colonists, Europeans maintained their social order, their dress, and their manner of living.
- Attempts to better extract resources from colonies led to imposition of European practices in Africa and Asia. Forced, unremunerated labor was imposed, as was flogging, even to death, for failure to meet quotas. Export crops replaced food crops in many areas. Most of the raw materials extracted went to European factories and consumers.
- The settler colonies in South Africa and the Pacific differed from India and the Belgian Congo, because the large numbers of indigenous peoples were at least matched by large numbers of settlers. In the Americas, early conquest decimated populations, and large numbers of settlers exported their culture virtually intact. The case of Australia was similar. Colonies settled in the 19th century fared differently, because, in general, native populations were more resilient to disease. Such was the case in the north of Africa, New Zealand, and many of the Pacific islands.
Colonization in southern Africa began with the Dutch Cape Colony. The Dutch Boers—farmers—moved into areas with low population density, enslaving the Khoikhoi. British took the colony over in the 1790s, as a vital link in their overseas empire. British rule brought a new, distinct group of settlers, including some desirous of ending slavery. The Boer Great Trek of the 1830s moved deep into the region of the Bantu Zulus and Xhosa, with attendant violent conflict. At the same time, the Boers were often in conflict with the British. Two Boer Republics were established, but discoveries of diamonds and gold meant new conflict between the two European groups. The Boer War, launched by the Boers against the British, resulted in a costly British victory.

The South Pacific islanders had been isolated for centuries. As a result, they were particularly hard-hit by the arrival of Europeans. The histories of Hawaii and New Zealand have much in common. Both had developed sophisticated cultures and areas of high population density. Both were so adversely affected by the arrival of Europeans that their cultures only survived with difficulty.

The Maori of New Zealand first suffered when Europeans arrived in the 1790s, bringing smallpox and tuberculosis, and involving the Maori in prostitution and alcoholism. Adjustment occurred, however, and the Maori survived. The arrival of British farmers and ranchers in the 1850s brought a new cycle of suffering. The Maori were pushed to the edge of extinction. Yet they survived, developed immunities to European diseases, and learned to fight with and work with the settlers on their own terms.

Hawaii was annexed by the United States quite late, in 1898. Captain James Cook was the first European to reach the islands, in 1777. King Kamehameha used British support to extend his rule. More cultural borrowing followed, including conversion to Christianity. At the same time, western diseases decimated the population of the islands. Outright seizure came after the power of the Hawaiian kings declined. U.S. rule displayed respect for Hawaiian culture.