

Chapter XIV. European Civilization, 1871-1914

71. The “Civilized World”

pp. 584-587

- A. Materialistic and non-materialistic Ideals: Though politically divided, Europe prided itself in progress and saw other nations as “backward.” Europe saw its material standards (food, housing, sanitation, transport, and communication) and values (science over superstition, secular Christian morality over polygamy, infanticide, legal prostitution, torture, caste, slavery). Europeans pointed to the falling death rate and to declining infant mortality, rising life expectancy, improving literacy, and higher labor productivity.
- B. The “Zones” of Civilization:
Inner zone, the “Europe of Steam”: from Glasgow and Stockholm in the north, Danzig and Trieste in the east, and Florence and Barcelona in the south--an area of heavy industry, railroads, scientific achievement, capital, and liberalism. The “outer zone”: Ireland, most of the Iberian peninsula, southern Italy, and most of Eastern Europe, was agricultural, with high poverty and illiteracy.

72. Basic Demography: The Increase of the Europeans

pp. 587-595

- A. European and World Population Growth, 1650-1980
Relation of Europe’s population to that of the world as a whole: examine the chart, which shows that Europe reached a peak of population about 1900 (30%) and since has fallen to its historical average of 20% of world’s pop.
Factors: subsiding of bubonic plague and retreat of smallpox. Agricultural expansion and revolution of transportation that made possible shifting of food supplies. Order was maintained in China and Japan by strong rulers, with peace in India and Indonesia maintained by colonial powers. Only Africa experienced a relative decline in population.
- B. Stabilization of European Population: Europe’s birth rate has fallen since 1910; that France fell first, beginning about 1830. Europe was based on the **small family** system, begun about 1600: later marriages, accumulation of savings, spacing of children. When the Code Napoleon required the division of property among all children, peasants began to limit births. Crowded cities set a premium on small families, especially with the reduction of child labor, compulsory schools, and longer dependency. The overall population continued to rise, but with rising productivity there was no sense of overpopulation.
- C. Growth of Cities and Urban Life: Rural populations became more dense, with intensive agriculture, but the key was urbanization. The city was the child of the railroad, enabling concentration of manufacturing and supplying food and raw materials. Cities were **impersonal**, with few self-help mechanisms--little support from neighbors. **Public opinion**, was formed by urban newspapers--yellow journalism (sensationalism) by 1900. **Disrespect for tradition**, receptivity to new ideas--spread of socialism and blatant forms of nationalism.
- D. Migration from Europe, 1840-1940
Movement of 60 million people (mostly from the British Isles, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Germany) from 1840-1900, to the US (34 m), Asiatic Russia (7 m), Argentina (6.4m), Canada (5.2m), and Brazil (4 m). New railroads and steamship lines made migration much cheaper and easier. Immigration peaks coincided with **prosperity**, but immigrants also fled famine (Ireland), political unrest (Germany) or persecution (Russia). Equally important were a new tolerance for movement and the end of serfdom outside of Russia.

73. The World Economy of the Nineteenth Century

pp. 595-605

- A. The new industrial revolution: the first phase (steam, textile, metallurgy, railroads) was followed by a second, with electricity, internal combustion engines, and diesels. Rapid change followed with such developments as dyes, fertilizers, explosives, synthetics, communications, medicine, and steel. Belgium and France followed Britain; next came Germany and the US. Germany passed Britain in steel, and the US doubled Germany. By 1914, the US surpassed European nations in coal and steel production, manufacturing, farm mechanization, and pioneering mass production.
- B. Free Trade and the European “Balance of Payments”: Britain by 1850 moved to free trade, and other nations soon followed. Until 1914, extreme mobility of good across political borders was normal. Europe had a huge import surplus, with a trade deficit of \$2 billion--a difference made up by shipping, insurance, and interest.
- C. Capital: Europe exported **capital**; workers’ wages had risen, but vast pools of wealth were available for developing nations like the US, especially from Britain. Much of the capital went to build infrastructure; the America’s railways were financed and often run by European capital--as were docks, mines, warehouses, roads and schools.
- D. International Money: Europe adopted the British gold standard by the 1870s, resulting high economic stability until 1914. Prices steadily fell until gold discoveries in the 1890s increased the supply. Debtors, including farmers and businessmen, were hurt, but creditors, the working class and financiers, were helped. London was the new financial center; its bankers financed France’s reparations in 1815 and even loaned money to Russia during the Crimean War. English “acceptance houses” paid English merchants for goods and collected through international banking channels. England was the bankers’ banker, the insurers’ insurer.
- E. World Market: Unity, Competition--and Insecurity: A true world market was created; goods, services, money, capital, people flowed easily across borders. Commodities were international, with supply and demand set world-

wide. The system was precarious; a US grain surplus could ruin growers in Argentina, and factory owners faced brutal competition. Workingmen suffered if business was slow or jobs were eliminated by new machinery. Cycles of boom and depression began, with a long slide from 1873 to 1893. The economy was based on expansion and credit, and a collapse of confidence was deadly. Governments, to ensure against insecurities, used protective tariffs, social insurance, and welfare to an increasing degree. Laissez faire capitalism declined as unions and the socialist movement both grew.

- F. Changes in Big Business: small businesses were replaced by large, impersonal corporations based on limited liability. Expensive machinery required more complex corporations, and industrial capitalism led to finance capitalism. Businesses were concentrated--as with department stores. Vertical integration was characteristic; in steel, corporations bought out iron and coal mines and began producing steel, including both raw steel and manufactures. Horizontal integration meant buying out competitors as a means of reducing competition and protecting themselves against market fluctuations. Trusts in the US and cartels in Europe fixed prices or divided up markets. Huge corporations like US Steel (Carnegie), Krupp in Germany, Schneider-Creusot in France, and Vickers-Armstrong in Britain had great power but reduced fluctuations and increased stability.

74. The Advance of Democracy: France, Britain, Germany

pp. 605-618

A. France: the Establishment of the Third Republic

The Republic of 1792 and 1848, was now instituted again after the defeat of France in 1870. Free elections brought a monarchist majority, which Parisians refused to accept. Paris created the Commune, patriotic and republican, but hardly socialist. It was suppressed in long, bloody battles, after which 20,000 were executed and 7,500 exiled. Thus was born the Third Republic.

With monarchists split (Orleanists and Bourbons), France became a Republic by one vote. It had an elected President, responsible Premier, Chamber of Deputies (elected by ums) and a Senate (indirect vote). Responsible government was assured, with the premier presiding over a cabinet. The dozen parties brought constantly shifting coalitions, but France remained stable because the machinery of state (ministries, prefectures, law courts, police, army) continued unchanged.

- B. Troubles of the Third French Republic: The Republic was opposed by the upper classes, clergy, and pro army officers. The middle class was republican, and they had a parliamentary majority in 1879. A major crisis arose due to the plotting of a would-be dictator, General Boulanger, supported by radical republicans, dissatisfied workers, Bonapartists, and monarchists; his program was a revenge war with Germany. Then came the Dreyfus Affair of 1894. Yet France was stabilized by the Republic. Workers were not so well off, but there were few of them. Bourgeois/peasant France was comfortable, but not equipped for the transition to the modern industrial world. France fell behind in industrial development, lacking entrepreneurial skills and stable governments--with 50 different ministries between 1871-1914. French labor was frustrated, especially since the largest party, the Radical Socialists, represented the small shopkeepers and farmers. Workers distrusted both government and politics.

C. The British Constitutional Monarchy:

1. Britain was reasonable, orderly, peaceable; in the era of Victoria, the Liberal **Gladstone** and Conservative **Disraeli** alternated in office. The vote slowly expanded, from 12% in 1833 (middle class) to 33% in 1867 (urban workers). Disraeli supported expanding the vote, but conservatives generally feared the result. Liberals pushed the vote to rural workers in 1885, with 75%. Not until 1918 was full ums reached, when women over 30 were also enfranchised. Until 1911, only "gentlemen" could run for Parliament--no salaries were paid.
2. Parties alternated in power but policies were stable. Liberals represented the industrial and commercial concerns, while conservatives were supported by the landed aristocracy. Liberals tended to pioneer, moving to state-supported public education, secret ballot, legalizing labor unions, introducing civil service exams, eliminating the purchase of military commissions. Conservatives led in labor legislation. The rise of the Labour Party after 1900 led the liberals to drop support of laissez faire in favor of legislation for workers. Liberals from 1906-1916 (Asquith and David Lloyd George) established the basic social welfare system--sickness, accident, and unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, minimum wage--and weakened strike restrictions and backed the progressive income and inheritance tax. Opposition by the Lords to changes led to the bill in 1911 removing the Lords' veto power. Liberals became the party of labor, and conservatives the party of industry and landed wealth--but the liberals were soon to fall to the new Labour Party.

- D. The Irish Question: The Irish obstructed Parliament. Their chief grievances were relations of peasant and absentee landlord and Anglican tithes. Gladstone improved conditions, disestablishing the Irish Church; by 1900, the Conservative government allowed peasants to buy land. But the issue of Home Rule split Gladstone's Liberals. It was granted in 1914, but the Ulstermen objected to inclusion in an autonomous Ireland where they were outnumbered. Only after much violence (Easter, 1916) did Catholic Eire receive dominion status (1922). Ulster remained in the United Kingdom, with a large, discontented Catholic minority.

- E. **Bismarck** and the German Empire: Germany was a union of 25 states dominated by Prussia. Bismarck remained the "Iron Chancellor" for 20 years; while he had a majority in the Reichstag, he believed the emperor and Chancellor should rule, regardless. The first major issue was the Catholic Church, with the Papacy moving to regain power. Bismarck began his *Kulturkampf* with restrictions of Catholic worship and education, expulsion of Jesuits, and

attack on bishops. Faced with strong opposition, he pulled back. He next fought the Social Democratic party, a moderate Marxist group. Bismarck attempted anti-socialists laws for 12 years and tried to steal the socialist platform by social legislation--but the SDs remained strong.

- F. The German Empire after 1890--**Wilhelm II**: Wilhelm I died in 1888; Wilhelm II became emperor. He soon broke with Bismarck, forcing his retirement--"the dropping of the pilot." Wilhelm ruled for twenty years, initiating an aggressive colonial, diplomatic, and naval path but conciliating the masses (though his power was based on the Junkers, the army, and the new industrial magnates). With democracy growing, Germany would soon face a constitutional crisis.
- G. Elsewhere: Italy had unstable majorities and shifting coalitions. The franchise was broadening, but literacy, inertia, and poverty took their toll. A strong anti-parliamentary ideology was emerging: chauvinistic nationalism and explosive irrationalism, nihilistic "futurism" mixed. Austria-Hungary saw the continued agitation of Slavic minorities. In Europe generally the move was to ums, but little change for women before 1914. But democracy was advancing.

75. The Advance of Democracy: Socialism and Labor Union pp. 618-625

- A. Strongly anti-capitalist feelings had existed since 1793, and socialism was spreading. As workers gained the vote, pressure was exerted to pass labor legislation, with two trends--abolition of capitalism (socialist) and bargain for rights (unions). Middle class radicals (Marx, Engels, Blanc, Lassalle) favored the former, thinking of the long run; workers were much more interested in short-term, tangible results, and tended to distrust their intellectual mentors.
- B. Trade Unions and the Rise of British Labour: Unions were first forbidden, but liberals supported them. Craft/skilled unions built first; they gained workers the right to vote in Britain. Unskilled worker unions began in the 1880s. By 1900 there were 2 million union members in Britain, more than Germany, far more than France. Collective bargaining was successful, so there was little politicization of labor. The government attempted by the Taft-Vale Act to ruin unions by making unions responsible for losses of a company in a strike. The act only unified labor and ironically produced a decade of great social legislation improving working conditions, 1906-1916.
- C. European Socialism after 1850: Marx worked in London for 30 years, but remained unknown to Englishmen. The first International Working Men's Association (the "international") was held in 1864. Marx built his position gradually, driving out liberals. His major fight was with Bakunin (anarchist); to Marx, the problem was not the state, but capitalism--and Bakunin was ousted. Marx praised the bloody French Commune as class war, but if frightened his followers away from radicalism. In 1875 the Gotha Conference produced the German Social Democratic party; it was followed by other socialist political parties, including the Russian SDs, led by Plekhanov and Axelrod. These combined as the Second International in 1899, meeting every three years to 1914.
- D. Revisionist and Revolutionary Socialism, 1880-1914
1. Marxist socialism retained an unyielding hostility competing socialist views. It was strongest in Germany and France, weak in less industrial nations and out-fought in Britain by **Fabianism** (democratic, seeing the gradual emergence of the socialist state, not class war). On the continent, Marxist or SD parties grew rapidly, with all except the Russian turning less revolutionary with time. Workers talked of class struggle, but their goals were specific--parliamentary change and orderly legislation. Real wages rose 50% from 1870-1900, due to mechanization, increased productivity, an expanding world market, and the slow fall of prices.
 2. Revisionism, led by Jean Jaurès and Edouard Bernstein, emerged: class conflict is not inevitable. In response, George Sorel created French syndicalism, with the idea of the rise of workers through a massive general strike. The German Karl Kautsky attacked revisionism as petit bourgeois compromise, (i.e., "opportunism." In the Russian SDs, the conflict came in London in 1903, where Lenin demanded the end of revisionism. Winning a temporary majority in Brussels, Lenin termed his party the **Bolsheviks** (majority), and the revisionists as the Mensheviks (minority).

76. Science, Philosophy, the Arts, and Religion pp. 625-637

- A. Science: Faith in science grew rapidly between 1870-1914 with the immense rapidity of increase in inventions. Newton and Euclid ruled supreme, and physics was mechanics. The universe was seen as predictable.
1. **Darwin's** *Origin of Species* of 1859, changed the perception of life. Species were mutable, developed by a slow process operating through chance and "natural selection," with the "survival of the fittest." Nature was not harmonious, but filled with struggle; elimination of the weak was natural and good. Change was constant; there were no fixed norms of good or bad; adaptation replaced virtue. Emerging from the concept was **social Darwinism**, producing such strange step-children as racial superiority, the superiority of the "haves," the rise and fall of nations, and the morality and value of war.
 2. Anthropology and sociology were established to explain behavior. Anthropology studied races to find the "superior" in inheritance and survival value; whites were obviously more competent. Anthropologists showed that no culture was superior, that all were adaptations to environment, mere products of custom, *mores*; all was relative. Anthropology seemed to undermine traditional religious beliefs. Psychology was equally upsetting, as **Pavlov's** work with conditioning--the idea that much behavior was based on

- conditioned responses. **Freud** founded psychoanalysis, involving the study of causes of current behavior, the power of the subconscious. Was human behavior out of the individual's conscious control?
3. Physics: Many individuals studied the nature of matter and energy. Becquerel discovered that uranium emitted particles or rays of energy; the Curies, J. J. Thompson, and Rutherford showed that atoms were complex and that some were "radioactive;" Max Planck showed that energy was emitted or absorbed in units called quanta; and Niels Bohr postulated an atom with a nucleus of protons surrounded by electrons. The greatest shock was with the work of Einstein showed that matter was convertible into energy and denied the absolute character of time, space, and motion in his theory of relativity. His unified field theory brought a new view of the universe, challenging Euclid and Newton. Thus emerged nuclear physics.
- B. Trends in Philosophy and the Arts:
1. From science came agnosticism. According to Herbert Spencer, evolution unified all philosophy and was equally applicable to biology, sociology, government, and economics. Society was evolving toward the freedom of the individual, with governments serving to maintain freedom. He believed governments should not meddle in natural processes, especially to aid the weak and unfit; he did accept altruism and charity as laudable products.
 2. **Friedrich Nietzsche** strongly disagreed with Spencer's conclusions. Mankind was base, but from it would emerge the Superman who would lead and dominate the masses. He viewed Christian ideals (humility, patience, love, hope) as a slave morality; true virtues were courage, love of danger, beauty of character, intellectual excellence--a new form of classical paganism.
 3. Writers like **Zola** in France and **Ibsen** in Denmark turned away from romanticism to a portrayal of real social problems, especially of the working class--strikes, prostitution, divorce. The arts found themes in irrationalism and the subconscious. Artist and society diverged dramatically, and art at its fringes became incomprehensible to the average person. "People read books without punctuation...listened to music called atonal and deliberately composed for effects of discord and dissonance, and studied intently abstract or 'non-objective' paintings and sculpture to which the artists themselves often refused to give titles." The arts became symptomatic of an atomized, over-specialized modern world.
- C. The Churches and the Modern Age
1. Religion felt threatened--by Darwin, who expressed a world without need of God, and by scriptural critics, analyzing the Bible for inconsistencies and explaining away miracles as myth. People turned to materialistic progress rather than spiritual values. Uprooting of society from country to city often broke religious ties.
 2. Protestants especially declined, since they were most solidly rooted in the Bible. They split into modernists, accepting science and willing to interpret much of the Bible as allegory--thus losing spirituality. and losing membership to the evangelicals or fundamentalists, who defended the literal truth of Scripture and often denied the clear truths of science. Protestants were slow to face the social problems and injustices of the economic system.
 3. Catholics: Pius IX in 1864 denounced a long list of ideas--including rationalism and faith in science--in his *Syllabus of Errors*. He also announced the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary (1854) and proclaimed the dogma of papal infallibility. Unconditional acceptance of papal power (ultramontanism) prevailed over national tendencies within the church. The popes lost their temporal powers in the unification of Italy (granted Vatican City in 1929), but gained independence from national or secular authority. Leo XIII proclaimed in *de Rerum Novarum* the need for social justice for the working poor, accepting private property and criticizing the materialism and irreligion of Marx. Socialism could be Christian.
 4. For Jews, Reform Judaism was the counterpart to Christian modernism. European liberalism brought full citizenship to Jews and many individuals gave up their distinctive Jewish way of life. Assimilation was slowed by anti-semitism, spurred by Jewish competition and fear of Jewish Marxists and growing from ethnic nationalism. Brutal pogroms in Russia and the Dreyfus case in France forced by this Jews to re-examine their identity, and many turned to the idea of **Zionism**, a political movement begun by Theodore Herzl in 1897 which called for a national home for the Jews in Palestine. Some saw Zionism as a means of maintaining dignity; others felt Judaism was a religion and that Jews should seek integration.

77. The waning of Classical Liberalism

pp. 637-641

- A. Classical liberalism reached its highest expression with Gladstone and J.S. Mill. The individual was formed by race, class, church, nation, or state, but was independent of all such and should be free to use reason. People of different interests could reasonably and profitably discuss differences and produce progress through peaceable compromise. Liberals opposed any force or dogma, and wanted constitutional governments. The will of the majority was decisive, but a minority should be respected. Typically they favored *laissez faire*, free trade, and internationalism.
- B. Yet the free economy produced hardships. Demands began for protective tariffs. Economic nationalism led to imperialism, competition for markets. Workers began to form unions, industries formed monopolies, trusts, and cartels. The social service state began to protect the individual--and new Liberals accepted a major role for government--as T. Roosevelt and David Lloyd George in Britain. Government began to act to weaken business, strengthen the worker--and many began to fear the power of a strongly centralized modern government.

C. Intellectual Currents: Darwin and Freud undercut the old Liberal faith in reason and stress the irrational (will, intuition, impulse, emotions) and conflict. Marx preached class warfare, Nietzsche praised the manly virtues, Social Darwinists glorified success; Sorel preached that all violence is good, regardless of the end accomplished. After years without major war, men again sought the glory of war and struggle. After 1871 virtually all of Europe maintained large standing armies; in England, the Labour Party required members to vote as a bloc, and other parties followed. Violence became a tool of many seeking positive change--including suffragettes; it was an age of great labor strikes. What would the new century bring?

71.
 1. What was the European attitude toward the world?
 2. What were the two Europes?
72.
 3. Demography: a. What is it? b. Europe/world population balance c. Trend in European
 4. What explains urbanization?
 5. Where did European emigrate from? Where did they go?
 6. What caused people to migrate? three factors
73.
 8. What was the “new” industrial revolution?
 9. What nations were growing fastest economically?
 10. Why did Europe have a positive balance of payments?
 11. Which nations led Europe in foreign investment?
 12. Who benefits from the “gold standard”?
 13. What is finance capitalism?
 14. What are trusts, cartels, monopolies?
74.
 15. What was the French government after 1871?
 16. What was the Paris Commune?
 17. Who was Boulanger?
 18. What was the Dreyfuss Affair?
 19. Who was Gladstone? Disraeli? David Lloyd George
 20. What was the “Irish Question?”
 21. What was Bismarck’s Kulturkampf?
 22. Who else did Bismarck fight against?
 23. What did Wilhelm II do in 1890?
 24. What were the problems of Italy?
75.
 25. What is “trade unionism?”
 26. What was the intent of the Taft-Vale Act?
 27. What was the first Marxist organization, formed in 1867? What resulted in its destruction?
 28. What was the result of the Gotha Conference of 1875?
 29. What was Fabian Socialism?
 30. What was the main idea of Georges Sorel of France?
 31. Who were the Russian SDs? What were their two main divisions?
76.
 32. What was the main concept of Herbert Spencer?
 33. What was Sigmund Freud noted for?
 34. What was the main area of the new science? Who were key contributors
 35. What was the main concept of Friedrich Nietzsche?
 36. What was the main idea of Zola and Ibsen?
 37. What is fundamentalism?
 38. What direction did Pope Pius IX take Catholicism?
77.
 39. What was the new liberalism of the 20th century?
 40. Who were the suffragettes?