

TOPIC 1c

Progressive ideas and movements

1c.1 Overview

Numerous **videos** and **interactivities** are embedded just where you need them, at the point of learning, in your learnON title at www.jacplus.com.au. They will help you to learn the content and concepts covered in this topic.

LEARNING SEQUENCE

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LEARNING OUTCOMES

In this topic students will investigate:

- The emergence and nature of key ideas in the period, with a particular focus on one of the following: capitalism, socialism, egalitarianism, nationalism, imperialism, Darwinism, Chartism **1c.2, 1c.3, 1c.4, 1c.5, 1c.6, 1c.7, 1c.8, 1c.9**
- The reasons why one key idea emerged and/or developed a following **1c.2, 1c.3, 1c.4, 1c.5, 1c.6, 1c.7, 1c.8, 1c.9**
- The role of an individual or group in the promotion of one of these key ideas, and the responses to it from, for example, workers, entrepreneurs, land owners, religious groups **1c.2, 1c.3, 1c.4, 1c.5, 1c.6, 1c.7, 1c.8, 1c.9**
- The short- and long-term impacts of one of these ideas on Australia and the world **1c.2, 1c.3, 1c.4, 1c.5, 1c.6, 1c.7, 1c.8, 1c.9**

1c.1.1 Introduction

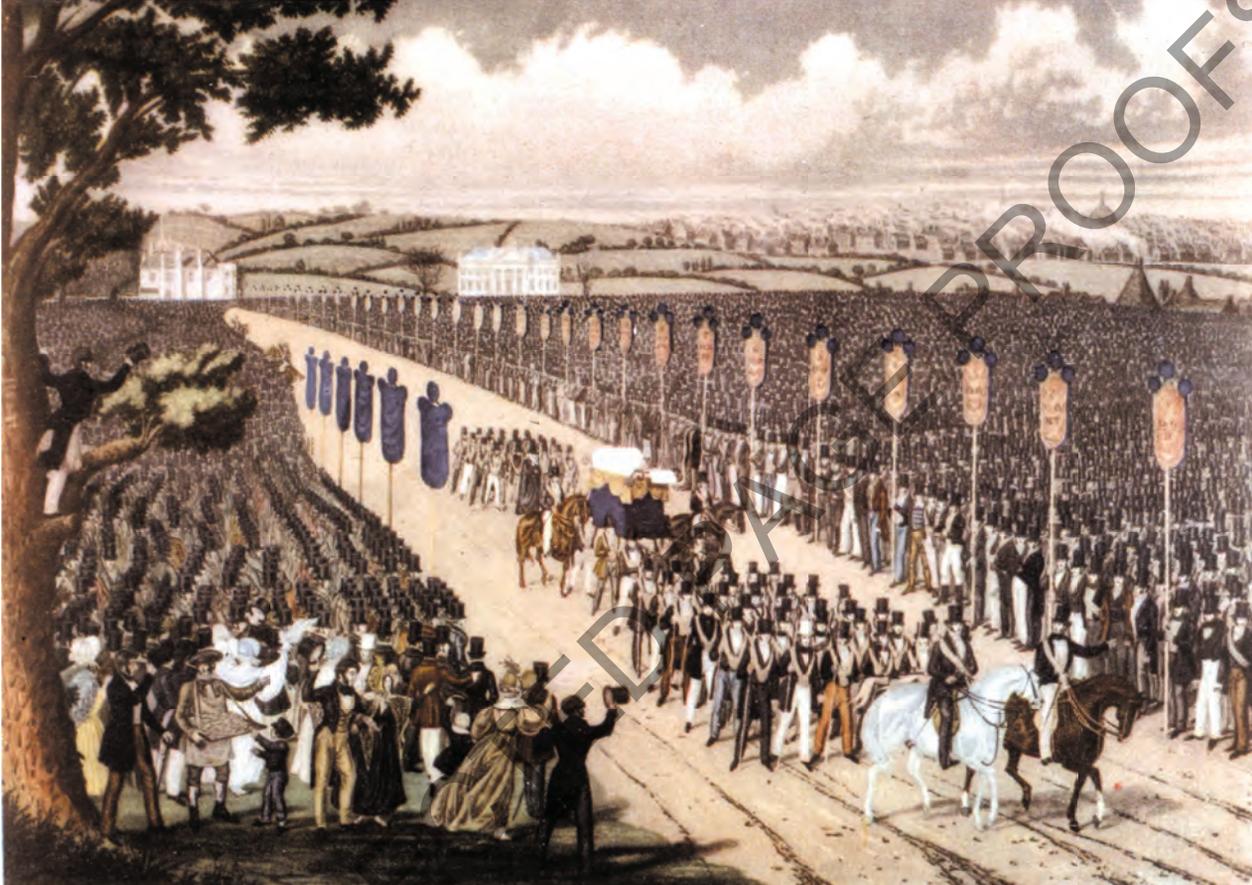
1750 to 1918 is a remarkable period because so many men and women were prepared to challenge established ways of thinking and doing. Each section of this chapter shows people who saw ways of bringing about change.

Sometimes their vision was selfish and narrow, and they did not consider how others might suffer in the process of achieving it. Others were more generous and altruistic; they saw the need for change that would improve how people lived and worked:

- the Chartists and Abolitionists saw how laws could make people's lives better

- Adam Smith and Charles Darwin showed new ways of thinking
 - capitalism, imperialism and socialism all claimed to provide advantages for society.
- In their time, these concepts inspired, annoyed, amused and shocked. Today, they continue to affect attitudes and events.

W. Summers' contemporary engraving showing a mass demonstration in support of the Tolpuddle Martyrs on Copenhagen Fields, London, in 1834



Starter questions

<Content to come>

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 Watch this eLesson:

1c.2 Emerging ideas and movements

1c.2.1 The Enlightenment

The term *progress* suggests forward movement — bringing improvement to the status quo (present situation). When we examine the period 1750 to 1918, we are struck by the rapid changes in areas such as manufacturing and trade. But it was also an era of profound change in the way many people thought about the world in which they lived. The ‘progressive’ ideas of this period challenged established beliefs and institutions, and underpinned a number of key events and movements that have had a lasting effect to this day. Of course, as with any change to the status quo, along with those who supported these new ideas, there were those reluctant to accept change and who outwardly opposed these movements — sometimes resulting in violent clashes.

The writers of the Enlightenment were inspired by earlier figures such as John Locke and Immanuel Kant who had stressed the need to apply reason to find truth; to break away from the darkness of ignorance and superstition and to question established beliefs and practices. Locke wrote, ‘New opinions are always suspected, and usually opposed, without any other reason because they are not common.’

The Enlightenment inspired radical thought about the nature and structure of society. It developed in a number of countries and drew on the ideas of thinkers such as Galileo and Newton, who had challenged established beliefs about the universe. The ‘scientific method’, it was thought, could be used to examine the organisation of society and the individual’s freedom and rights, and could be applied across all areas of thought. Descartes’ maxim, ‘I think, therefore I am’, underlines each human being’s ability to think and make decisions. While many of these thinkers were French, there were others elsewhere who advocated similar beliefs. Most of them took an optimistic view, perceiving a world in which human beings would enjoy freedom and equality. Rousseau lamented the lack of freedom: ‘Man is born free, but everywhere he is in chains.’

RETROFILE

Lumières, the French word for lights, was used in 1733 by Jean-Baptiste Dubos to describe people whose ideas questioned accepted beliefs, shedding light on the structure of society and its faults such as the lack of rights. They proposed a new order: power would no longer rest with an individual or the elite. There would be greater freedom and the wishes of the majority would not be ignored.

The term *philosophes* (another French word) is often used to refer to these writers because they were presenting a new philosophy or search for knowledge.

SOURCE 1 Some opinions of the Enlightenment’s *lumières*

- I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it. *Voltaire*
- The divine right of husbands, like the divine right of kings, may, it is hoped, in this enlightened age, be contested. *Mary Wollstonecraft*
- Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains. *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*
- To become truly great, one must stand with the people, not above them. *Montesquieu*

1c.2.2 The American War of Independence

The ideas of the Enlightenment were an important influence on the thinking of the founding fathers of the United States, such as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson. This is evident in the wording of the Declaration of Independence, with its emphasis on the individual’s equality and the right to ‘life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness’.

Reasons for war

Britain sought to recoup the cost of its war involvements from its 13 American colonies through taxes and restrictions on trade. Taxes were imposed on items such as sugar, documents and paper-based products, making daily life more expensive for the colonists. In addition, Britain's mercantilist policy operated in its interests and against those of the colonies. British ships and manufacturers, for example, had a monopoly on trade. All of this was carried out without consultation, and imposed on the colonies to Britain's advantage.

Many colonists also resented the fact that Britain was dictating the limits of settlement. This was seen as another infringement of their rights when they had no-one to represent them in the British parliament. The American War of Independence can be seen as a reaction to the restrictions imposed by Britain. 'No taxation without representation' was a rallying cry.

RETROFILE

Mary Wollstonecraft was the mother of Mary (Wollstonecraft) Shelley, who wrote *Frankenstein*.

1c.2.3 The French Revolution 1789

In the late eighteenth century, there was widespread discontent among the French people. The nation faced bankruptcy and the heavy burden of taxation fell on the middle classes, yet the two wealthy classes — the clergy and the nobility — paid no tax. While ordinary people endured bread shortages and starvation, the court at Versailles revelled in lavish parties. Louis XVI reigned as an absolute monarch, lacking contact with the reality of the hardship in his subjects' lives and the demand for political reform.

The ideas of the Enlightenment found a ready audience among the discontented French populace. With its questioning of the individual's lack of rights, the Enlightenment struck at the core of this discontent and fuelled the revolution that would change French society forever.

RETROFILE

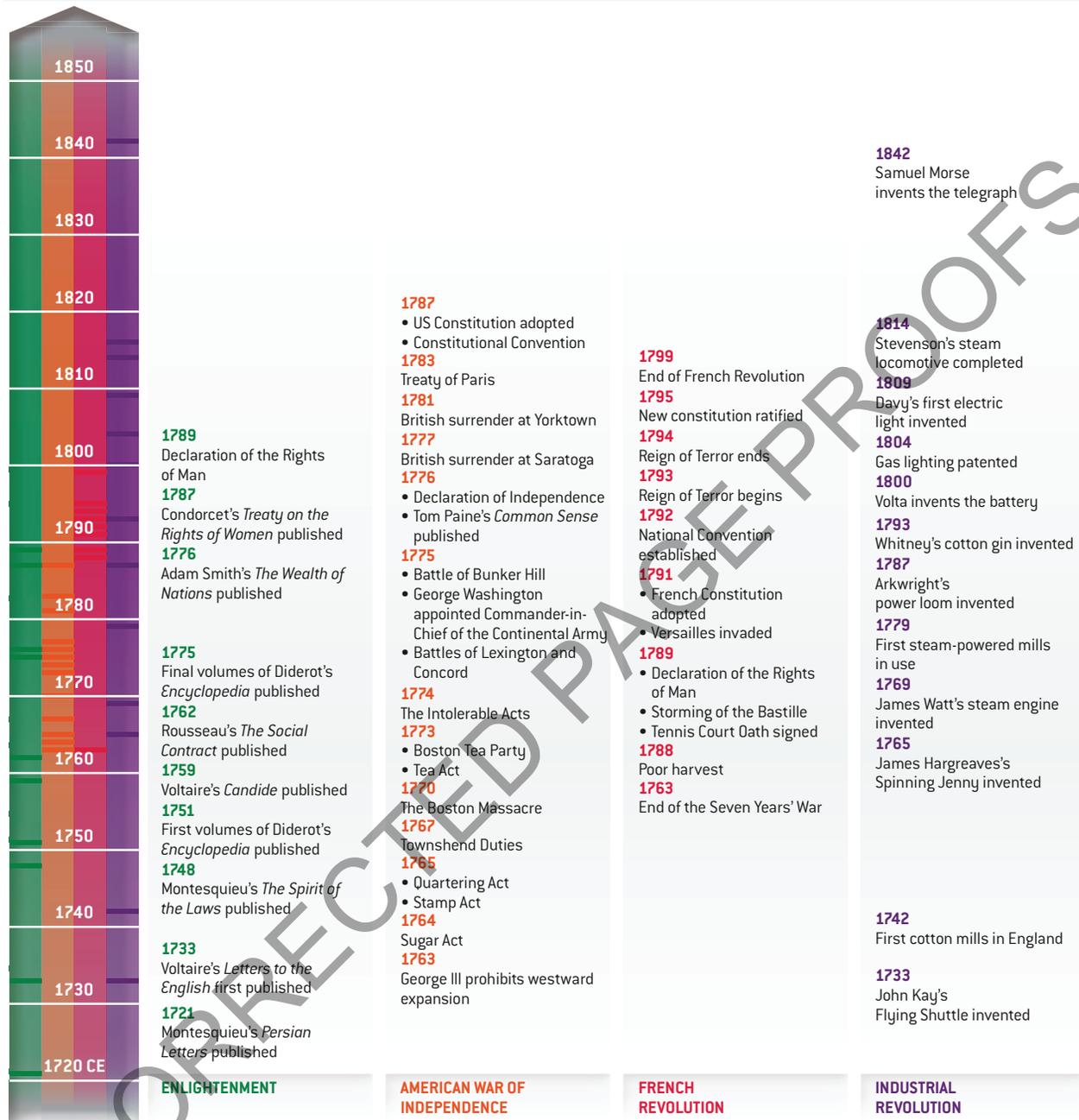
The Seven Years' War, from 1756 to 1763 (in the United States; also known as The French and Indian War), was a global war that resulted in huge loss of territory by France and Spain to Britain. Massive debts were incurred by both Britain and France. Britain's success gave it the world's largest empire. France's bitterness led to its involvement in the American War of Independence.

1c.2.4 The Industrial Revolution 1760–1840

The Industrial Revolution, which began in Britain, brought extraordinary changes to people's lives (see topic 1a). It was driven by a chain of innovative designs and inventions that altered the way people lived and worked. The introduction of new machines and the building of factories led to the virtual demise of cottage-based industry and to the large-scale depopulation of the countryside. New sources of energy, methods of manufacture and materials enabled cheaper and faster manufacture of goods. As machines replaced or changed the work of people, thousands were left jobless — poverty was widespread and, for those lucky enough to be in work, conditions were often hazardous. Workers had few, if any, rights, and faced the threat of injury or even death in the course of their daily work. Out of this situation was born the Chartist movement, which sought to improve workers' conditions through gaining parliamentary representation of working people — a radical concept for its time that would have a lasting impact on society.

SOURCE 3 provides a brief outline of the key elements of the main progressive movements of the period 1750–1918. You will study one of these movements in detail, but it is useful to be aware of the significance of all of these movements in their time and since.

SOURCE 2 A timeline of key events from the early eighteenth century to the mid nineteenth century



RETROFILE

Luddites is a term used today to describe people opposed or resistant to new technology. Ned Ludd was the (probably mythical) leader of protesting textile workers, the Luddites, who believed their livelihoods to be threatened by changes in the production of cloth in the north of England c.1811. They strongly criticised the technology, regarding it as 'hurtful to the Commonality'; that is, to the common good.

SOURCE 3 An overview of the progressive movements of the early eighteenth century to the mid nineteenth century

| Movement | Key features | Key figure(s) | Influence/relevance |
|-----------------------|---|--|---|
| Capitalism | An economic system with emphasis on private ownership, individual liberty and a free market | Scottish philosopher Adam Smith | Capitalism is the system of economics operating in most countries today. |
| Chartism | A movement in Britain from c.1834–60 with the aim of creating a more democratic society | Francis Place, Feargus O'Connor and William Lovett | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chartism rallied widespread support. • Five of the Charter's six points were eventually achieved. • Chartist ideas were influential in Australia. |
| Darwinism | A theory of biological evolution that a species survives by adapting to environmental conditions | Charles Darwin | Caused controversy by questioning the theory of Creationism and established new guidelines for the study of life forms |
| Egalitarianism | A belief in the equality of people and of opportunity | Enlightenment writers such as Montesquieu, Rousseau and Voltaire | Continues to shape opinions about liberty and authority |
| Imperialism | The practice of empire-building | Until the twentieth century, usually European autocrats and their agents | Claimed large areas of the globe, imposing law, language and culture |
| Nationalism | A feeling of common identity, and loyalty to a particular nation or region; in an extreme form, involves feelings of superiority and a desire to dominate | — | Desire for self-determination or control |
| Socialism | An economic and/or political system in which the means of production and distribution are vested in the state | Robert Owen, Charles Fourier and the Fabian Society | Many developed countries have accepted responsibility for areas such as health, education and social welfare. |

4a.2 Activities

To answer questions online and to receive **immediate feedback** and **sample responses** for every question, go to your learnON title at www.jacplus.com.au. *Note:* Question numbers may vary slightly.

<Content to come>

Develop source skills

1. Analyse the quotations in **SOURCE 1** and describe how each supports the Enlightenment's philosophy of creating a more equal society.
2. Choose one of the writers quoted in **SOURCE 1**. Research this writer and prepare material for a PowerPoint presentation on his or her contribution to the Enlightenment.

1c.3 Capitalism

1c.3.1 Mercantilism: capitalism's predecessor

Capitalism is the system of economics that operates today in most countries. The term comes from *caput*, the Latin for head, as in head of cattle, a seventeenth-century measure of wealth. Capitalism is based on the creation of wealth. The means of production and distribution remain with the individual or corporation, free to pursue profit through production or provision of goods or services.

The term mercantilism comes from Latin through French to the words *merchant* and *merchandise*: the seller and the goods for sale. Under the mercantilist system of trading:

- trade was controlled by the state
- protectionist policies favoured the home country
- the home country had a monopoly over ports, shops and crews
- bullion (gold and silver) was regarded as the basis of a nation's wealth
- trade with colonies provided resources (raw materials) and markets
- exports exceeded imports.

The decline of mercantilism

Mercantilism thrived in a time when autocratic states had the means to impose restrictions. Its focus was on national power and maintaining a favourable balance of trade. All of this was based on the need to minimise any drain on the nation's wealth. The development of new ideas about liberty and personal freedom, however, resulted in questions about mercantilism's validity as an economic system.

1c.3.2 The 'father of capitalism': Adam Smith

Adam Smith (1723–1790) was a Scottish philosopher who pioneered economic theory. In 1776 he published *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, which is sometimes called the 'bible of capitalist theory'. It challenged mercantilist theories about finance by proposing the policy of *laissez-faire* (French for 'leave be'), which would remove restrictions on trade. Smith stated that the removal of control by government would encourage an expansion of trade and profit. Because self-interest — and the profit motive — guarantees success, enterprising individuals would boost the nation's economy by generating wealth and employment.

Smith said that a nation's wealth was the total of its production and trade, not just its bullion. The Industrial Revolution allowed large-scale production of items such as cloth, which could not be absorbed by the local market; if exported, they would return profits to Britain.

Smith's positive views led him to believe that competition and market forces would ensure fairness and discourage selfishness. The government had to administer justice for all citizens and must provide 'those public institutions and works ... advantageous to a great society'. Some economists have disputed the claim that Smith was opposed to all government intervention.

SOURCE 1 Adam Smith's image on a Bank of England twenty-pound note



Other key figures in capitalist theory include David Hume, David Ricardo and John Stuart Mill — philosophers and economic theorists who contributed ideas in relation to concepts such as free trade, taxation and the relationship between economic behaviour and other aspects of life.

SOURCE 2 An extract from J.K. Galbraith's *The Age of Uncertainty* (pub. 1977). J.K. Galbraith was an influential economist during the twentieth century.

The wealth of a nation results from the diligent pursuit by each of its citizens of his own interests — when he reaps the resulting reward or suffers any resulting penalties. In serving his own interests, the individual serves the public interest. In Smith's greatest phrase, he is guided to do so as though by an unseen hand. Better the unseen hand than the visible, inept and **predacious** hand of the state.

Pins and the division of labor

Along with the pursuit of self-interest, the wealth of a nation was also enhanced by the division of labor. To this — broadly speaking, the superior efficiency of specialization — Smith attributed the greatest importance. Some of the gains were from specialization; some were from the fact that countries specialized in particular products or lines of trade. Some gains were from specialization within the industrial process. 'The greatest improvement in the productive powers of labor, and the greater part of the skill, dexterity, and judgement with which it is anywhere directed, or applied, seem to have been the effects of the division of labor.'

Here is how Smith described the division of labor in his most notable case; in his pursuit of information he must have encountered the manufacture of pins and observed the process with his usual care:

One man draws out a wire, another straightens it, a third cuts it, a fourth points it, a fifth grinds it at the top for receiving the head; to make the head requires two or three distinct operations; to put it on, is a peculiar business, to whiten the pins is another; it is even a trade by itself to put them into the paper ...

Ten men so dividing the labor, Smith calculated, could make 48 000 pins a day, 4800 apiece. One man doing all the operations would make maybe one, maybe twenty.

RETROFILE

The assembly line in Henry Ford's car plants bore a strong resemblance to Adam Smith's description of pin production. Because workers concentrated on separate, specialised parts of the production process, more items could be produced and at a faster rate; thus, more capital was generated.

1c.3.3 Early capitalist activity: two trading companies

In 1600 and 1602 respectively, the British East India Company and the Dutch East India Company (VOC) commenced trading, paying substantial dividends on the capital investors had subscribed. The companies had great freedom in the administration of their trading bases; their merchant fleets and armed forces helped the company to enforce its rules and increase profits.

The VOC

VOC comes from the company's Dutch name *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*. The Dutch were determined to break the Portuguese monopoly of trade in the Spice Islands and to limit the activities of the British. Partly to fund its monopoly of the nutmeg trade in Banda, an island group 2000 kilometres east of Java, the VOC traded another colony, New Amsterdam (now Manhattan), to Britain.

There is no doubt the VOC prospered; it paid 40 per cent to its investors in 1670 and often paid annual dividends of 18 per cent for almost 200 years. The Dutch government assumed control after corruption forced the VOC into bankruptcy in 1800.

SOURCE 3 Flag of the Dutch East India Company



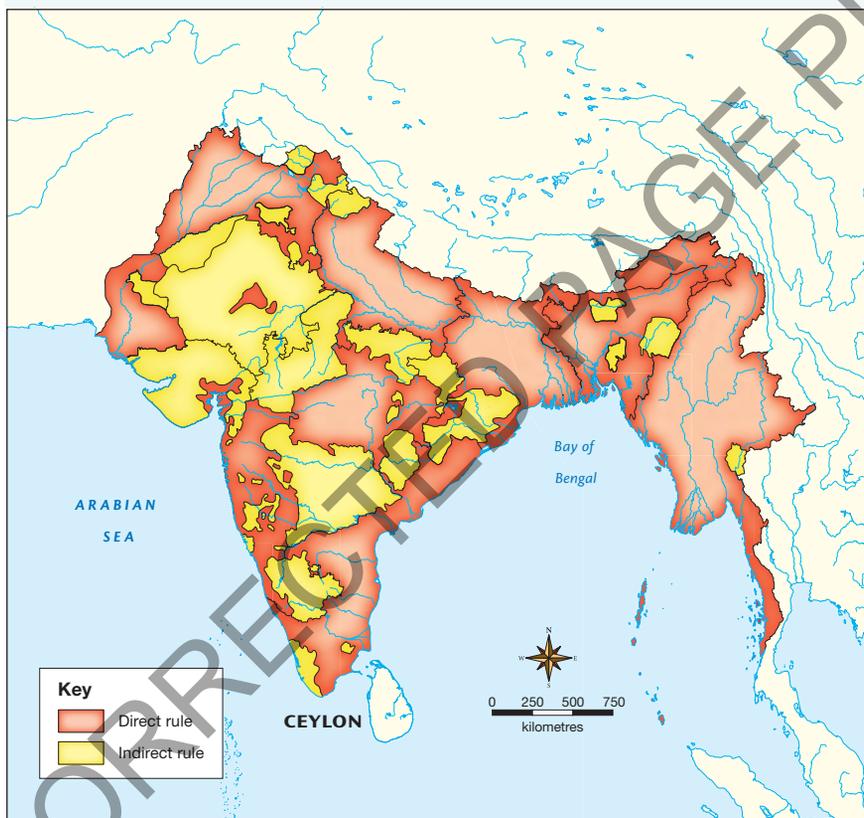
RETROFILE

Where possible, the trading companies tried to gain a **monopoly** on a product. A spice such as nutmeg promised large financial gains because of the high demand. The spice is commonly used in food preparation, but there were also claims about its medicinal benefits. Some people claimed it could help in the treatment of various conditions and diseases, including the plague.

The HEIC

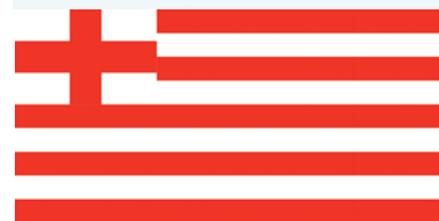
The British East India Company and a rival company amalgamated in 1708 to form the Honourable East India Company (HEIC). When it began trading, its focus was on the spice trade, but it turned its attention to India where it established posts. Trading mainly in cotton, silk, tea and indigo dye, eventually it gained control of large areas of land. It acted as an informal arm for Britain.

SOURCE 4 A map showing the HEIC's influence in India in 1857



China's tea, fine fabrics and porcelain proved highly profitable commodities, but there was growing resentment of the company's monopoly, which the British government ended in 1813 in India and in 1833 in China. The Colonial Office assumed full control in India in 1857; the company ceased trading in 1873.

SOURCE 5 Flag of the British East India Company



1c.3.4 The Opium Wars (1839–1842 and 1856–1860)

At a time of growing Imperialism, China wanted to remain closed to external influences. To implement this policy, it attempted to restrict trade by limiting the number of ports open to foreign vessels. Like other

European countries, the British had developed a passion for Chinese goods, especially tea. The demand became so great that Britain wanted to reduce the amount of silver flowing out of the country to China. The British decided that one way to reduce their financial losses would be through the sale of opium to the Chinese. The Chinese emperor was concerned that many wealthy people were already using the drug. Even worse than the loss of currency was the high rate of addiction that disrupted the proper functioning of society; there were as many as 12 million addicts.

The emperor wanted to ban the opium trade and in 1839 he appointed Lin Zehu to end it. His attempts were unsuccessful and inflamed relations with Britain. In the two wars that followed (known as the Opium Wars), the Chinese defences were no match for British gunboats.

SOURCE 6 Thomas Arnold's opinion of the First Opium War, 1840. Thomas Arnold was a poet, inspector of schools and Oxford professor.

This war with China ... really seems to me so wicked as to be a national sin of the greatest possible magnitude, and it distresses me very deeply. Cannot anything be done by petition or otherwise to awaken men's minds to the dreadful guilt we are incurring? I really do not remember, in any history, of a war undertaken with such combined injustice and baseness. Ordinary wars of conquest are to me far less wicked, than to go to war in order to maintain smuggling, and that smuggling consisting in the introduction of a demoralizing drug, which the government of China wishes to keep out, and which we, for the lucre of gain, want to introduce by force; and in this quarrel are going to burn and slay in the pride of our supposed superiority.

Eventually, the Chinese had to accept treaties that were so severe that they referred to them as 'Unequal Treaties'. Other powers, including France, Germany, the USA, Russia and Japan, made China accept similar treaties enforcing 'spheres of influence' where foreign powers could operate. At the end of the First Opium War, the Treaty of Nanking imposed very harsh terms on the Chinese — in very diplomatic language.

1c.3.5 Capitalism today

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, **socialism** was proposed as a way of addressing some of capitalism's failings (see section 1c.9). Robert Owen, for example, thought that socialism could improve the lives of working people. In Eastern Europe and some other areas where **communism** was adopted, aspects of capitalism have also been incorporated.

Capitalism has emerged as the dominant economic system in most developed countries. After the collapse of the communist-run Soviet Union, and its dissolution in 1991, privatisation in its former states was adopted on a large scale.

SOURCE 7 An 1898 cartoon by French political cartoonist Henri Meyer, showing the division of China



SOURCE 8 Extracts from the Treaty of Nanjing (Nanking), 1842

ARTICLE III

It being obviously necessary and desirable, that British Subjects should have some Port whereat they may careen and refit their Ships, when required, and keep Stores for that purpose, His Majesty the Emperor of China cedes to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, etc., the Island of Hongkong, to be possessed in perpetuity by Her Britannic Majesty, Her Heirs and Successors, and to be governed by such Laws and Regulations as Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, etc., shall see fit to direct.

ARTICLE IV

The Emperor of China agrees to pay the sum of Six Millions of Dollars as the value of Opium which was delivered up at Canton in the month of March 1839, as a Ransom for the lives of Her Britannic Majesty's Superintendent and Subjects, who had been imprisoned and threatened with death by the Chinese High Officers.

Although the Communist Party maintains political control in mainland China, various features of capitalism have emerged. Both Russia and China have witnessed the growth of a wealthy elite, a growing middle class and the conspicuous consumption that has been a hallmark of capitalist societies.

Today, while capitalism is the basis of the economy in most developed countries, there is still debate about the level of government involvement. In the twentieth century, economist John Maynard Keynes was very influential in the formulation of economic policies. He saw that government sometimes needed to play a part; many countries now have ‘mixed economies’ — capitalism combined with some aspects of socialism.

In Australia before Federation there was conflict between the ideas of free trade and protectionism; in some respects this mirrored the capitalism–mercantilism struggle. For much of our history a two-party political system has predominated, with the conservative parties being strongly aligned with capitalism, but in recent times there has been a blurring of ‘class’ divisions. Today, both major political parties support fundamental aspects of capitalism but also recognise the need for government involvement.

1c.3 Activities

To answer questions online and to receive **immediate feedback** and **sample responses** for every question, go to your learnON title at www.jacplus.com.au. *Note:* Question numbers may vary slightly.

Check knowledge and understanding

1. List the basic points of Adam Smith’s beliefs about the creation of wealth.
2. Explain how the Industrial Revolution affected the growth of capitalism.
3. Why did China and Britain fight the Opium Wars?
4. Describe the results of those wars.

Develop his skills

5. Refer to **SOURCE 2** to answer the following questions.
 - (a) Name two ways of increasing a nation’s wealth.
 - (b) Why does Smith describe the nation’s hand as ‘visible, inept and predacious’?
 - (c) Explain why **SOURCE 2** might be more useful to a Year 9 student than the original text from which it is drawn.
6. Use **SOURCE 6** to answer the following questions.
 - (a) What is the writer’s opinion of the war?
 - (b) How does he convey that opinion?
 - (c) What suggestions does he make?
7. Use **SOURCES 7** and **8** to answer the following questions.
 - (a) What types of compensation did the British demand?
 - (b) Why would the Chinese describe the treaties as ‘unequal’?
 - (c) Explain the cartoonist’s message in **SOURCE 7**.

1c.4 Chartism 1836–1860

1c.4.1 The origins of Chartism

Chartism takes its name from the People’s Charter, a list of six points to extend voting rights in Britain to create a more democratic society.

Chartism grew from discontent. In 1780, fewer than three per cent of men were entitled to vote. Even after the *Representation of the People Act 1832* (also known as the first Reform Act or Great Reform Act) extended the vote, six out of seven men were still excluded by a property qualification; they did not occupy property with rates of ten pounds sterling per year.

The context

The Industrial Revolution, while bringing great wealth to some, also created conditions that fed discontent. Weavers, for example, were displaced from their looms and their cottages as machinery could now carry out their work at far greater volume and speed. If they found factory employment, it was as what they saw as slaves to the machines. Their work and housing conditions were appalling.

1832: parliamentary representation denied

Many working people felt that the way to improve their lives was to have sympathetic members of parliament to represent them. They had hoped that the Great Reform Act of 1832 would give them the vote, but their first petition described it as ‘a transfer of power from one domineering faction to another’. The wealthy land-owning classes had been joined in parliament by the middle-class city property owners such as bankers and shopkeepers. The harsh new Poor Laws they introduced in 1834 revealed their attitude to those living in poverty. People unable to support themselves would be sent to a workhouse, where families could be separated and the able-bodied given menial and cruel tasks to perform. Essentially, people were blamed and punished for their poverty.

Protest movements

Throughout the 1830s, organisations were formed in various parts of Britain in response to issues such as ‘industrial distress’ and the treatment of those like the Tolpuddle Martyrs — six farm labourers who were transported to Australia for attempting to form trade unions in response to their wages being cut.

SOURCE 1 A nineteenth-century coloured wood carving of King John signing the Magna Carta



SOURCE 2 An extract from Thomas Paine’s 1791 book, *The Rights of Man*

The county of Yorkshire, which contains near a million of souls, sends two county members; and so does the county of Rutland, which contains not an hundredth part of that number. The town of old Sarum, which contains not three houses, sends two members; and the town of Manchester, which contains upwards of sixty thousand souls, is not admitted to send any. Is there any principle in these things?

1c.4.2 The people’s charter

In 1837, William Lovett and Francis Place, two leading members of the London Working Men’s Association — an organisation of skilled tradesmen, clerks and some professionals — drew up a document called the People’s Charter. In May 1838 it was published in London and then in Birmingham.

RETROFILE

The People’s Charter echoes the name of a much earlier document — the Magna Carta (the Great Charter). This was a document to limit the powers of the king which the barons imposed on him in 1215. Clause 39 guaranteed the right to trial by jury.

William Lovett and 'moral force'

William Lovett was a moderate who had made sacrifices for his beliefs: his household possessions had been seized and he had been jailed for refusing to enrol in the militia. 'No vote, no musket' was his slogan. He placed his faith in 'moral force' and in peaceful means to bring about reform. Lovett was forward-thinking — he believed women should have the vote (about one-fifth of Chartists were women). He did not actually join the National Charter Association himself.

Lovett was sentenced to a year in prison for 'treacherous libel' because at a rally some placards carried his complaints about the behaviour of the militia. He had described the 'peelers' (police) as 'bloody and unconstitutional'. While Lovett was in jail, he wrote a book for the National Association for Promoting the Political and Social Advancement of the People. It outlined a new plan of action; education and social improvement. After his release, he concentrated on those issues and in 1841 set up an association to promote them. Imprisoned Chartists were treated harshly and were poorly fed. Lovett's health suffered as a result and troubled him for the rest of his life.

SOURCE 3 A contemporary printing of the People's Charter

The Six Points
OF THE
PEOPLE'S
CHARTER.

1. A VOTE for every man twenty-one years of age, of sound mind, and not undergoing punishment for crime.
2. THE BALLOT.—To protect the elector in the exercise of his vote.
3. NO PROPERTY QUALIFICATION for Members of Parliament —thus enabling the constituencies to return the man of their choice, be he rich or poor.
4. PAYMENT OF MEMBERS, thus enabling an honest tradesman, working man, or other person, to serve a constituency, when taken from his business to attend to the interests of the country.
5. EQUAL CONSTITUENCIES, securing the same amount of representation for the same number of electors, instead of allowing small constituencies to swamp the votes of large ones.
6. ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS, thus presenting the most effectual check to bribery and intimidation, since though a constituency might be bought once in seven years (even with the ballot), no purse could buy a constituency (under a system of universal suffrage) in each ensuing twelvemonth; and since members, when elected for a year only, would not be able to defy and betray their constituents as now.

SOURCE 4 A contemporary printing of a poster for a Chartist demonstration

THE UNENFRANCHISED!
RALLY AROUND YOUR FLAG.

“The **REPUBLIC** for France, and the
CHARTER for England.”

NOTICE.

A PUBLIC
MEETING

WILL BE HELD AT THE
MARKET SQUARE,
MERTHYR TYDVIL,
On **MONDAY EVENING Next,**
March 20th, 1848,
To take into consideration the propriety
of further adopting the Petition for the
immediate enactment of the “**PEOPLE'S**
CHARTER.” Likewise, to elect a Dele-
gate for the ensuing Convention.

Chair to be taken at 5 o'Clock.

D. JONES, PRINTER, MERTHYR.

RETROFILE

Sir Robert Peel established the London Metropolitan Police. From his name come two colloquial terms to describe British police: 'bobbies' and 'peelers'.

The 'physical force' Chartists

Other Chartists, especially in the industrialised regions, chose a more militant course. Foremost among them was Feargus O'Connor who set up the National Charter Association in 1840. He was a Member of Parliament and newspaper owner, who thought 'physical force' or direct action was more likely to succeed than 'moral force'. He spent eighteen months in jail for publishing 'seditious libel'.

O'Connor was a fiery orator whose speeches stirred the crowds at rallies; his zeal and determination gave momentum to Chartism in its second phase. His compassion for those suffering under the Poor Law regulations added to his status as the 'Lion of Freedom'. About 40 000 attended his funeral in 1855. Recent research has given him greater recognition and enhanced his reputation as a workers' advocate.

Chartist tactics

Between 1839 and 1848, the Chartists presented petitions to parliament. The first 'monster' petition had the support of only 46 members of parliament — 235 voted against it. The third petition was opposed by all but 15 parliamentarians. The large crowd was refused permission to accompany the petition to the House of Commons, a further slight to the Chartists and their supporters. Other forms of protest carried out by the Chartists included lectures, sit-ins, distributing handbills, torchlight processions and strikes.

Sometimes less peaceful tactics were used. Disturbances took place in Newport, Sheffield and Bradford. Police spies had alerted the authorities in advance and military force was used against the protesters. Many of the Chartists were arrested and sentenced to hard labour. Some were transported to Australia.

1c.4.4 Chartism's opponents

Many of those who gained the right to vote with the passage of the 1832 Reform Act opposed any further extension of the vote. Chartism's opponents saw the People's Charter as a revolutionary attack, not just on their privilege, but on the whole structure of society. The French Revolution and events in Europe in 1848 fed this fear. The Chartist petitions were ridiculed and rejected. Magazines and newspapers such as *The Times* and *Punch* depicted the 'physical force' Chartists as 'ultra radicals' — 'a scum of rabble' determined to overthrow the established order. Although there were active Christians among the Chartists, the mainstream churches were generally opposed to the movement. The government, wary of the growth of militant Chartism, introduced measures to prevent demonstrations: armed force was used to quell unrest; Chartist mail was seized; Chartist leaders were arrested and faced harsh sentences — jail for some, transportation to Australia for 102 others.

1c.4.5 Chartism's achievements

Some claim that Chartism died in 1848. In fact, the movement was ahead of its time and the justice of its demands was recognised in the eventual implementation of all but the sixth point of the Charter.

Chartist principles remained a driving force of many of its adherents, including expatriates — the ideal of greater democracy established in the gradual extension of the franchise. Chartism succeeded as a mass movement that inspired collaboration and gave a voice to those seeking reform. In an era lacking mass education, it played an important role by establishing schools, libraries and reading rooms.

SOURCE 5 A William Kilburn photograph of the Great Chartist Rally at Kennington Common on 10 April 1848. (These were the first photographs of crowd scenes.)



1c.4.6 Chartism in Australia

Apart from the Chartists deported as convicts, others came to Australia as free settlers hoping for a new life and better conditions. Some of these early Australian Chartists included:

- George Black, who established *The Gold Diggers' Advocate*
- Edward Hawksley, who edited *The People's Advocate*
- William Cuffay, who fought for democratic rights in Tasmania.

Chartists who settled in Australia brought with them their desire for reform and many became involved in movements such as the Ballarat Reform League, the eight-hour-day campaign, and the Eureka rebellion — movements which, it could be said, echoed many of the six points of the People's Charter.

1c.4 Activities

To answer questions online and to receive **immediate feedback** and **sample responses** for every question, go to your learnON title at www.jacplus.com.au. *Note:* Question numbers may vary slightly.

Check knowledge and understanding

1. Why did the 1832 *Reform Act* satisfy so few people?
2. List the problems faced by working people.
3. Explain the difference between 'moral force' and 'physical force' Chartists.
4. How did people protest?
5. How did the authorities treat protesters?

Research and Empathetic Understanding

6. Research the 1834 Poor Law and the workhouse system.
 - (a) Write a speech about this law that you would deliver as a newly-elected member of parliament.
 - (b) Write a speech about this law that you would deliver as someone released from a workhouse.

Develop source skills

7. Use **SOURCE 3** to answer the following questions.
 - (a) How would you explain what this source is?
 - (b) List the people allowed to vote.
 - (c) Name two limitations on the number of parliamentarians.
 - (d) How would point 5 make the electoral system fairer?
8. What was the purpose of the poster in **SOURCE 4**?
 - (a) Explain why the poster in **SOURCE 4** would alarm some people.

1c.5 Darwinism

1c.5.1 Charles Darwin

Darwinism is a term of convenience or 'shorthand' to describe a number of theories explaining the origins of species. Its name is derived from that of Charles Darwin (1809–1882), who won recognition as the foremost scientist in the field of evolutionary theory.

Darwin's strong interest in natural history led him to consider existing theories and the work of other scientists on what they called **transmutation**, the change in species over time. Darwin referred to it as '**mutation** by descent'. Today the term **evolution** is commonly used. Its basis is that species adapt over long periods of time in response to changes in the environment.

Charles Darwin is generally acknowledged as the originator of the idea of evolution, but there were earlier scientists whose work related to his. These include:

- Pierre de Maupertuis (1698–1759): formulated ideas about genetic fitness
- Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (1744–1829): formulated ideas about organism change
- Georges-Louis Leclerc (1707–1788): theorised that all life is part of a chain.

The Wedgwood family

Charles Darwin's mother, Emma, was a member of the wealthy and influential Wedgwood family whose members had taken a very strong anti-slavery (abolitionist) stance. Their chinaware was labelled, 'God Hath Made of One Blood All Nations of Men'. Darwin's opposition to slavery owed much to that thinking and hence his desire to prove that all human beings shared a common ancestry.

1c.5.2 The Beagle's voyage (1831–1836)

Darwin's qualifications, financial and academic, enabled him to join the voyage of Captain Robert Fitzroy's HMS *Beagle*. Darwin later wrote about this round-the-world journey of discovery of five years away from home. He travelled inland from various ports, saw wondrous creatures and collected fossils.

Captain Fitzroy's task was to provide the British Hydrographic (Mapping) Office with accurate charts for travel to South America where adventurers might find the fabled gold of **El Dorado**. The Spanish had amassed a fortune of the precious metal and the British hoped the *Beagle*'s voyage would help gain a share for Britain.

Apart from his official task of mapping, Darwin used the journey to observe and make notes in a series of journals, some of which he forwarded to his family. When he returned home, his luggage included more journals of zoological and geological notes, and thousands of specimens for his collection.

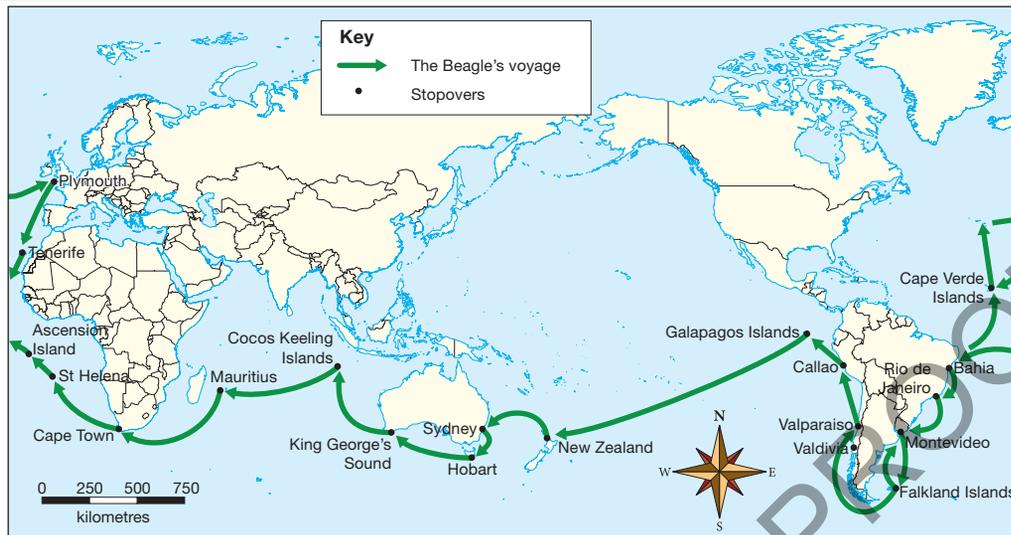
SOURCE 1 An 1816 chalk drawing by Ellen Sharples of Charles Darwin (aged 6) and his sister Catherine



SOURCE 2 A Wedgwood anti-slavery medallion. Josiah Wedgwood, Charles' grandfather, designed the famous abolitionist cameo inscribed 'Am I not a man and a brother?'



SOURCE 3 A map of the *Beagle's* voyage



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Deepen and check your understanding of the topic with the following resources and auto-marked questions:

🔗 Darwinism

RETROFILE

Charles Darwin's scientific approach seems all the more inspired when one reads some of the 'theories' of his time. Phrenology was a theory that it is possible to analyse one's personality by feeling the bumps on the head. Phrenologists said a photograph of Darwin's head showed he would have made a good minister of religion.

Travel and knowledge

At times Darwin was able to travel away from the ship, allowing him to see:

- at the Cape Verde Islands: a band of seashell sediments above sea level
- at Punta Alta: fossils of huge animals that no longer existed
- a resemblance between the fossils and existing animals
- high in the Andes Mountains: a bed of seashells.

This evidence suggested that earthquakes had caused the upward movement of the Earth.

Geology

On the voyage Darwin read a copy of Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, which had a profound effect on him. The book argued that 'the present is the key to the past': scientists could use fossils to support uniformitarianism (a theory that slow-moving forces shaped the Earth).

SOURCE 4 An extract from Charles Darwin's *Autobiographies*

The investigation of the geology of all the places visited was far more important, as reasoning here comes into play. On first examining a new district nothing can appear more hopeless than the chaos of rocks; but by recording the stratification and nature of the rocks and fossils at many points, always reasoning and predicting what will be found elsewhere, light soon begins to dawn on the district, and the structure of the whole becomes more or less intelligible. I had brought with me the first volume of Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, which I studied attentively; and this book was of the highest service to me in many ways. The very first place which I examined, namely St. Jago in the Cape Verde islands, showed me clearly the wonderful superiority of Lyell's manner of treating geology, compared with that of any other author, whose works I had with me or ever afterwards read.

1c.5.3 The Galapagos experience

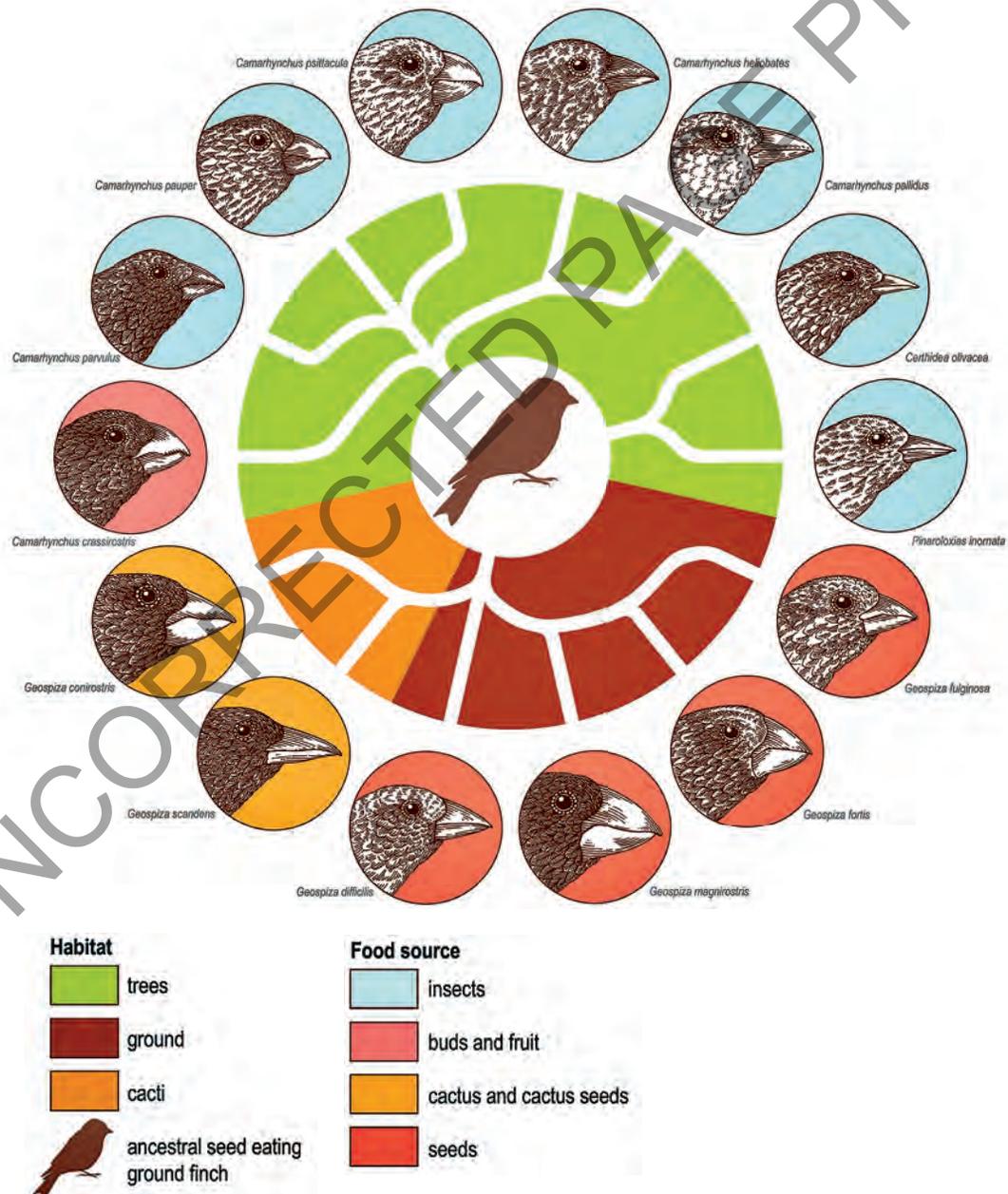
Of the five weeks in the Galapagos Islands, Darwin spent 17 days ashore collecting specimens; these included birds, plants and rocks. He was struck by the variations in the creatures, sometimes on the same island and sometimes from one island to another:

- tortoises differed from one island to another in neck length and shell shape
- iguanas varied in colour
- finches varied in colour and beak shape and size.

Fourteen finches

On the South American mainland there was one species of finch; in the adjacent Galapagos Islands there were another 13. Darwin concluded that the variations in beak shape and size had occurred over time as the birds adapted to the landscapes and plant life of their various habitats.

SOURCE 5 A diagram showing the variation of the Galapagos finches observed by Darwin



1c.5.4 On the origin of species

After the voyage, Darwin continued his research and established his reputation as a writer on biology and geology. It was not until November 1859 that he published his famous work *On the Origin of Species*.

In this work, Darwin presented his theory of ‘mutation by descent’. He used the evidence from his travel and research to show how a species would adapt and evolve to survive in its environment. (Darwin did not use the term *evolution* until the sixth draft of the book.)

Darwin maintained that ‘natural selection’ depended on the ‘preservation of favourable variations and the rejection of injurious variations’. This meant that survival depended on being able to adapt to an environment.

Some of Darwin’s terms have been used in a way he never intended; other people’s words have been attributed to him. The phrase ‘survival of the fittest’, for example, was coined by Herbert Spencer in 1864. It suggested a fight in which the strongest survived at the expense of the weak. By the ‘fittest’, Darwin meant those best able to survive by virtue of their genetic fit for their environment.

Darwin’s theory summarised

- The world is steadily changing.
- There is a common ancestor.
- Organisms change.
- The change ‘must advance by short and sure, though slow steps’.
- Species that survive are those best adapted to their environment.

The public’s response

When *On the Origin of Species* was published in 1859 there was considerable debate, but it is incorrect to say that it shocked all of society. Two previous controversial publications, *The Constitution of Man* (1828) and *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (1844), had both attracted large audiences.

Darwin’s new publication angered those who interpreted the Bible literally. The creation story taught that a divine creator had designed each species and provided it with an appropriate habitat. Darwin was suggesting that organisms adapted to their habitats over long periods.

It is important to remember the context in which Darwin lived and was writing. **Liberalism** had freed people from the constraint of accepting established beliefs. New ideas abounded and challenged many aspects of the status quo. Although many people accepted slavery, for example, Darwin abhorred the very idea of the practice.

The Descent of Man

When *The Descent of Man* was published in 1871, Darwin extended his theory to include human beings. His critics condemned his ideas about evolution and natural selection, accusing him of attacking the whole fabric of society.

Other believers saw the creation story as one way of explaining the Earth’s origins and sought to reconcile it with the emerging scientific ideas.

1c.5.5 Social Darwinism and eugenics

Some people attempted to justify imperialism and the slave trade by misrepresenting some of Darwin’s theories. ‘Inferior’ races, they maintained, were destined to be ‘the woodcutters and water carriers’.

Some of these ideas carried through to the twentieth century. About 20 countries pursued policies of eugenics, supposedly to improve the genetic make-up of their populations. Some examples of eugenics include:

- compulsory sterilisation
- failing to provide proven cures because of a patient’s race
- laws banning mixed-race marriage.

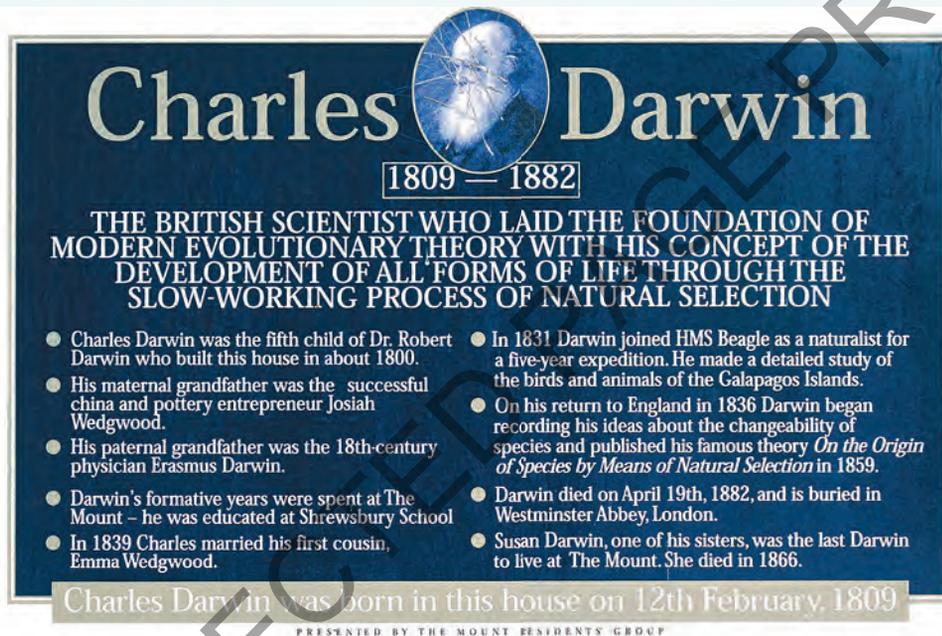
RETROFILE

The most infamous example of eugenics is the Nazi policy of wiping out those they considered inferior. Millions of people, including about six million Jews, died in gas chambers, and concentration and forced labour camps. Other victims of this program included Slavs and people with physical and mental disabilities.

1c.5.6 Darwin's significance

Darwinism established a commanding place in modern science and his theory is taught in Australian schools. In 1950, Pope Pius XII said that the Catholic Church should not reject Darwin's 'serious hypothesis' and, later, Pope John Paul II acknowledged that 'the theory of evolution had progressively taken root'. Most mainstream faiths now recognise Darwin's contribution to the study of life forms.

SOURCE 6 Plaque commemorating the life of Charles Darwin. The plaque is on a wall of the house in Shrewsbury, England, that was Darwin's birthplace and family home.



1c.5 Activities

To answer questions online and to receive **immediate feedback** and **sample responses** for every question, go to your learnON title at www.jacplus.com.au. *Note:* Question numbers may vary slightly.

Check knowledge and understanding

1. Define the term *evolution*.
2. How did the Galapagos finches help Darwin to formulate his theory?
3. Explain why Darwin's theory shocked some people.
4. Describe how the term *survival of the fittest* has been used in attempts to justify policies such as eugenics and Social Darwinism.

Develop source skills

5. Which branch of science is Darwin discussing in **SOURCE 4**?
6. How was Charles Lyell's book useful to Darwin?

1c.6 Egalitarianism

1c.6.1 Origins

The word *egalitarianism* is derived from the French and means ‘equality’. It suggests that there should be no differences in nature or in law in an individual’s position or ‘value’. The motto of the French Revolution was ‘Liberty, Equality and Fraternity’, and the hope was that those ideals would replace the existing inequalities and injustice. *Fraternity* comes from the term *frater*, which is Latin for brother; fraternity is brotherhood, or brotherly feeling.

The enlightenment

The Enlightenment was a powerful force in the movement for equal rights. Its writers questioned the established order, including the distribution of power. This meant examining how states were governed and how decisions were made, and the individual’s part in that process.

Many Europeans were ruled by autocratic monarchs who had inherited the throne and ruled by ‘divine right’. Most decisions were made by the monarch, sometimes with advice from a select few. Peasants comprised the largest section of the population; some of them were serfs, actually owned by their masters.

The Social Contract, by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, begins with the statement, ‘Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains’. He maintained that ‘no man has natural authority over his fellow’.

SOURCE 1 Motto of the French Republic



In the American colonies

Thomas Paine was English by birth and radical in outlook. In *Common Sense* he argued the case for the American colonies’ independence from Britain. It was first published anonymously (‘Written by an Englishman’) and was an instant success. Paine’s assertion of his belief in equality would have shocked many of his contemporaries.

SOURCE 2 Two extracts from *Common Sense* by Tom Paine (1737–1809)

I know it is difficult to get over local or long standing prejudices, yet if we will suffer ourselves to examine the component parts of the English constitution, we shall find them to be the base remains of two ancient tyrannies, compounded with some new republican materials.

First. — The remains of monarchical tyranny in the person of the king. Secondly. — The remains of aristocratical tyranny in the persons of the peers. Thirdly. — The new republican materials, in the persons of the commons, on whose virtue depends the freedom of England.

The two first, by being hereditary, are independent of the people; wherefore in a constitutional sense they contribute nothing towards the freedom of the state.

* * *

To the evil of monarchy we have added that of hereditary succession; and as the first is a degradation and lessening of ourselves, so the second, claimed as a matter of right, is an insult and imposition on posterity. For all men being originally equals, no one by birth could have a right to set up his own family in perpetual preference to all others for ever, and though himself might deserve some decent degree of honours of his contemporaries, yet his descendants might be far too unworthy to inherit them.

SOURCE 3 An extract from the opening to the American Declaration of Independence, written in 1876

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness ...

But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States.

The unjust burden in France

At the beginning of the eighteenth century France was a major power, but as the century progressed, there was growing discontent:

- the nation was on the brink of bankruptcy
- there were food shortages
- the clergy and nobility (the wealthy) paid no tax
- the rest of the population had no political representation.

1c.6.2 Responses to demands for change

Those with controlling power are not usually prepared to relinquish it easily. The British lost control of the American colonies after the War of Independence. The French Revolution resulted in the removal of the monarchy and a 'reign of terror' in which 'enemies of the revolution' were executed in their thousands. It is possible that these consequences may have been avoided if those in power had been prepared to listen to the demands for representation that were put to them.

The struggle for representation continued. Circumstances varied, but during the nineteenth century the gradual removal of property and wealth requirements extended the **franchise** in Britain — more and more people gained the right to vote and thereby have a say in the way in which they were governed.

1c.6.3 A new world order in Australia?

When the colony of New South Wales was established in 1788, there was little difference between the convicts and many of the marines who guarded them. Over time, the convicts came from varied backgrounds; some brought skills the colony could use. As free settlers arrived in the colony, many expected a greater gap between themselves and the former convicts.

Despite the prejudices of some, Governor Lachlan Macquarie believed that convicts who ‘mended their ways’ could make an important contribution to the colony’s development.

The Eureka Stockade

At the Eureka Stockade (or the Eureka Rebellion) in 1854, gold miners protested against what they regarded as injustice. This included:

- the exorbitantly priced miner’s licence fee they were required to pay
- the way the licences were inspected
- their inability to vote
- their belief that the governor’s power was excessive and used harshly against them.

In *The Eureka Stockade*, written a year after the event, Raffaello Carboni describes the miners’ anger at the deaths of their mates. Some people regard Eureka as a symbol of an egalitarian struggle for rights. Its 125th anniversary was marked by the issue of a stamp and first day cover (a pictorial envelope with related stamps).

1c.6.4 Discrimination

In the Australian colonies, various policies were enforced that treated some residents as less than equal. Although the *Immigration Restriction Act* (White Australia policy) was not introduced until 1901, the authorities’ aim was to promote the British heritage. The policies included:

- schemes for the ‘management’ of the Indigenous population
- the expulsion of the families of residents of Asian birth.

Rights for women

It is a mistake to assume that women were not involved in the struggles for egalitarianism in Europe, the United States and Australia. In France, many discussions about freedom and equality were conducted in the salons (sitting rooms) of women. Women supported the revolutions in France and Ireland and as many as one-fifth of the Chartists were women.

Women such as Mary Wollstonecraft and Olympe de Gouges wrote significant articles about women’s lack of rights and the need to provide education for all.

Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797)

In her 1792 *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Mary Wollstonecraft argued, ‘women had the right to an education that would equip them to be more than an ornament or a drudge’. While women were deprived of an equal education, they would remain in ‘ignorance and slavish dependence’ like ‘spaniels and toys’. Mary Wollstonecraft’s egalitarianism went beyond rights for women; she also criticised monarchy, slavery and the treatment of the poor.

Olympe de Gouges (1748–1793)

Olympe de Gouges was a French playwright who said that women should have the right to freedom of speech — a radical idea even in Revolutionary France. She paid for her refusal to keep silent about such beliefs when she was guillotined in November 1793. French women did not gain the right to vote in national elections until 1945.

SOURCE 4 A pre-stamped envelope issued by Australia Post to mark the 125th anniversary of the Eureka Stockade



SOURCE 5 A painting of a Republican Women’s club in France, c.1792



Opponents of female suffrage

Female **suffrage** was a progressive idea, yet it was opposed by some of the most outspoken proponents of equal rights. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, author of *The Declaration of the Rights of Man* and *The Social Contract*, considered women inferior to men and ‘always in subjection to a man’. John Stuart Mills’ 1867 proposed amendment to allow some women to vote was rejected by the House of Commons — 196 votes to 76. In William Lane’s workers’ utopia in Patagonia, women were restricted to traditional female roles. The prevailing view — even among some women — was that women were best suited to the domestic sphere where, in the words of J.S. Mills, they were ‘no more than bondservants to their husbands’. Newspapers and magazines blatantly ridiculed the idea of female equality.

SOURCE 6 Queen Victoria’s view of female suffrage

I am most anxious to enlist everyone who can speak or write to join in checking this mad, wicked folly of ‘Women’s Rights’, with all its attendant horrors, on which her poor feeble sex is bent, forgetting every sense of womanly feelings and propriety. Feminists ought to get a good whipping. Were woman to ‘unsex’ themselves by claiming equality with men, they would become the most hateful, heathen and disgusting of beings and would surely perish without male protection.

I love peace and quiet, I hate politics and turmoil. We women are not made for governing, and if we are good women, we must dislike these masculine occupations. There are times which force one to take interest in them, and I do, of course intensely.

1c.6.5 The view in Australia

Australian women were also involved in the struggle for egalitarianism. Louisa Lawson, mother of the poet Henry Lawson, for example, was a feminist, anti-racist and a republican. Life in the bush had been hard and she knew the legal and financial disadvantages women faced. Her newspaper, *The Dawn*, was unique. It spoke for women who had no opportunity to voice an opinion on the matters that affected their lives. It was published for 17 years and some of its issues remain relevant today.

Vida Goldstein (1869–1949)

One Australian woman who won international recognition as a champion of women’s rights was Vida Goldstein. At 22 she helped to collect signatures for a petition seeking the vote for women. She spoke to audiences in the United States and Britain, and was elected secretary of the International Women’s Suffrage Conference.

The *Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902* gave the vote in federal elections to ‘all persons not under twenty-one years of age’. In 1903, Vida Goldstein was one of four women who stood for election, the first in any national parliament in the British empire. Vida Goldstein stood for four more elections as an independent and for other issues of conscience.

RETROFILE

‘A fair go’ has been a common expression in Australia. It suggests:

- even-handed justice
- absence of favouritism
- equal opportunity.

Education

Legislation cannot make people equal, but in a fair society legislators would attempt to remove barriers that limit one’s opportunities. In 1807, one British Conservative MP argued that education would make the ‘labouring classes of the poor ... insolent to their superiors’; they would question the position ‘society had ordained for them’. The provision of education is one obvious way to promote egalitarianism.

Nicholas Nickleby was based on Charles Dickens’ 1838 visit to one English school where children endured brutal treatment and near starvation. That novel forced a government investigation into the state of education.

Education provides opportunities not otherwise available, yet even today not all children have access to it. Throughout the world there are many millions of girls who do not attend school; some people have been attacked for merely speaking in favour of the idea of education for girls.

The journey continues: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

On 10 December 1948, now Human Rights Day, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Its 30 articles outline the inalienable rights that all human beings should enjoy. In some countries, people take these rights for granted. In Australia, for example, people who experience discrimination expect to have the issue addressed in the appropriate forum. In some other countries, people suffer barbarous acts, lack of respect for their inherent dignity and worse.

1c.6 Activities

To answer questions online and to receive **immediate feedback** and **sample responses** for every question, go to your learnON title at www.jacplus.com.au. *Note:* Question numbers may vary slightly.

Check knowledge and understanding

1. Explain the motto 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity'.
2. Compare the reasons for discontent in pre-revolutionary France and the American colonies.
3. Examine the connection between Chartism and the Eureka Stockade.
4. How does education advance egalitarianism?

Research

5. Research the UDHR and complete the following tasks.
 - (a) In point form, or using a highlighter on a printout of the declaration, summarise the preamble (introduction).
 - (b) In groups, prepare posters of the Declaration's Articles.
6. Research an organisation such as Amnesty International or Human Rights Watch and prepare a flyer or pamphlet to publicise its work.

Develop source skills

7. Use **SOURCE 2** to answer the following questions.
 - (a) What parts of British society does Tom Paine mention?
 - (b) Which parts does he criticise?
 - (c) Why would he publish anonymously?
 - (d) (i) What is 'hereditary succession'?
 - (ii) What are Paine's objections to it?
8. Use **SOURCE 3** to answer the following questions.
 - (a) What rights are 'unalienable'?
 - (b) Who is blamed for the discontent in the American colonies?
 - (c) List the terms that show dissatisfaction with the existing form of government.
9. List Queen Victoria's objections to female suffrage in **SOURCE 6**.
10. What is ironic about Queen Victoria's attitude in **SOURCE 6**?

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Deepen and check your understanding of the topic with the following resources and auto-marked questions:

- **Egalitarianism: The French Revolution**
- **Egalitarianism: The American Revolution**

1c.7 Imperialism

1c.7.1 The race for empires

The word *imperialism* comes from the Latin word *imperium*, meaning power, authority or command. Imperialism is a policy that aims at building and maintaining an empire, in which many states and peoples, spread over a wide geographical area, are controlled by one dominant state.

From about 1817 to 1870 Britain's position of imperial dominance was largely unchallenged; wealth flowed from the empire and from areas where Britain enjoyed a strong trading position.

Other nations were later to enter the race for empires. Belgium achieved independence from the Netherlands in 1830; Italy and Germany acquired nation status in 1870. These new nations also sought to expand their influence and reap the rewards of imperialism.

As nations such as Britain and France expanded their trade abroad, in addition to their interests in Africa, they established other outposts that became parts of their empires. Britain's colonies included Burma, Malaya, Hong Kong and Singapore, while France was heavily involved in South-East Asia.

RETROFILE

Edward Said (1934–2003), a writer and academic who made a study of colonialism, wrote of empires: 'Every empire tells itself and the world that it is unlike all other empires, that its mission is not to plunder and control but to educate and liberate.'

Reasons for empire building

There were many reasons for the quest to acquire new territory and build an empire. These included the desire to:

- find new sources of wealth
- develop feelings of national pride
- provide space for growing populations
- gain areas of strategic importance
- restrict the growth of rival empires
- provide markets
- transform the lives of 'inferior' people.

1c.7.2 Attitudes to imperialism

Dr David Livingstone

In the 1840s in East Africa, Dr David Livingstone, a Scottish-born missionary and explorer was appalled to discover the cruelty of the slave trade. In 1857 he recommended exploration that would permit what he called the three Cs:

- civilisation
- commerce
- Christianity.

SOURCE 1 An extract from a speech by Lord Curzon in Birmingham Town Hall in 1907

Wherever the Empire has extended its borders ... there misery and oppression, anarchy and destitution, superstition and bigotry, have tended to disappear, and have been replaced by peace, justice, prosperity, humanity, and freedom of thought, speech, and action....

But there also has sprung, what I believe to be unique in the history of Empires, a passion of loyalty and enthusiasm which makes the heart of the remotest British citizen thrill at the thought of the destiny which he shares, and causes him to revere a particular piece of coloured bunting as the symbol of all that is noblest in his own nature and of best import for the good of the world.

Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902)

Cecil Rhodes dreamt of a powerful British empire. With a charter from Queen Victoria, he achieved enormous wealth through his business ventures — monopolies in water and diamonds. His British South Africa Company, modelled on the East India Company, was formed in 1889, and his army and superior weapons gave him control of much of southern Africa.

He was convinced of the superiority of the British: ‘We are the first race of the world, and the more of the world we inhabit, the better it is for the human race’.

SOURCE 2 Extract from a speech by Jules Ferry, French Foreign Minister, in 1885

Jules Ferry promotes French imperialism 1885

Nations become great only by their activity. A great country has the duty of extending, wherever it can carry them, its language, its arms, its flag, its genius.

It must be clearly stated that the superior races have rights over the inferior races ... the superior races have a right because they have a duty ... to civilise the inferior races.

There is another and more important side to this question ... The colonial question is, for countries like ours which are, by the very character of their industry, tied to large exports, vital to the question of markets ... From this point of view ... The foundation of a colony is the creation of a market ... In fact it has been stated, and there are many examples to be found in the economic history of modern peoples, that it is sufficient for the colonial link to exist between the mother country which produces and the colonies which she has founded for economic predominance to accompany and, in some degree, to depend on, political predominance.

Ferry, J., in a speech in the French Chamber of Deputies, 28 July 1885.

1c.7.3 New imperialism and the Berlin Conference

Much of the interior of the so-called ‘dark continent’ of Africa remained unexplored. Britain and France already regarded each other with suspicion. The new nations of Germany and Italy resented their exclusion from the empire builders; Kaiser Wilhelm II claimed that Germany was entitled to its ‘place in the sun’.

The German Chancellor, Bismarck, convened the conference (November 1884 – November, 1885) that was to decide how Africa was to be divided. Fourteen nations, none of them African, attended. At the time, about 80 per cent of Africa remained in the hands of traditional rulers. A ‘scramble for Africa’ followed the conference.

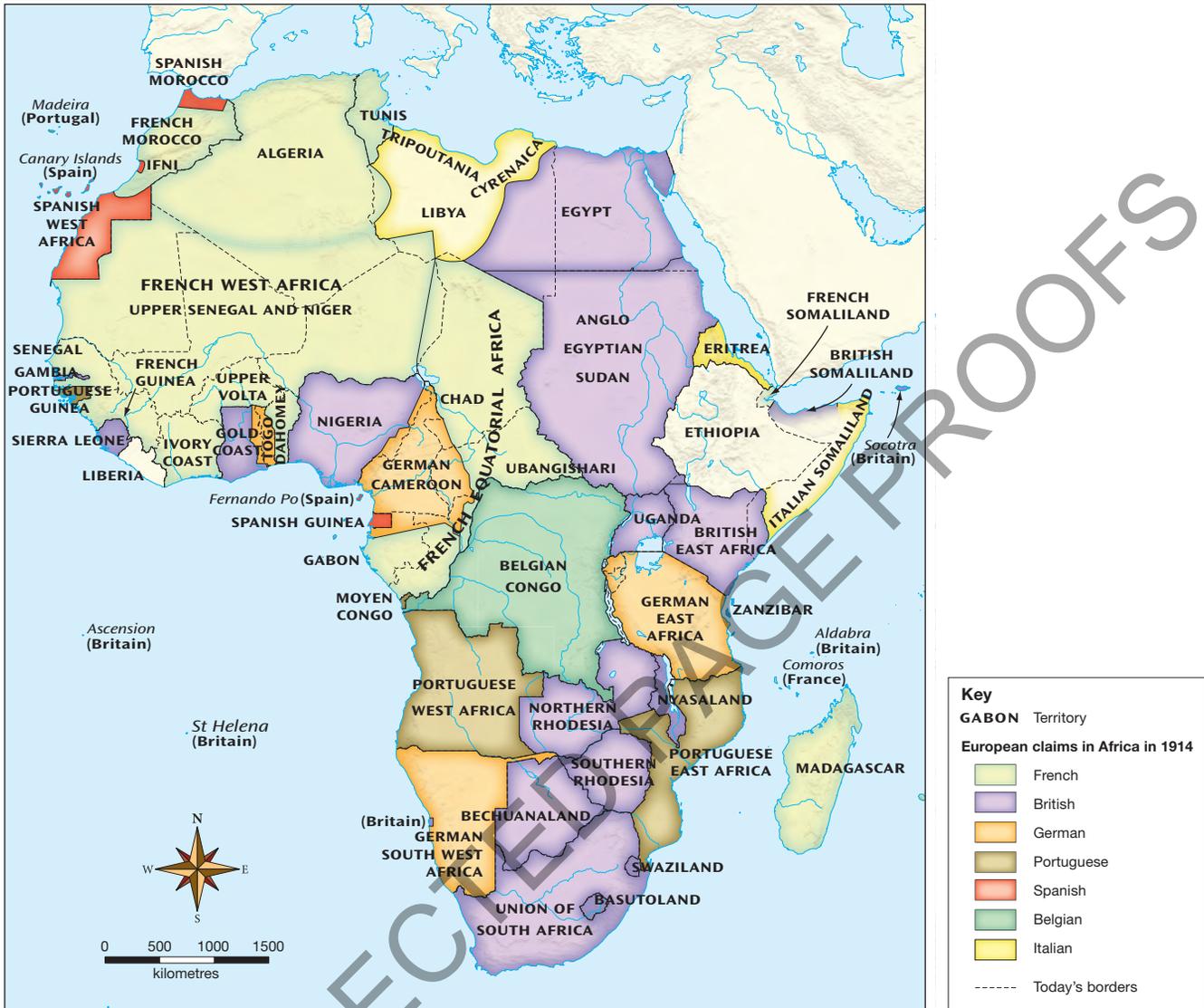
In the period from about 1880 to the outbreak of World War I in 1914, European powers were involved in an increasing drive to extend the territory under their control.

SOURCE 3 A table showing European empires in 1914

| Country | Number of colonies | Area of colonies (sq. km) | Population of colonies |
|---------------|--------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Great Britain | 55 | 31 193 457 | 391 582 528 |
| France | 29 | 10 645 959 | 62 350 000 |
| Germany | 10 | 3 188 261 | 13 074 950 |
| Belgium | 1 | 2 356 900 | 15 000 000 |
| Portugal | 8 | 2 083 500 | 9 680 000 |
| Netherlands | 8 | 1 975 815 | 37 410 000 |
| Italy | 4 | 1 531 337 | 1 396 176 |
| TOTAL | 115 | 52 975 229 | 530 493 654 |

*Spain had lost nearly all its colonies by 1914.

SOURCE 4 A map showing the division of Africa by 1914



1c.7.4 The effects of imperialism

Historians have vastly differing opinions of the effects of imperialism. Some point to its benefits, including:

- improvements in communication, health and infrastructure
- the establishment of education and health services
- the outlawing of traditional cruel practices, such as suttee (widow burning) in India.

Not all imperial powers, however, were dedicated to making improvements in people's lives. Everything depended on the attitudes of the authorities at home and their agents in the colony. In some cases, there was little concern for the interests of the local inhabitants — the emphasis instead being on the profits to be made.

1c.7.5 King Leopold of the Belgians

King Leopold of Belgium grew increasingly wealthy from territory seized in the Congo, claiming it for himself, not for Belgium. Its wild rubber helped to feed the growing demand for tyres. The people of the region worked in appalling conditions to meet quotas. They endured:

- forced labour
- kidnappings of wives and children to guarantee quotas of rubber
- mutilation, including the amputation of hands
- starvation.

Unknown numbers died as a result of the various cruelties inflicted; so many, that some writers claim that the term ‘genocide’ is appropriate. Rumours of the atrocities led to an investigation by Edmund Morel and eventually to the Casement Report commissioned by the British government. In 1908 Leopold surrendered control of the Congo, but demanded the destruction of the records in Belgium.

SOURCE 5 Comments by American writer Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens) on King Leopold

Yet in these days the steamship and the electric cable have made the whole world one neighborhood. We cannot sit still and do nothing because the victims of Leopold’s lust for gold are so many thousands of miles away. His crimes are the concern of every one of us, of every man who feels that it is his duty as a man to prevent murder, no matter who is the murderer or how far away he seeks to commit his sordid crime.

I wish *The World* would produce the two cartoons I give you, for they summarize better than any words of mine can tell the exact condition of the case.

When mankind first heard the accusation that Congo negroes were being whipped, slashed, murdered or mutilated by having hands or feet cut off because they did not bring in enough rubber for Leopold’s collectors, the news was so appalling that it could not be believed. Normal minds instinctively rejected such atrocities as impossible.

The accusation became louder, more people talked of these crimes. Some notice had to be taken of the clamor. It was easy for Leopold and his agents to pooh-pooh the charge, to say it was due to the envy of discontented, jealous missionaries whom they had offended.

But the cry grew louder and louder and could not be stifled. And then the accusers began to present documents, awful human documents, gathered with the photographic camera. Leopold could no longer brush away the accusation by crying ‘Lies! Lies! All lies!’

Thank God for the camera, for the testimony of the light itself, which no mere man can contradict. The light has been let in upon the Congo, and not all of the outcries of Leopold can counteract its record of the truth. Publicity is the weapon with which we shall fight that murderer and conquer him and punish him.

SOURCE 6 A comment by Jomo Kenyatta, Kenyan Independence leader, in 1963

The white man came and asked us to shut our eyes and pray. When we opened our eyes it was too late — our land was gone.

1c.7.6 The decline of imperialism

After World War I, some areas saw the exchange of one colonial master for another. As the twentieth century progressed, however, nationalism and the quest for self-determination flourished, often meeting resistance from the controlling power. By the 1960s, an increasing number of countries sought independence from imperial rule.

SOURCE 7 Extract from British Prime Minister Harold MacMillan’s ‘Wind of Change’ speech, February 1960

In the twentieth century, and especially since the end of the war, the processes which gave birth to the nation states of Europe have been repeated all over the world. We have seen the awakening of national consciousness in peoples who have for centuries lived in dependence upon some other power. Fifteen years ago this movement spread through Asia. Many countries there, of different races and civilisations, pressed their claim to an independent national life.

Today the same thing is happening in Africa, and the most striking of all the impressions I have formed since I left London a month ago is of the strength of this African national consciousness. In different places it takes different forms, but it is happening everywhere.

The wind of change is blowing through this continent, and whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We must all accept it as a fact, and our national policies must take account of it.

1c.7.7 Today: the long-term impact

The world still feels the effects of imperialism. Australia moved from colony to dominion status in the empire and is now a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. While many people in Australia still value our colonial links to Britain, others feel that we should sever such ties and become an independent republic.

In other parts of the world, divisions and disputes still arise as a result of borders that were drawn arbitrarily by imperial powers with little, if any, thought for the potential long-term impact on the local population. While imperialism may effectively be a thing of the past, there are many people in the world who are still living with its effect.

1c.7 Activities

To answer questions online and to receive **immediate feedback** and **sample responses** for every question, go to your learnON title at www.jacplus.com.au. *Note:* Question numbers may vary slightly.

Check knowledge and understanding

1. What enabled European powers to take control of empires?
2. Why did rivalry develop among the empires?
3. How could an empire provide new opportunities for the home country?
4. Explain why a territory/nation would resent imperialism.

Develop source skills

5. According to Lord Curzon:
 - (a) what 'evils' did the Empire wipe out?
 - (b) what benefits did the colonies gain?
6. Draw a graph of the information supplied in the **SOURCE 3** table.
7. Refer to **SOURCE 4** to answer the following questions.
 - (a) Create a table to list the territories claimed by each of the European countries shown in the key.
 - (b) Which European nations had the largest imperial claims in Africa?
 - (c) What were the only two areas unclaimed by a European imperial power at this time?
8. What are the documents referred to in **SOURCE 5** that Leopold's accusers have been able to present to support their claims?
9. In **SOURCE 5**, what is the speaker's attitude to imperialism?
10. When the speaker in **SOURCE 6** says, 'The white man came and asked us to shut our eyes and pray', to what common imperialist practice do you think he is referring?

myWorld History Atlas

Deepen and check your understanding of the topic with the following resources and auto-marked questions:

- 🔗 European imperial expansion into Asia
- 🔗 French and Dutch imperialism in the Asia-Pacific
- 🔗 Imperialism and Africa
- 🔗 Imperialism: the Boer War

1c.8 Nationalism

1c.8.1 What is nationalism?

Nationalism has been said to be the strongest force in the nineteenth century, but the term was first coined in the 1770s by J.G. von Herder. It was based on the notion of people sharing a common heritage and identity. This 'cultural nationalism' grows from bonds such as culture and customs, language, history, religion and geography.

Nationalism can also be seen as a political doctrine in which liberal values such as freedom, equality and individual rights assume greater significance. In the nineteenth century, this sometimes ran parallel with the declining power of monarchs and the rise of middle classes. The American War of Independence and the French Revolution's notion of the rights of the citizen both contributed to the demand for self-determination. The Congress of Vienna in 1815 was an attempt by the ruling powers to assert their control, but in 1820, Austrian statesman Klemens von Metternich predicted the impact of the growth of what he saw as the 'moral gangrene' that had affected the middle classes.

SOURCE 1 A Scottish poet, Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), expresses one form of nationalism.

Breathes there the man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land!

1c.8.2 Ultra-nationalism and jingoism

A second meaning of nationalism is far from positive; it suggests an aggressive and/or arrogant sense of superiority. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a form of nationalism emerged that included competition among the major powers to extend empires. This second meaning suggests that one's country or nation is 'superior' to others. Taken to extremes, this can lead to a drive, perhaps war, to prove that imagined superiority. Today, this is sometimes called 'jingoism'. **SOURCE 2** shows that nationalism can be boastful and aggressive. (When you study World War I, you will see that nationalism was one of its causes.)

SOURCE 2 An extract from a nineteenth-century music hall song

He hungered for his victim, he's pleased when blood is shed
But let us hope his crimes may recoil on his own head.
We don't want to fight but by jingo if we do,
We've got the ships, we've got the men,
And we've got the money too.
We've fought the bear before, and while we're Britons true
The Russians shall not have Constantinople.

Anonymous music hall song, *Jingo*, 1876.

The growth of nationalism

During the nineteenth century, nationalism was a very strong force for change throughout Europe and Latin America.

A number of factors contributed to its growth:

- new ideas about freedom and rights fostered by the US War of Independence and the French Revolution
- discontent with conditions as a subject group (and with the governing power); for example, taxation without representation as in the American colonies or a lack of political, religious or civil rights.
- the emergence (or resurgence) of national aspirations, as in the 1798 United Irishmen Rebellion that transcended religious differences
- improved communications.

Wider horizons

People generally had very restricted lives. Most lived, worked and died within a very small area, usually in the village, town or city in which they had been born. In those conditions, people's loyalty was to where they felt a sense of belonging. In Europe the coming of trains let some people travel outside their usual surroundings for the first time.

Growing literacy also opened eyes and minds to new ideas. In some places the literate read to those who could not read. This was another way of seeing the 'bigger picture'.

1c.8.3 Discontent in the American colonies

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Britain needed to recover some of the losses from its wars with France, and thought the American colonies should help meet those costs, as well as those of maintaining the navy and military. To increase revenue:

- the colonies' trade was controlled so the financial benefits went to Britain
- the colonies had to pay taxes — without representation
- Britain limited westward expansion and settlement
- various taxes, such as the Stamp Act, were imposed on the colonists.

The colonists' desires for independence were complex:

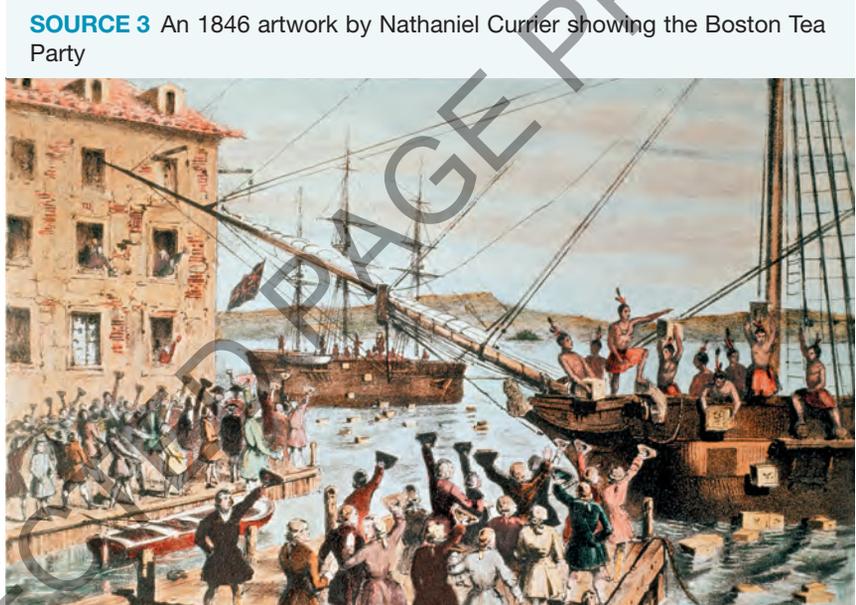
- they came from a variety of countries so did not feel kinship with Britain
- some wanted a new form of government in their new land
- the more entrepreneurial saw their profits reduced by Britain's intervention
- some wanted the opportunity to control their own destiny.

The Boston Tea Party

One of the most colourful and memorable events in the dispute occurred when some of the colonists, dressed as Mohawk braves, dumped cartons of tea into Boston Harbor to maintain the boycott on the tea being unloaded. The colonists wanted to remove the monopoly that deprived them of rights to choose; they also resented the fact they paid taxes, but had no political representation.

Britain's response

To punish the colony of Massachusetts and to deter the other colonies from rebellion, the British government imposed the Coercive Acts. These acts, known as the 'Intolerable Acts' by the settlers, made them more opposed to British rule.



1c.8.4 The American Declaration of Independence (1776)

Thomas Jefferson was the principal author of the American Declaration of Independence, which listed the grievances of the 13 colonies. Its greatest significance, however, is its ideas about government and the rights of individuals.

1c.8.5 The French Revolution 1789–1792

The French Revolution is regarded as a turning point, the beginning of modern history. The French were not revolting against a foreign power. Their target was the overthrow of the absolutist rule of the king, Louis XVI. Their loyalty was to the nation.

Earlier writings had questioned the basis of authority, especially the idea of a hereditary monarchy. The French Revolutionary ideas of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' challenged the hierarchical structure of French society.

RETROFILE

Autocracy: rule by an autocrat
Democracy: rule by the people
Oligarchy: rule by a few
Plutocracy: rule by the wealthy
Monarchy: rule by a king or queen

SOURCE 4 The opening of the American Declaration of Independence

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.

1c.8.6 The ruling powers

Until the nineteenth century, **autocratic** monarchs ruled in many countries. The large areas they controlled often included groups of people who otherwise had little in common with each other.

1c.8.7 1815: The Congress of Vienna

After about 25 years of war, the Congress of Vienna convened to settle disputes and bring about a return to the pre-war situation in Europe. Most states sent representatives, but those of the 'Big Four' and France were the key players. The 'Big Four' were:

- Austria
- Great Britain
- Prussia
- Russia.

These decision makers seem to have been unaware of the ideas of liberalism and nationalism. The Congress was regarded as a success because it reduced the risk of war between major powers. The Prussian envoy, Metternich, felt the redrawn European map was for 'eternity', ignoring the simmering discontent.

1c.8.8 1848: The Year of Revolution

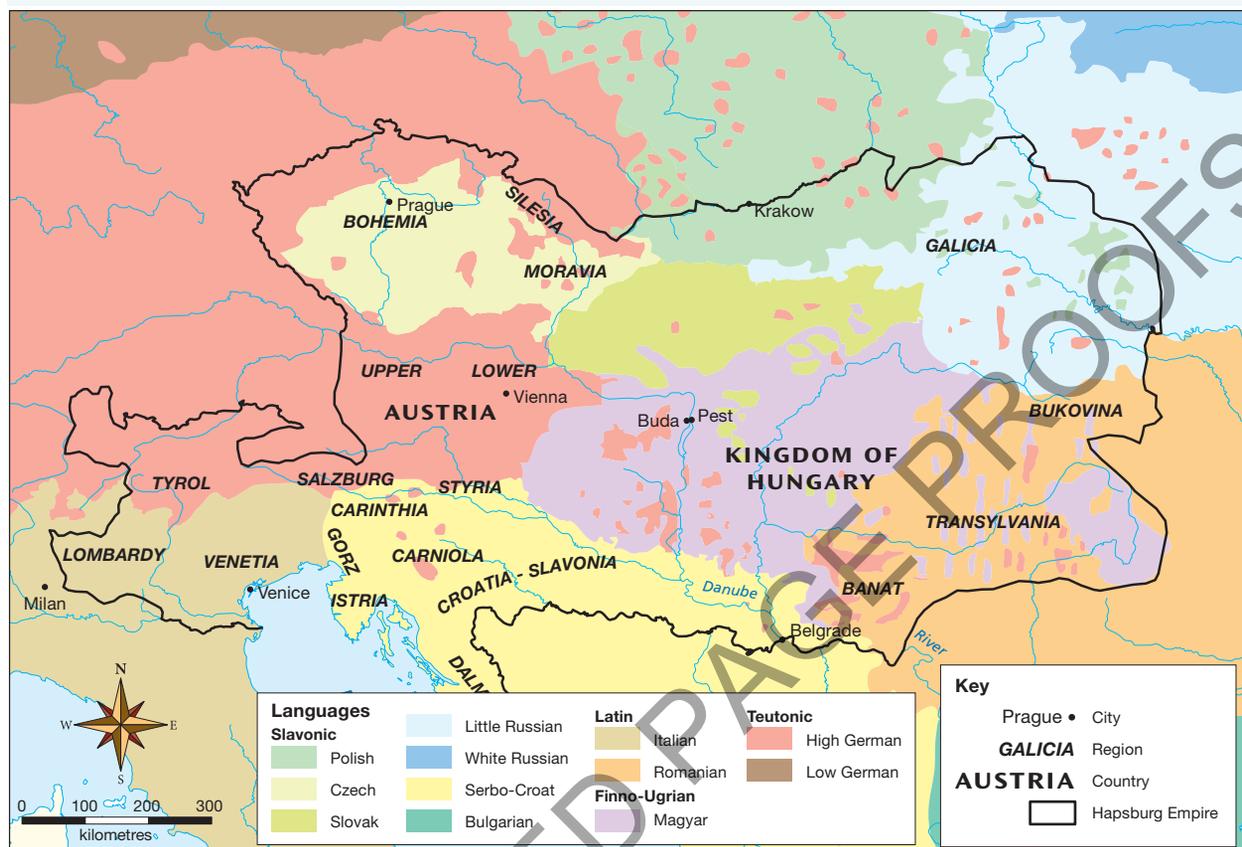
1848 is called the Year of Revolution because revolutions erupted across Europe throughout the year. The Congress of 1815 had temporarily given the major powers what they wanted, but did not consider the grievances that existed.

These revolutions were usually brief and quickly quashed, but they demonstrated the existing dissatisfaction. Quite often economic distress added to the demand for change. Some historians claim Britain managed to avoid revolution because there was a period of relative prosperity.

SOURCE 6 A contemporary painting of the 1815 Congress of Vienna, by Jean-Baptiste Isabey



SOURCE 5 An 1815 map showing the many different regions within the Austrian empire. Until 1804 it was known as the Hapsburg (or Habsburg) empire. After 1867 it was called the Austro-Hungarian empire. The colours on the map represent different languages spoken.



1c.8.9 New nations

The nineteenth century saw the emergence of new nations, including those in Central and South America following the collapse of the Spanish and Portuguese dynasties. The spirit of nationalism grew across Europe as countries sought self-determination and the end of foreign control. In Ireland and Poland, for example, there were several unsuccessful attempts at rebellion.

Belgium achieved independence when its union with the Netherlands was dissolved. The Ottoman empire, founded at the end of the thirteenth century and on present-day Turkey, was unable to stop the disintegration occurring in its territory. Greece and Serbia both won their independence.

Until 1870 there was no unified Germany or Italy; each was a collection of states. In these two new nations there were strong, determined personalities to ensure unification occurred. In Germany it was Bismarck. Three men are credited with the achievement of Italian unification: Cavour, Garibaldi and Mazzini.

1c.8.10 Nationalists sent to Australia

Among the convicts sent to the colonies of New South Wales and Tasmania were men who had been involved in nationalist rebellions in Ireland and Canada.

The transported Irish nationalists of 1798 and 1803 had escaped execution, the fate of many of their leaders. One of the most colourful jail breaks in Australian history occurred at Rockingham in Western Australia, when a ship, the *Catalpa*, was used in the escape of six men who had been involved in the Irish Rebellion of 1867.

Canada Bay in Sydney has a memorial to the French Canadians transported following a rebellion in 1834. There is also a monument in Tasmania to the American and British Canadians transported there. Some of them died as convicts; none of the survivors stayed in Australia.

Nationalism in Australia

Until Federation in 1901 there was little real sense of nationalism; most people thought of themselves as members of individual colonies.

The Southern Cross flag, raised at the Eureka Stockade, excluded any symbol of the connection with Britain. The miners' anger resulted from their sense of injustice and was directed at the authorities, including Governor Hotham, Queen Victoria's representative in Victoria.

After the 1880s, partly because of the publication of *The Bulletin* magazine, nationalism received greater attention. Writers such as Henry Lawson extolled Australia's virtues in poems and short stories. *The Bulletin's* banner, 'Australia for the White Man', demonstrates the racism and xenophobia also found in its pages.

SOURCE 7 A painting of the 1876 *Catalpa* escape



Australian National Maritime Museum Collection. Purchased with USA Bicentennial Gift funds. Reproduced courtesy of the museum.

RETROFILE

Xenophobia comes from two Greek words. *Xenon* is the Greek word for foreigner; a phobia is an irrational fear. Xenophobia is an unfounded fear of foreigners.

The road to war

Intense feelings of rivalry and distrust grew in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Young men went off to fight for Kaiser or King, answering the bugle call to defend their nation and fight the foreign foe. They enlisted for many reasons, but nationalism was high on their list.

1c.8.11 The issue today

The Paris Peace Conference after World War I created discontent in some mandates — a sense of growing resentment ensued. Following World War II, former colonies asserted their right to independence from their colonial masters and gradually won recognition as nation states. Maps and atlases were transformed. The collapse of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and the fragmentation that followed has seen the emergence of further disputes over territorial borders. Today, disagreement continues in diverse areas as people claim the right to their national identity and homeland.

SOURCE 8 A cartoon entitled *Australia wants to dance too*



1c.8 Activities

To answer questions online and to receive **immediate feedback** and **sample responses** for every question, go to your learnON title at www.jacplus.com.au. *Note:* Question numbers may vary slightly.

Check knowledge and understanding

1. How can nationalism have positive and negative aspects?
2. Why did the American colonies rebel?
3. Explain why Britain transported Irish and Canadian nationalists so far.
4. Describe how Federation would have fostered the growth of nationalism in Australia.

Develop source skills

5. Use **SOURCE 1** to answer the following questions.
 - (a) How does Scott feel about someone who does NOT identify with the country of birth?
 - (b) How does Scott use repetition to emphasise those feelings?
6. Refer to **SOURCE 2** to answer the following questions.
 - (a) Which nations are referred to in **SOURCE 2**?
 - (b) What resources will ensure success in war?
 - (c) What is the reason for the dispute?
 - (d) How could a historian use this source?
7. Refer to **SOURCE 4** extract from the American Declaration of Independence and answer the questions that follow.
 - (a) What are the 'political bands' referred to here?
 - (b) What is the 'separate and equal station'?
 - (c) What gives a government the right to govern?
 - (d) What are the 'Rights of the People'?
 - (e) How is this source useful to a historian?
8. Refer to **SOURCE 5** to answer the following questions.
 - (a) Within the Hapsburg empire, how many different languages were spoken?
 - (b) What problems might this diversity create?
9. Use **SOURCE 8** to answer the following questions.
 - (a) Who are the two dancing figures?
 - (b) What is the significance of the dates shown?
 - (c) Why is the background figure portrayed as shown?
 - (d) Explain the portrayal of the central figure.

myWorldHistoryAtlas

Deepen and check your understanding of the topic with the following resources and auto-marked questions:

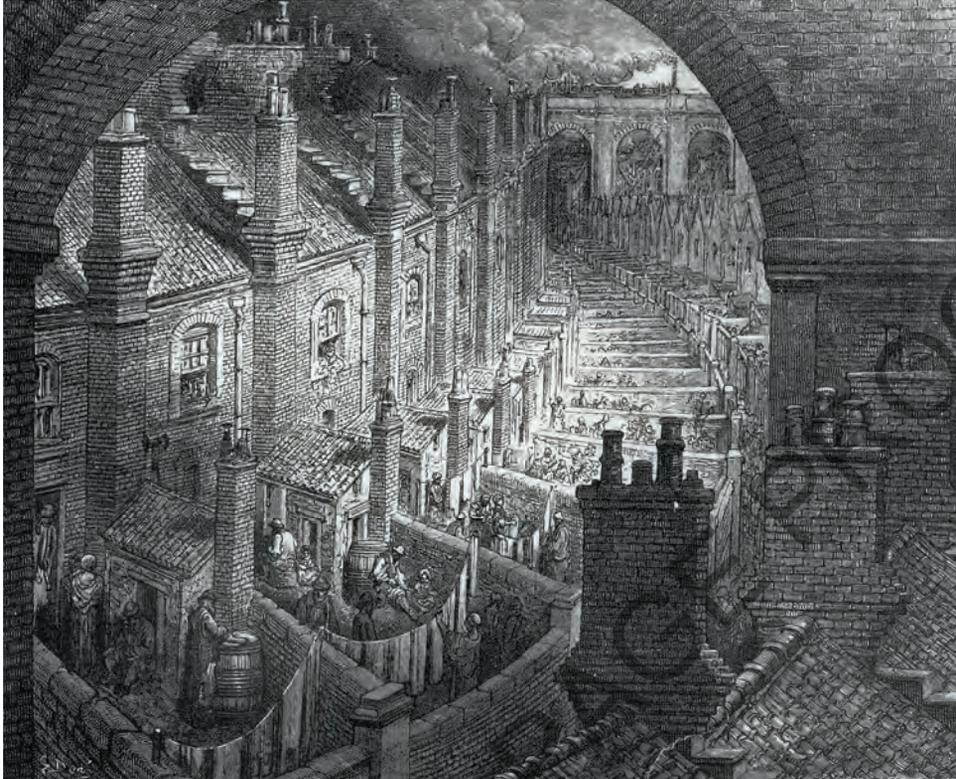
- 🔗 Nationalism: Napoleon Bonaparte
- 🔗 Nationalism: The Congress of Vienna
- 🔗 Nationalism: Italy and Germany

1c.9 Socialism

1c.9.1 Reasons for the emergence of socialism

Socialism is an economic system in which the means of production and distribution are controlled by the state: a planned economy. The term *socialism* was first used in 1827 by Robert Owen to describe a system to improve the appalling living and working conditions of the Industrial Revolution. He and other Utopian Socialists suggested schemes to create better lives for workers. Karl Marx saw this form of socialism as a stage on the road to what he termed 'scientific socialism'.

SOURCE 1 An 1872 engraving by Gustave Doré showing London's overcrowding and pollution



The Industrial Revolution

Britain became the 'workshop of the world' and industrialisation began to develop in other European countries. Many rural workers drifted to the developing industrial areas to seek employment; when such employment was found, the pay was usually poor and work conditions appalling.

There was a grave disparity between the obvious wealth of their employers and themselves. Socialism grew out of this discontent — its proponents could see that the wealth being generated was enriching only a small section of the community.

SOURCE 2 An extract from the People's Charter, 1838

Yet, with all these elements of national prosperity, and with every disposition and capacity to take advantage of them, we find ourselves overwhelmed with public and private suffering.

We are bowed down under a load of taxes; which, notwithstanding, fall greatly short of the wants of our rulers; our traders are trembling on the verge of bankruptcy; our workmen are starving; capital brings no profit, and labour no remuneration; the home of the artificer is desolate, and the warehouse of the pawnbroker is full; the workhouse is crowded, and the manufactory is deserted.

We have looked on every side, we have searched diligently in order to find out the causes of a distress so sore and so long continued.

We can discover none in nature, or in Providence.

Heaven has dealt graciously by the people; but the foolishness of our rulers has made the goodness of God of none effect.

The energies of a mighty kingdom have been wasted in building up the power of selfish and ignorant men, and its resources squandered for their aggrandisement.

The good of a party has been advanced to the sacrifice of the good of the nation; the few have governed for the interest of the few, while the interest of the many has been neglected, or insolently and tyrannously trampled upon.

1c.9.2 Inequality in France and Britain

The French Revolution's slogan of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' promised a fairer way of life where, said Francis-Noel Babeuf, 'the purpose of society is the common welfare'. When the revolution failed to meet their expectations, Babeuf and other radicals in 'The Conspiracy of Equals' plotted change. Before he was guillotined, Babeuf predicted that 'The French Revolution is but the precursor of another, and a greater and more solemn revolution'.

In Britain, workers had few rights:

- the courts accepted the employer's word in a pay dispute
- workers could not have more than 20 in an association (union)
- workers involved in disputes could have difficulty finding another job.

RETROFILE

'Utopia' is an ideal place; somewhere that has no faults. In 1515 Thomas More gave the name *Utopia* to an idyllic place, which seemed like paradise, a heaven on earth. In the nineteenth century, when many lived and worked with few rights, some thinkers realised that most people endured so many hardships that they existed not in a utopia, but in its opposite, a dystopia. Some developed theories about how the 'common good' could be fostered.

1c.9.3 Socialism's advocates

Saint-Simon (1760–1825)

One significant figure is Count Henri de Saint-Simon. Even at an early age, he refused to conform to the conventions of his time. He served in the French army in the American War of Independence. Renouncing his noble title of Count, he supported the French Revolution.

Saint-Simon recognised that some people were better equipped to be leaders; scientists, he stated, had 'proved the superiority of (their) intelligence with important discoveries'. He put his faith in these 'technocrats' to provide the ideas, vision and imagination that would lead to prosperity. He criticised those who failed to contribute to society by not working and those who did not use their wealth to help the economy grow. He saw that society was divided into classes, an important issue in later socialist thinking. Even years after his death, he had quite a strong following; they were called the Saint-Simonites.

Charles Fourier (1772–1837)

Charles Fourier wanted no part of the Industrial Revolution. Instead, he advanced a system that would give the workers a sense of community and of self-worth. In groups of 1620, they would live in communal buildings, share the work, and strive for the good of all. There would be differences in their accommodation; the wealthier would live on the upper levels.

Fourier used the term *phalanxes* to describe these agricultural communities that would be self-sufficient. The members would own their own land. They would also work in the workshops to produce the items needed in the community, but the tasks would suit their interests and skills.

Robert Owen (1771–1858)

Although Robert Owen left school at about ten years of age, he had set up his own small business by the time he was 20. He eventually bought a cotton mill at New Lanark in Scotland from his father-in-law in 1799.

Owen wanted to show that a business could still be profitable, even if the owner took the workers' welfare into consideration. He was opposed to the cruelty that was the norm in most workplaces. He wrote and addressed meetings on such topics as:

- the environment
- women's rights

- aged care
- health and preventive medicine.

In 1841, he wrote, ‘...everyone, from birth, should be well educated, physically and mentally, that society should be improved in its character’.

1c.9.4 The impact of socialism

New Lanark

Owen was not a socialist, but his experiment at New Lanark, and later in the United States, showed how a community could operate to benefit an employer and the workers. His actions show that he was ahead of his time.

These are some of his reformist and innovative actions:

- reduced (adult) working hours to about 10 hours (they were 13.5 hours elsewhere)
- raised apprentices’ starting age to ten years
- set up crèches (pre-schools), schools and classes for workers
- banned the use of physical punishment
- improved housing and sanitation for employees.

Owen set up a similar scheme in the United States but fraud by a business partner caused its failure. When he returned to Britain, he found he had many followers, who called themselves Owenites.

New Lanark is a World Heritage site with a website that you can visit online.

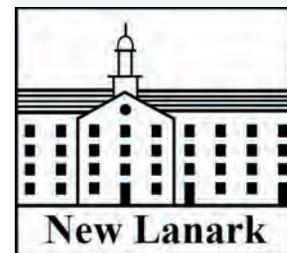
SOURCE 3 A John Clark artwork of New Lanark c.1825



SOURCE 4 An 1825 aquatint of dancing classes for the workers’ children at New Lanark



SOURCE 5 The New Lanark logo



The co-operative movement

Robert Owen's commitment to improving workers' lives led to the establishment of the co-operative movement. The 'Co-op' provided quality goods and services not previously available to working people. These included:

- food and clothing outlets
- insurance and banking
- home delivery of bread, milk and coal.

The co-op shops and stores provided quality products and dividends on the amount spent. Working people gained access to some services for the first time.

1c.9.5 Trade unions

Because Robert Owen saw the need for reform in working conditions, he also played a significant role in the formation of the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union. He was convinced that disputes could be avoided; peaceful negotiation could avert conflict. He was opposed to any idea of 'class warfare'.

The trade union movement grew despite sometimes facing severe restrictions and penalties. Unions became an important voice in demands for reform.

The Communist Manifesto (1848)

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels collaborated in writing the Communist Manifesto. They were very dismissive of utopian socialism. They saw that industrialisation was inevitable and that 'bourgeois socialism' was a stage on the way to the total overthrow of the capitalist society.

In their 'scientific socialism' a classless society would result from a revolution by the working class (proletariat). They used the terms *socialism* and *communism* as synonyms.

Marx and Engels predicted that revolution would occur in an industrialised country. Socialist parties were established in various countries. Despite severe restrictions imposed by Bismarck, the German Socialist Party was the strongest in Europe by 1914.

The Fabians

The Fabian Society's first meeting took place in London in 1884 and has continued to meet fortnightly since then. Its name comes from Fabius, a Roman general who, rather than go directly into battle, preferred delaying tactics.

The original members included famous speakers and writers such as Annie Besant, George Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells. Sidney and Beatrice Webb and G. B. Shaw were key figures in the formation of the movement and in establishing the London School of Economics (LSE).

SOURCE 6 A trade union membership certificate c.1866



SOURCE 7 The LSE window designed by George Bernard Shaw. It shows members of the Fabian Society building a new world.



They had seen the poverty in London and wanted a society where wealth was more evenly distributed. This was to be achieved over time and through peaceful means such as legislation.

As part of the process they produced pamphlets that examined areas needing reform. These included:

- a minimum wage
- universal healthcare
- educational reform
- slum clearances.

1c.9.6 Australians and socialism

Socialism had supporters in Australia. One prominent figure was William Lane, who left England aged 16 and travelled to Queensland six years later. His newspaper, *The Boomerang*, was popular among bush workers. Its main themes were working conditions, nationalism and socialism. William Lane was heavily involved in the growth of the trade union movement. When the shearers' strike failed in 1892, he so despaired of socialism's prospects in Australia that he decided to prove it could succeed elsewhere, in Paraguay in South America. He set about organising 'The Workingman's Paradise', of which he had written. 'New Australia' was the name of the proposed workers' collective; it would be the utopia of which socialists had dreamt.

About 240 men, women and children set off on the adventure. Disputes, including Lane's ban on alcohol, led to divisions and the setting up of a second colony, 'Cosme'. Mary Gilmore (the poet who is depicted on the \$10 note) was one who followed Lane's socialist dream. Many of Lane's supporters drifted away, but in Paraguay the others' descendants carry their names.

Welfare state

As political parties formed and gathered strength, many Australian socialists whose beliefs seemed to parallel those of the trade unions joined the Australian Labor Party. Economic depression in the 1890s encouraged the ALP's growth. Some members still profess an admiration for Socialist and Fabian principles.

SOURCE 8 An 1894 photograph of officials and teachers at the New Australia Community in Paraguay



State Library of New South Wales: Call no. PXD 905/139

Today, Australia's political parties recognise the need for a welfare state; one which, for example:

- provides assistance for those in financial need
- provides extra services to certain sectors of the community.

They do so because the needs exist and it is in the interests of the nation to provide a level of assistance to those in need.

1c.9 Activities

To answer questions online and to receive **immediate feedback** and **sample responses** for every question, go to your learnON title at www.jacplus.com.au. *Note:* Question numbers may vary slightly.

Check knowledge and understanding

1. List the main features of socialism.
2. Explain the term 'utopian socialist'.
3. Why were working people discontented?
4. What were Robert Owen's achievements?
5. In what ways is Australia a 'welfare state'?

Develop source skills

6. Use **SOURCE 2** to answer the following questions.
 - (a) What evidence is given of financial distress?
 - (b) Who is blamed?
 - (c) Why should the situation be different?

myWorldHistoryAtlas

Deepen and check your understanding of the topic with the following resources and auto-marked questions:

➤ **Capitalism and socialism**

1c.10 Review

1c.10.1 Review

KEY TERMS

autocrat an absolute ruler; makes decisions without seeking advice

communism a political and economic system of social organisation, similar to socialism, in which the means of production and distribution are held by the state (government), as opposed to a system of private ownership with a profit-based economy

El Dorado a mythical place where huge stores of gold and precious jewels lie waiting for adventurers to claim

evolution origin of species by development from earlier forms

franchise the vote: 'enfranchised' describes people with the vote

liberalism a belief that emphasises the rights and freedom of the individual

monopoly exclusive control of a market, goods or services; exclusive control or management by an individual or group on their terms

mutation change in form or appearance them

predacious predatory; related to plundering, pillaging or robbery

suffrage the right to vote

transmutation change over time

1c.10 Activities

To answer questions online and to receive **immediate feedback** and **sample responses** for every question, go to your learnON title at www.jacplus.com.au. *Note:* Question numbers may vary slightly.

learnon ONLINE ONLY

Go online to access additional end of topic resources such as interactivities and printable worksheets.

For each of the headings below, answer the question(s) that relates to the topic you have studied in Topic 1c.

Comprehension: chronology, terms and concepts

- Construct a timeline that shows:
 - the rise and fall of the HEIC from 1750
 - the life and work of William Lovett
 - the life and publications of Charles Darwin
 - the extension of voting rights in Australia from 1850 to 1918
 - the development of a major European empire from 1750 to 1918
 - the events leading to the American Declaration of Independence
 - the life of William Lane.
- Develop a glossary of terms related to one of the following:
 - capitalism
 - the Chartists' grievances
 - Darwin's scientific studies
 - voting rights
 - empires and imperialism
 - nationalism
 - Utopian socialism.

Research

- Devise questions to discover:
 - how the HEIC operated
 - why people became Chartists
 - how Darwin conducted his research
 - why Vida Goldstein worked for equal rights
 - Cecil Rhodes' interests in Africa
 - why the *Catalpa* escapees were in WA
 - why Bismarck introduced 'state socialism'.

Analysis and use of sources

- List ten different types of sources that you would recommend to a fellow student investigating the questions you devised in question 3 above.
- Identify each source as primary or secondary for the topic of the investigation. Select your first choice in each category and explain its creator's purpose.

Perspectives and interpretations

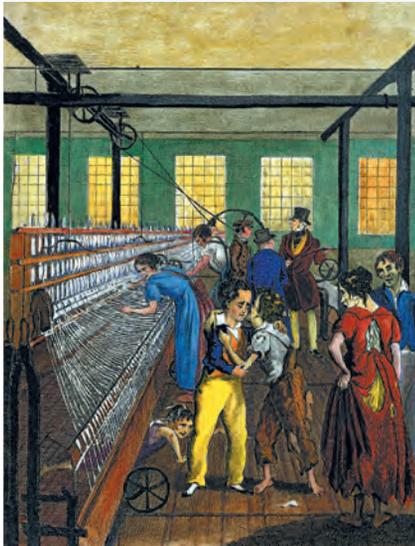
- From **SOURCE 1 to 7**, use the source relevant to the topic you have studied to answer the following questions.
 - Identify the perspective of the creator of this source and of its intended audience.
 - Identify the subject matter of the source and the interpretation it provides of the person or issue on which it focuses.

SOURCE 1 An extract from a poem in *Jamaica Monthly* magazine, 1833

And now the happy negro goes,
Contented as the honey-laden bee:
Behold him at his ample meal
With all his children smiling at his knee.

A poem in *Jamaica Monthly* magazine, 1833.

SOURCE 2 An illustration from *Life and Adventures of Michael Armstrong, the Factory Boy*, by Frances Trollope, c.1840



SOURCE 3 An extract from Charles Darwin's *Beagle Diary*

I thank God, I shall never again have to visit a slave-country. To this day, if I hear a distant scream, it recalls with painful vividness my feelings, when passing a house near Pernambuco, I heard the most pitiable moans, and could not but suspect that some poor slave was being tortured, yet knew that I was as powerless as a child even to remonstrate.

SOURCE 4 An extract from an 1867 speech in the British Parliament by Prime Minister Disraeli

It is said we are on the verge of democratic change. My lords and gentlemen, believe me, the elements of democracy do not exist in England (cheers). England is a country of classes, and the change impending in the country will only make those classes more united, more content, more complete and more cordial (cheers). ... Therefore I have no fear of England.

Disraeli, B., Hansard. CLXXXVIII, 1114 (Reform Bill, 1867).

SOURCE 5 An extract from *Capital* by Karl Marx, 1867

Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself.

The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.

SOURCE 6 An early twentieth-century painting by J.L.G. Ferris of Benjamin Franklin (left), John Adams (centre) and Thomas Jefferson, writing the Declaration of Independence



SOURCE 7 An extract from *Empire: How Britain Made the World* by British historian Niall Ferguson, 2003

When imperial authority was challenged — in India in 1857, in Jamaica in 1831 or 1865, in South Africa in 1899 — the British response was brutal. When famine struck (in Ireland in the 1840s, in India in the 1870s) their response was negligent, in some measure positively culpable. ...

Yet the fact remains that no organization in history has done more to promote the free movement of goods, capital and labour than the British Empire in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. And no organization has done more to impose Western norms of law, order and governance around the world.

Explanation and communication

Develop texts that use evidence from a range of sources that are referenced

7. Use the questions you devised in question 3 and the sources you identified in question 4 to help you develop the response indicated below:

- (a) Design a pamphlet for potential investors in the HEIC.
 - (b) Design a handbill or flyer to explain Chartist grievances.
 - (c) Produce a study guide on Darwin's work.
 - (d) Design a print media advertisement for a rights group.
 - (e) Design a prospectus for potential investors in one of Cecil Rhodes' business interests.
 - (f) Design a poster for a rally in the USA in support of the *Catalpa* escapees.
 - (g) Write the script for a speech c.1885 encouraging people to join Germany's Social Democratic party.
- Your response should reflect your knowledge of relevant issues and your understanding of how these would influence its content.

Select and use a range of communication forms

8. Research and deliver an audio-visual presentation on the appropriate topic.
- (a) Capitalism: One British abolitionist (i.e. of slavery)
 - (b) Chartism: The Peterloo Massacre and Monster rallies
 - (c) Darwinism: The voyage on the *Beagle*
 - (d) Egalitarianism: Governor Macquarie's emancipist policy
 - (e) Imperialism: The Morel and Casement reports on King Leopold's Congo policies
 - (f) Nationalism: Italy's unification and the three men who achieved it
 - (g) Socialism: The theories of Saint-Simon and Fourier

UNCORRECTED PAGE PROOFES