

Uncovering 19th-Century Liberalism

Chapter

3

KEY SKILL

Determining the historical significance of events

KEY CONCEPTS

Examining the history of classical liberalism

Analyzing the impact of the evolution of classical liberalism on society

Key Terms

Class system
Enlightenment
Free market
Industrialization
Laissez-faire capitalism
Limited government
Traditional economy
John Locke
John Stuart Mill
Montesquieu
Adam Smith

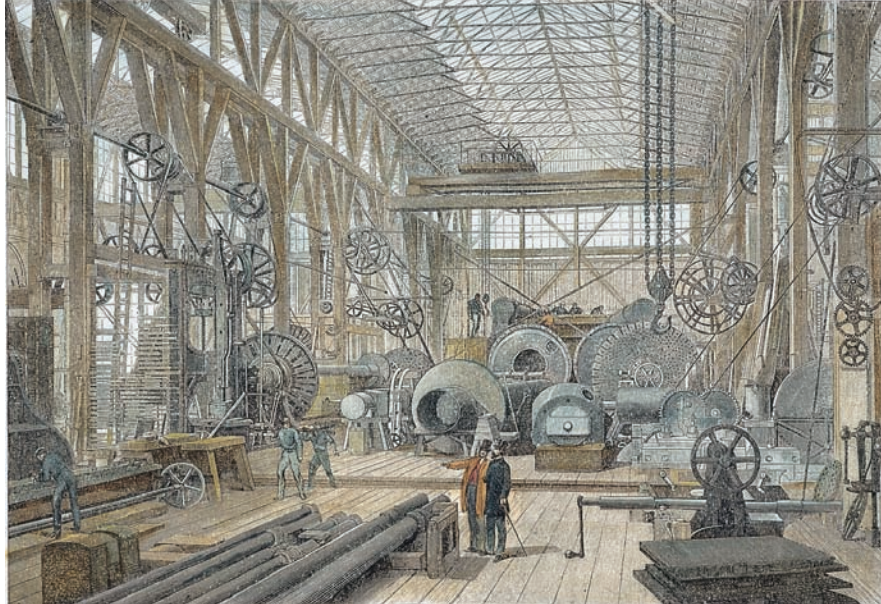


Figure 3-1 ▲

Calico printing in a cotton mill. Industrialization and factories transformed life in Britain in the 19th century. To what extent could moving away from agriculture and farm life to working in factories and living in cities affect people's lives or what they individually or collectively value?

The following excerpts provide viewpoints on aspects of what would later become known as the ideologies of classical liberalism and early **capitalism** and their effects on society in 19th-century Britain.

It was a town of red brick, or of brick that would have been red if the smoke and ashes had allowed it; but as matters stood, it was a town of unnatural red and black...It was a town of machinery and tall chimneys, out of which interminable serpents of smoke trailed themselves for ever and ever, and never got uncoiled. It had a black canal in it, and a river that ran purple with ill-smelling dye, and vast piles of building [sic] full of windows where there was a rattling and a trembling all day long, and where the piston of the steam-engine worked monotonously up and down, like the head of an elephant in a state of melancholy madness. It contained several large streets all very like one another, and many small streets still more like one another, inhabited by people equally like one another, who all went in and out at the same hours, with the same sound

upon the same pavements, to do the same work, and to whom every day was the same as yesterday and to-morrow, and every year the counterpart of the last and the next.

—Charles Dickens, *Hard Times*,
Book I, Chapter 5, 1854.

Oh my friends, the down-trodden operatives of Coketown! [a fictional town in northwest England] Oh my friends and fellow-countrymen, the slaves of an ironhanded and a grinding despotism! Oh my friends and fellow-sufferers, and fellow-workmen, and fellow-men! I tell you that the hour is come, when we must rally round one another as One united power, and crumble into dust the oppressors that too long have battered upon the plunder of our families, upon the sweat of our brows, upon the labour of our hands, upon the strength of our sinews, upon the God-created glorious rights of Humanity, and upon the holy and eternal privileges of Brotherhood!

—Charles Dickens, *Hard Times*,
Book II, Chapter 4, 1854.

It always grieves me to contemplate the initiation of children into the ways of life when they are scarcely more than infants. It checks their confidence and simplicity, two of the best qualities that heaven gives them, and demands that they share our sorrows before they are capable of entering into our enjoyments.

—Charles Dickens, *The Old Curiosity Shop*,
Chapter 1, 1841.

The natural price of labour is that price which is necessary to enable the labourers, one with another, to subsist and to perpetuate their race, without either increase or diminution...

It is when the market price of labour exceeds its natural price, that the condition of the labourer is flourishing and happy, that he has it in his power to command a greater proportion of the necessities and enjoyments of life, and therefore to rear a healthy and numerous family. When, however, by the encouragement which high wages give to the increase of population, the number of labourers is increased, wages again fall to their natural price, and indeed from a reaction sometimes fall below it...

These, then, are the laws by which wages are regulated, and by which the happiness of far the greatest part of every community is governed. Like all other contracts, wages should be left to the fair and free competition of the market, and should never be controlled by the interference of the legislature.

—David Ricardo,
The Iron Law of Wages, 1817.

The three quotations by Dickens provide a description of conditions in Britain during his lifetime. They are also statements that reveal his point of view. What is his point of view about the impact of classical liberalism on his society? Who would disagree with him, and for what reasons?

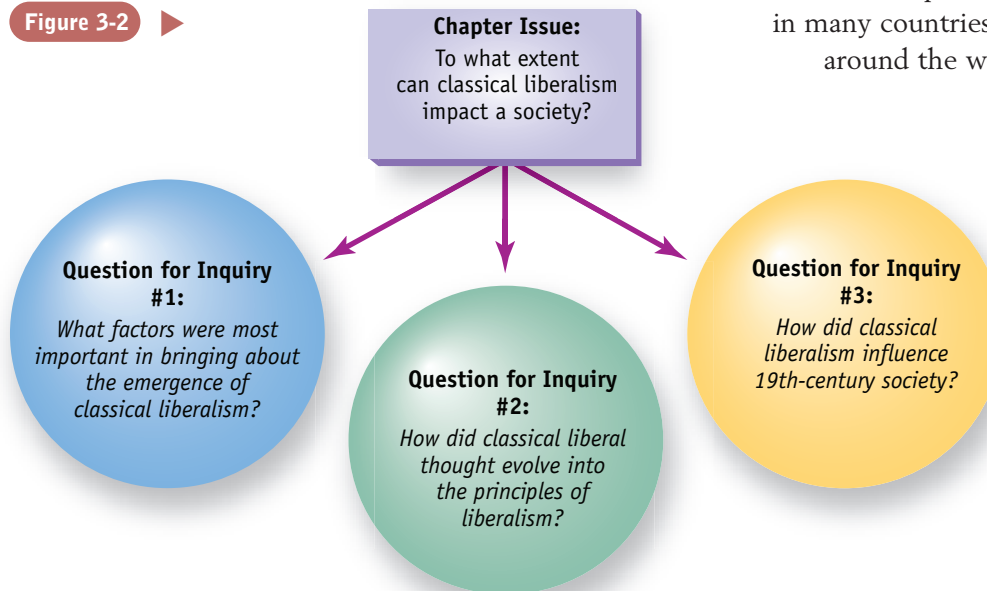
Chapter Issue

In this chapter you will look at when and where the ideas of classical liberalism originated, how these ideas evolved into the principles of classical liberalism, and determine some of the impacts of liberalism on society in the 19th century. The main issue for this chapter is ***To what extent can classical liberalism impact a society?***

The scenes of city life described above by Charles Dickens and the values defended in Ricardo's *Iron Law of Wages* were new to the society of 19th-century Great Britain. This was a time of dramatic change for most people. The beliefs and values of classical liberalism, which you will explore in this chapter, helped to bring about this major shift in Western society. Exploring the origins, principles, and influences of classical liberalism will provide you with the necessary background for understanding the role that classical liberal principles have played in the world at large.

Classical liberalism originated in Great Britain and had an immediate impact on its society. Thus many of the examples in this chapter focus on events in Great Britain and North America. Very quickly, however, the principles, beliefs, and values of classical liberalism affected many countries and peoples around the globe. Its impact is still seen today, and its principles continue to shape economic and political decisions in many countries, and between countries, around the world.

Figure 3-2



History of Classical Liberalism

Question for Inquiry

- What factors were most important in bringing about the emergence of classical liberalism?

Classical liberalism is an ideology that embraces the principles of individualism about which you read in Chapter 2:

- the rule of law
- individual rights and freedoms
- private property
- economic freedom
- self-interest
- competition

Classical liberalism stresses the importance of human rationality. Just as it values political freedoms, classical liberalism also holds freedom to be the basic standard in economics, and believes the most beneficial economic system to be the “**free market**”: an economy that operates with **limited government** intervention and relies on the choices that rational individuals make in their own self-interest.

A market order based on private property is thus seen as an embodiment of freedom... Unless people are free to make contracts and to sell their labour, or unless they are free to save their incomes and then invest them as they see fit, or unless they are free to run enterprises when they have obtained the capital, they are not really free.

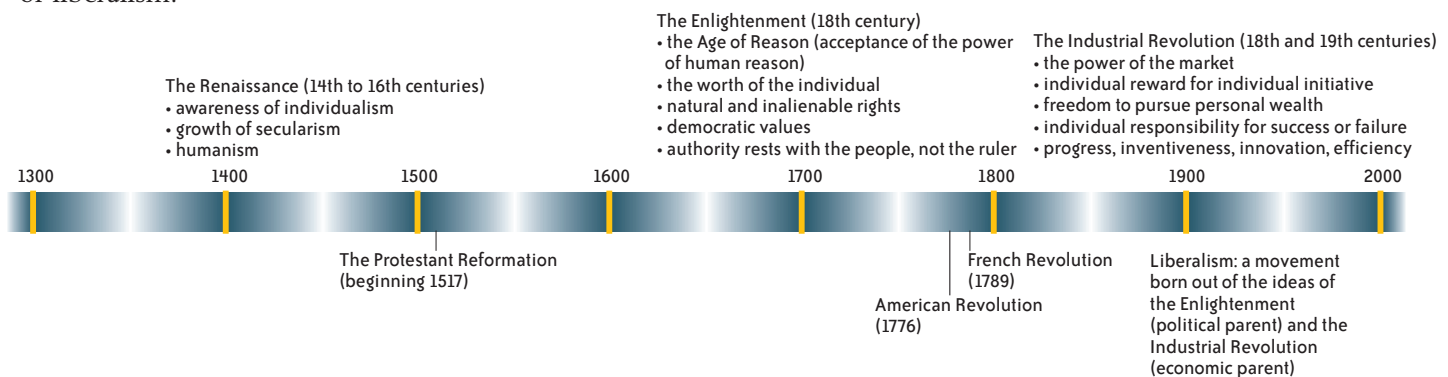
—Source: Gerald Gaus and Shane Courland, “Liberalism”, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2008 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.).

<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/liberalism/#DebAboLib>

Because more modern schools of liberalism have advocated a greater role for the state in the lives of its citizens, the term *classical liberalism* has been used to indicate the original ideals (or practices or principles) of liberalism.

Figure 3-3

This timeline outlines the historical development of the European ideas and events that eventually combined to form classical liberalism, a dynamic force for the creation of wealth, industry, and new values, and for the shaping of the modern Western world.



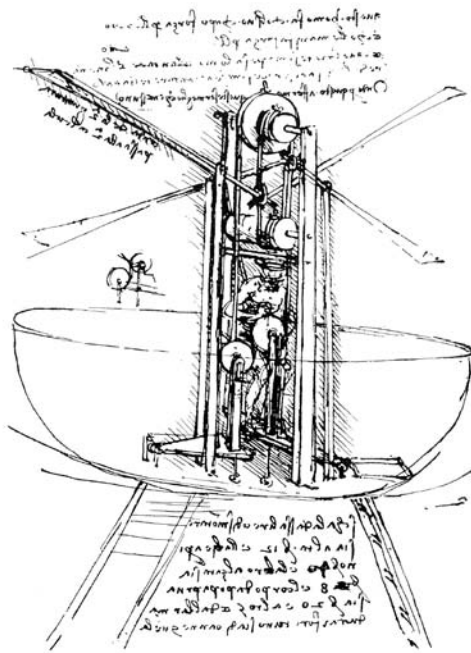


Figure 3-4 ▲

Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) was one of the great thinkers of the Renaissance. He is best known for his paintings and his scientific ideas and inventions. Many of his inventions were not practical to construct, but showed an innovative grasp of scientific and engineering principles.

This figure shows a drawing he made in the late 1480s for a type of aircraft called an *ornithopter* (from the Greek for “bird-wing”). A person standing in the bowl-shaped aircraft would operate the wings with various mechanisms, making the wings flap like a bird’s.

To what extent could an ideological conflict of reason versus faith impact the structure and foundation of a society and people’s lives?

The beliefs of classical liberalism arose in Europe following the Renaissance and Reformation from the 14th to 16th centuries. The Renaissance sparked a belief in the importance of the individual in society, and the Reformation reflected the belief that reason was as significant as faith for the believer in Christianity. These trends helped promote the rise of the **Enlightenment**, or the **Age of Reason**, beginning in the late 17th century and continuing through the 18th century. In turn, the Enlightenment helped promote the beliefs of classical liberalism that congealed into the liberal ideology of the 19th century.

The Enlightenment had its roots in the 14th-century Renaissance—the revival of Greek and Roman thinking. Thomas Aquinas sought to use the ideas of the Greek scholar Aristotle to support the teachings of the Christian church through the use of logical argument and reason. Other thinkers continued to investigate logic and reason, and starting in the late 14th century a group of thinkers known as the humanists emerged in Italy and France. **Humanists** during this time period believed in the importance of arts and literature alongside faith. They developed an interpretation of history and beliefs about human nature, the structure of society, and the purpose of life, all based on reason rather than religion. Humanists sought meaning and purpose in love, beauty, art, and development of the self. The fields of art, music, literature, science, to name but a few, were now viewed as places to celebrate human accomplishment rather than faith. Along with this came a questioning of the authority, teachings, and practices of the Roman Catholic Church. The Protestant Reformation of the 16th and 17th centuries dramatically altered the political, economic, and social circumstances of Europe through its opposition to the Catholic Church and its hierarchical concentration of religious power and perceived corruption of that power. During the same time period as the Protestant Reformation, faith in the rationality of the individual believer began to grow. Also at this time, Europeans came into contact with other flourishing but non-Christian civilizations (such as Indigenous peoples in North America), further challenging the predominance of established European religious thought about society and the meaning of life.

By the 17th century, Europe was in turmoil as a result of the emergence of new ideas about the role of the individual and the use of reason and logic over faith. Religious wars were rife and contests for imperial expansion dominated the social, political, and economic affairs of Europe. While Enlightenment thinkers believed that these new ideas could lead to freer and more tolerant societies, the ideas were not widely accepted because they challenged the established foundations of society.

Another important trend of the 17th century was the breakdown of the feudal economic order. Cities grew as more and more people became involved in expanded trade overseas. A wealthy middle class emerged. Peasants sought more lucrative work in cities, further eroding

the economic base of the aristocracy, whose wealth was based primarily on agriculture.

In these turbulent times of political struggles for less authoritarian rule, demands for greater economic opportunities, and social movements challenging the status quo, classical liberalism was a political and economic philosophy advocating individual rights and responsibilities and a role for government that was limited to maintaining security and the rule of law. Simply put, classical liberalism focused on allowing citizens the right to freedom in their economic, political, and social lives (although in practice, most of these rights applied primarily to the newly empowered entrepreneurial class). One author called classical liberalism

...the great political and intellectual movement that substituted free enterprise and the market economy for the precapitalistic methods of production; constitutional representative government for the absolutism of kings or oligarchies; and freedom of all individuals from slavery, serfdom, and other forms of bondage.

—Ludwig von Mises, *Human Action: A Treatise on Economics*,
foreword to the 3rd edition (Irvington-on-Hudson,
NY: Foundation for Economic Education, 1996).
<http://www.econlib.org/library/Mises/HmA/msHmA.html>

Classical liberalism is typically considered to encourage the following principles:

- the primacy of individual rights and freedoms, to be exercised in the individual's self-interest
- the belief that humans are reasonable and can make rational decisions that will benefit both themselves and society as a whole
- economic freedom, involving the ownership of private property and free markets (markets with limited government intervention)
- the protection of civil liberties
- constitutional limitations on the government

The very close relationship between individual freedom and private property is addressed in the following quote:

There can be no freedom of press if the instruments of printing are under government control, no freedom of assembly if the needed rooms are so controlled, no freedom of movement if the means of transport are a government monopoly.

—Friedrich Hayek, "Liberalism,"
*New Studies in Philosophy, Politics,
Economics and the History of Ideas*
(London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 149.

Thinkers whose ideas contributed to the ideology of liberalism—people such as Thomas Hobbes; John Locke; Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu; Adam Smith; and John Stuart Mill—were a disparate group of people who lived at different times and places. They were all writing about the political, economic, and social manifestations of individual rights and freedoms and their ideas gradually developed into an ideology. The impact of classical liberalism was to transform European society. You will be introduced to some examples of these transformations throughout this chapter.

Figure 3-5

The English Civil War (1642–1651), a conflict between Royalists and Parliamentarians, had a major impact on Thomas Hobbes’s thinking. This print depicts a scene from the Battle of Marston Moor, which took place on July 2, 1644.



One of the most important tenets of the ideology of classical liberalism is the belief in the individual—that is, that the individual’s well-being is as important as the group’s. As you read in the introduction, English philosopher Thomas Hobbes was concerned with the problem of social and political order: how human beings could live together in peace and avoid the danger and fear of civil conflict. Although Hobbes’s solution to the state of nature where life is “nasty, brutish, and short” seems to suggest that the individual citizen has no worth, and that only the central authority, or Leviathan, matters, a closer reading of his work suggests otherwise. Because of Hobbes’s experience with the horrors of civil war, he saw humans as inherently selfish. This selfishness, if left unchecked, would result in chaos and harm to everyone. By having all people give up their sovereignty and by handing power over to a protecting ruler, the Leviathan, everyone would be secure. Hobbes’s goal, then, was the security of all individuals, which could be achieved only at the expense of their individual sovereignty. It should also be

PAUSE AND REFLECT

What does Hobbes mean by the “selfishness” of human nature?

noted, however, that the Leviathan could justify its power only if it kept its subjects safe. Again, this places the focus back on the worth of the individual subjects.

John Locke (1632–1704) was a contemporary of Hobbes. As you read in the introduction, Locke deeply opposed the authoritarianism of the Church and the state, and believed that individuals had the right to use their reason and logic to make their own decisions. He said, “Reason must be our last judge and guide in everything.”

Locke, along with other thinkers such as Hobbes, believed in a social contract, whereby people give up some of their natural rights to a government in order to receive social order and security for themselves and their property. Unlike Hobbes, Locke believed that the government should be directly accountable to the people. He also placed great emphasis on the concept of private property, or the right of individuals to protect and keep what they owned:

The reason why men enter into society, is the preservation of their property; and the end why they choose and authorize a legislative, is, that there may be laws made, and rules set, as guards and fences to the properties of all the members of the society: to limit the power, and moderate the dominion, of every part and member of the society.

—John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, Book 2,
Chapter 19, Section 221, 1690.

Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755) was an Enlightenment thinker in France who satirized the times in which he lived. Under the theory of the divine right of kings, monarchs had come to believe they were no longer bound by any earthly authority, since their status was determined by God. The Church and the monarchy were the two great authoritarian powers, and society was divided into three classes or estates: clergy, aristocracy, and commoners. In the 1700s, pressures for change began to mount against the French regime, which was attempting to hold on to its feudalistic and absolutist structures. Montesquieu’s satiric writings so angered the Catholic Church that it banned his works.

Montesquieu believed in the worth of the individual, the equality of individuals, and the accountability of government. He also believed strongly in the separation of powers—that is, that the government should be divided into three branches: executive, legislative, and judicial. Under this system, the three branches should be both separate from and dependent on one another so that the influence of any one power would not be able to exceed that of the other two.

In order for this system to work, the people needed to be involved in the government—that is, it needed to be a democracy. Montesquieu believed that each citizen had to participate in and be aware of the laws and the workings of government.

Figure 3-6 ▼

The Hall of Mirrors was one of the most sumptuous rooms at the palace of Versailles, the home of the French monarchy during Montesquieu’s time. For many of the French people, the palace symbolized the negative aspects of absolutist monarchy. Restored to its original state, it is a major tourist attraction today.





Figure 3-7 ▲

John Stuart Mill, in an 1865 portrait. He had a rather unusual childhood. His father regulated his life in an attempt to create a superior intellect and was fortunate that Mill was something of a child prodigy. Possibly as a result, Mill suffered a nervous breakdown as a young man. He is notable for supporting women's rights in an era when very few did.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

How does the concept of private property fit into classical liberal theory?

The tyranny of a prince in an oligarchy is not so dangerous to the public welfare as the apathy of a citizen in a democracy.

—Attributed to Montesquieu

It is clear that in a monarchy, where he who commands the execution of the laws generally thinks himself above them, there is less need of virtue than in a popular government, where the person entrusted with the execution of the laws is sensible of his being subject to their direction.

—Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws*, Book 3, Part 3, 1748,

Trans. Thomas Nugent. <http://www.constitution.org/cm/sol.htm>

Montesquieu's separation of powers idea is largely taken for granted in many modern-day democracies. For example, the separation of powers is incorporated into the checks and balances built into the US Constitution, which was written only a few decades after Montesquieu was writing. Like other aspects of classical liberal ideology, however, Montesquieu's idea was radical at the time. It called for the elimination of the three-estate structure of French society (clergy, aristocracy, and commoners) and advocated an unprecedented level of individual involvement in government.

Yet another classical liberal thinker was the English philosopher John Stuart Mill (1806–1873). He was interested in the protection of individual freedom and the promotion of individual decision making as the core of societal institutions. His book *On Liberty* (1859) explores the limits of power that can legitimately be exercised over the individual. He believed that the only limitations that should be placed on an individual were those that would protect the liberty of others—that is, an individual should be able to act as he or she wants, so long as his or her actions would not harm others. Mill also strongly advocated free speech, which he believed was a necessary condition for intellectual and social progress.

If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind.

—John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, Chapter 2, 1859.

The Origins of Laissez-Faire Economics

Around 1750, a dramatic development occurred in Great Britain that changed the world forever. The coming together of new ideas and new conditions resulted in a historical period now known as the Industrial Revolution. The agricultural roots of the British economy were overtaken by industrial ones. Britain's **traditional economy**, which was largely based on subsistence farming in rural areas, shifted to factory

work in urban centres. The change was so great that it has been considered a revolution.

Great Britain was unique for several reasons. First, being an island, Great Britain depended on sea trade. This led, over time, to a large commercial fleet, a powerful navy, and the largest empire in the world at that time. Not only did this fill the coffers of the government, it also provided the means for the creation of many personal fortunes for enterprising ship owners and merchants. Many merchants had large amounts of money available for investment.

Second, since the 17th century, the political climate of Great Britain had favoured the development of a parliamentary government and a constitutional monarchy. Power was shared between the king and Parliament—especially the House of Commons, which increasingly consisted of wealthy landowners and merchants. Parliament passed a series of laws called the Enclosure Acts, which served the interests of the merchants and landowners by forcing thousands of low-income farmers away from farmland and into towns and cities. This resulted in an uncommonly large pool of cheap labour.

Third, the world of ideas was being influenced by the writings of Enlightenment thinkers who advocated the primacy of human reason, human initiative, and individual worth.

These three factors came together at this time in Great Britain:

- New ideas about human potential and individual worth (former “commoners” were free to create wealth and achieve status), and the accompanying idea of progress
- A government friendly to business and innovation
- A huge amount of investment capital and cheap labour, and a large number of innovators and inventors who were encouraged by the possibility of reward

Together these resulted in the development of the factory system, the mechanization of labour, the mass production and consumption of consumer goods, the expansion of capitalism and free enterprise, and the shaping of the modern industrialized world. It also produced extremes of wealth and poverty, palatial estates and horrible slums, excess and starvation, child labour, worker abuse, and the degradation of the environment.

The French term *laissez-faire*—leave (people) alone to do (as they wish)—was definitive of capitalism at this time and referred to a reduction of government involvement in the economy. Individual actions and achievements were deemed to be more productive in economic decision making than government actions. Laissez-faire capitalism emerged from the theories of the **physiocrats**. The physiocrats were a group of Enlightenment philosophers in France who critiqued the prevailing economics of **mercantilism**. The mercantilist system held that the aim of all economic pursuits should be to



Figure 3-8 ▲

The Bank of England was formed in 1694. The impact of the new ideology of classical liberalism and the resulting increase in trade is reflected in its building opened in 1748 on Threadneedle Street in London, England. The bank's nickname is "The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street."

strengthen the power and wealth of the state. Physiocrats such as Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot and François Quesnay took the concept of human agency and applied it to the creation of wealth. They promoted the concept of *laissez-faire*, which advocated that government should leave business entrepreneurs alone to follow their natural self-interest. Like their successor Adam Smith, about whom you read in Chapter 2, the physiocrats believed that the pursuit of this self-interest in economic affairs would benefit everyone.

The physiocrats' ideas exemplify a notion of progress: human activity in society

continually improves the conditions for people. Their notion of *laissez-faire* reflects their beliefs that

- individuals need to be given freedom to make their own decisions
- individuals' selfishness and competitiveness will inadvertently improve their own societies

Adam Smith (1723–1790) was a Scottish political economist. Smith spent time in France with the physiocrats, and they influenced his thinking. He disagreed with the existing mercantilist economic system, and it is important to realize how radical Smith's ideas were at the time. The mercantilist system increased the wealth of the state but not the wealth of the majority of people within that state, and very few people enjoyed the benefits of the labour that fed the state's wealth. Smith's ideas were in stark contrast to this. He believed that if people worked first and foremost for themselves, everyone—including the state—would be better off. In 1776 he published *The Wealth of Nations*, in which he described a system where individuals work for their own self-interest in a free-market system. Smith insisted that individual self-interest in a free market would lead to a stronger economy and would therefore benefit most people in society.

Every individual necessarily labours to render the annual revenue of the society as great as he can. He generally, indeed, neither intends to promote the publick [sic] interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it...He intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention.

—Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Book IV, Chapter II, 1776.

The idea of the invisible hand, Smith’s justification for self-interest as an economic motive, can be stated quite simply: by having every individual look after his or her own best interests, he or she unwittingly ends up helping everyone else, by providing jobs and cheaper products.

Furthermore, Smith believed that the government’s role should be limited to maintaining the rule of law, to ensuring contracts were followed, and to providing some public works (such as primary education and road maintenance). Smith’s work provided the foundation for much of the capitalist system. These essential concepts—the free market and a limited role for government—became the basis of laissez-faire capitalism, the economic system associated with classical liberalism.

Explore the Issues

Concept Review

1 Fill in the chart below.

Concept Application

- 2 Which thinkers best represent your own viewpoints and why?
- 3 In what ways did the principles of classical liberalism help the development of the Industrial Revolution?

- 4 Explain the concept of the social contract. Use an example of a social contract in your own life.
- 5 a) Create a concept web based on the principles of classical liberalism that best reflects potential impacts of classical liberalism on society.
- b) Which factors were most significant in the emergence of classical liberalism? Identify the factors and give criteria for your idea of “most significant”.

Thinkers	Beliefs	How Their Ideas Were Radical at that Time	How Their Ideas Are Related to Classical Liberalism
Hobbes			
Locke			
Montesquieu			
Smith			
Mill			
Ricardo			
Dickens			

The Evolution of Classical Liberal Thought

Question for Inquiry

- How did classical liberal thought evolve into the principles of liberalism?

Classical liberalism developed from the thinking of individuals such as Locke, Montesquieu, Smith, and Mill, who were concerned with protecting the rights and freedoms of citizens. This section of the chapter focuses on the following question: How did classical liberal thought evolve into the principles of liberalism? The American and French revolutions in the late 1700s were attempts to implement the ideas of liberal thought. Although the American Revolution occurred first, beginning in 1776, it was seen at the time as little more than a risky and evolving experiment, even by its 47 000 citizens. Since France was a major nation-state with 27 million citizens, we will look at the French Revolution first. To what extent did the new ideas regarding liberal thought and the emerging principles of liberalism challenge the status quo in Western societies?

The French Revolution (1789–1799)

Liberalism gradually evolved into an ideology as the ideas of the Enlightenment thinkers were applied to specific situations. The French Revolution provides a concrete example of this coalescence of concepts into an ideology.

Following hard on the heels of the American Revolution, the French Revolution was an attempt to transform a society using liberal principles. The French monarch, Louis XVI, was clinging to his autocracy, and the Protestant Reformation, with its focus on individual worth and agency, had made few inroads in France. The government was bankrupt in spite of the onerous tax burden paid by ordinary people, and the corrupt, inefficient, and outdated taxation system simply made matters worse. The French government was also saddled with the debt resulting from the many wars it had been involved in, including helping to fund the American War of Independence. Perhaps worst of all was the continuing indiscriminate spending of the king and his court.

Les états généraux (the Estates General) was an advisory body that represented the three estates (classes of citizens) of France, but it had not been called into session since 1614. In 1788, the King agreed to recall it in order to address the government's problems. Sensing a lack of commitment by the king to act on necessary reforms, the



Figure 3-9

The Bastille was a prison where the king could secretly imprison people without any sort of legal procedure. Prisoners could be kept there for years and no one would know their whereabouts. Why would the Bastille be one of the Revolution's targets?

representatives of the common people, the Third Estate, began to revolt against his authority beginning in 1789.

The leaders of the Revolution believed in the principles of liberalism, but they depended on the support of ordinary people, who quickly developed a mob mentality. One of the best-known leaders of the Revolution, Maximilien Robespierre, summed up the frustration the French people felt at the time in the following quotation: "Crime butchers innocence to secure a throne, and innocence struggles with all its might against the attempts of crime." ("On the Principles of Political Morality", 1794) The Revolution degenerated into a Reign of Terror in which thousands lost their property and lives. Nevertheless, the Revolution produced some important documents that reveal the influence of liberal thought on French society.

On August 26, 1789, the *Assemblée nationale* (National Assembly) approved *la Déclaration des droits de l'Homme et du citoyen* (the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen). This was a foundational document for individual freedoms (albeit specifically for men). While the document was later revised and not all its principles were followed, it serves as a clear indication of how the principles of liberalism came to influence French society. What follows are some excerpts from the Declaration.

1. *Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be founded only upon the general good.*
2. *The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression ...*



To What Extent Did Aboriginal Ideas Influence Liberalism in North America?

Some historians believe that the Haudensaunee (Iroquois) peoples influenced liberal thought in North America. The

Great Law of Peace, or the Constitution of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, outlined the path to harmony and unity among the nations, divided powers between different levels of government, and established the equal participation of the people, including women, in the government. It also guaranteed certain rights and freedoms, including the freedom of speech and the rights of individuals.

Historian Bruce Johansen notes that as early as 1744, Benjamin Franklin, a publisher, who would later co-write the American Constitution, printed the words of the Haudenosaunee leader Canasetoga as he gave advice to American colonists about their dissatisfaction with British rule:

Our wise forefathers established union and amity between the five nations. This has made us formidable. This has given us great weight and authority with our neighboring nations. We are a powerful Confederacy, and by your observing the same methods our wise forefathers have taken you will acquire much strength and power; therefore, whatever befalls you, do not fall out with one another.

—Bruce E. Johansen, *Debating Democracy: Native American Legacy of Freedom*. Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 1998.

Tom Axworthy, Chair, Centre for the Study of Democracy, writes:

Canada, too, has a tradition of participatory governance, one especially enshrined in the history of our First Nations... Long before the European settlement, Aboriginal people had developed sophisticated mechanisms of government and international relations and the basic principle of this system—consensus decision-making—is of continuing relevance to the modern age.

—Tom Axworthy, “How our democracy evolved”, *The Kingston Whig Standard*, September 27, 2008.

Dr. John Mohawk, a Seneca leader and scholar, has stated:

I’m fairly certain that the structure of the United States government descends from a confederacy... I don’t think it’s an accident that the first proposal for a government for the colonies looks strikingly like the structure of the Confederacy of the Six Nations of the Iroquois, even down to the number of representatives and what their powers and limitations would be and all that. It’s impossible to imagine that all of those could be coincidences. It seems as though the Americans were watching, especially Benjamin Franklin, who took a big interest in the Indians.

—Dr. John Mohawk, in “Haudenosaunee Culture: The Great Law as a Model for US Democracy”, background notes for *A Warrior in Two Worlds: The life of Ely Parker*. WXXI Public Broadcasting Council in Rochester, New York, first broadcast 6 April, 2000.
<http://www.pbs.org/warrior/content/modules/great.pdf>

- 1 Based on the sources, what evidence is provided to support the idea that the Great Law of Peace may have had an influence on the American Constitution?



The American Revolution

John Locke had a profound influence on the American revolutionaries of 1776. His ideas, along with those of other early liberal thinkers, inspired the American

colonists to declare independence from the British crown and establish a **republican** form of government where governing authority was invested in the hands of its citizens and not a ruling monarch. Examine the following quotes to determine to what extent Locke's ideas were part of the thinking of individuals who shaped the formation of the United States.

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.

—Thomas Paine, “Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succession,”
Common Sense, 1776.

...every Man who comes among us, and takes up a piece of Land, becomes a Citizen, and by our Constitution has a Voice in Elections, and a share in the Government of the Country.

—Benjamin Franklin, letter to William Strahan, August 19, 1784,
quoted in *The Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin*
(Philadelphia, PA: McCarty and Davis, 1834), p. 582.

The spirit of resistance to government is so valuable on certain occasions, that I wish it to be always kept alive. It will often be exercised when wrong, but better so than not to be exercised at all. I like a little rebellion now and then. It is like a storm in the atmosphere.

—Thomas Jefferson, letter to Abigail Adams, February 1787,
quoted in Paul Finkelman, *Encyclopedia of American Civil Liberties*
(New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 846.

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 effect their Safety and Happiness.

—Source: **United States Declaration of Independence**
www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/declare.htm

- 1 What specific aspects of liberalism were built on and/or adopted by these individuals in the American Revolution?
- 2 How would the comments be interpreted by various groups in American colonial society? Would every group be supportive of these ideas?
- 3 Examine Canada's Constitution Act, 1867 and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms to determine the extent to which liberal principles influenced the writers of Canada's constitution. How acceptable would these principles be to other societies? How acceptable are these principles to you?

Get to the Source

Follow the links that your teacher will provide to read the entire Declaration of Independence and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.



Follow the link that your teacher will provide to read the entire Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.

4. *Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to the other members of the society the enjoyment of the same rights. These limits can only be determined by law.*
6. *Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally, or through his representative, in its foundation. It must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, are equally eligible to all dignities and to all public positions and occupations, according to their abilities, and without distinction except that of their virtues and talents...*
11. *The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen may, accordingly, speak, write, and print with freedom, but shall be responsible for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law...*

—Source: The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.

The recognition of many of these rights would significantly alter the status quo. If these articles were to be implemented, what impact might they have on the clergy, nobles, middle class, and peasants in France?

Explore the Issues

Concept Review

- 1 Using a chart format, connect each of the five principles of classical liberalism listed on page 105 with the eight sections of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen listed on pages 115 and 118.

Concept Application

- 2 Reread the excerpts from the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen and from the Declaration of Independence and identify common themes of liberalism in the two documents.
- 3 Name three classical liberal thinkers discussed in the first section of this chapter who you think influenced the writers of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. Show how their thoughts are linked to the five principles of classical liberalism on page 105. Why did you pick those three? How many of the articles of the Declaration are evident in modern-day Canada?
- 4 Many popular movies portray aspects of the French and American revolutions. Either via your teacher or

from your own research, view a movie based on the French or American Revolution. After viewing the movie, respond to the following questions:

- a) Whose perspectives are shown in the film?
- b) Whose perspectives are not shown? Could these missing perspectives influence the way the events are interpreted?
- c) How does the film illustrate the effects of liberalism on the society it depicts?
- d) What kinds of resistance to liberal principles are shown in the film? How are these depicted—positively or negatively? How does this portrayal reinforce the film's message with respect to individualism and the ideology of classical liberalism?
- e) Create a film poster that shows your understanding of how the film represents responses to liberal principles. Present your poster to the class and then use appropriate parts of the Skill Path on pages 125–126 to examine the historical significance of the film chosen for this inquiry.

Liberal Principles in Action

Question for Inquiry

- **How did classical liberalism influence 19th-century society?**

The principles of classical liberalism had become widespread in Western societies by the 19th century. The principles were the culmination of the political, economic, and social dynamics of the previous centuries. In Great Britain, classical liberalism tended to be an economic concern that used liberal principles as a springboard to implement laissez-faire economics. The tension between the reality of the market system and the continued awareness of fundamental liberal principles eventually led to the evolution of classical liberalism into modern liberalism. In this section of the chapter you will examine the ramifications of liberalism in terms of capitalism, **industrialization**, the class system, and the role of government, and explore the following question: How did classical liberalism influence 19th-century European society?

The Industrial Revolution (circa 1750–1900)

We began this chapter with a quick study of the origins of classical liberalism and its connection to the Industrial Revolution. Most of the impacts of liberalism we will be discussing in this section—capitalism, the class system, and so on—are linked to the Industrial Revolution. As one scholar put it, the Industrial Revolution was

the most far-reaching, influential transformation of human culture since the advent of agriculture eight or ten thousand years ago...The consequences of this revolution would change irrevocably human labor, consumption, family structure, social structure, and even the very soul and thoughts of the individual.

—Richard Hooker, “The Industrial Revolution.” 1996
The European Enlightenment, Washington State University

<http://www.wsu.edu/~dee/ENLIGHT/INDUSTRY.HTM>

“Industrial Revolution” describes the transition of Britain from an agricultural and mercantile society to a modern industrial one. It provided the impetus by which capitalism became the dominant economic force in Europe. Through the transformation of agriculture, industry, and economics, great wealth was created for some, along with great poverty for others. In the next quotation, Samuel Smiles (1812–1904), a doctor turned political reformer, embodies the kind of liberal ideas that drove the wave of industrialization that characterized the 19th century in Western societies, largely in Europe and North America.

All experience of life, indeed, serves seems to prove that the impediments thrown in the way of human advancement may, for the most part, be overcome by steady good conduct, honest zeal, activity, perseverance, and above all, by a determined resolution to surmount difficulties...

—Samuel Smiles and Charles A. Gaskill,
Happy Homes and the Hearts That Make Them, 1889.

The influence of liberalism on capitalism is intertwined with the development of industrialization in the 19th century. The principles of classical liberalism, especially those dealing with economics (economic freedom, individual freedom, private property, self-interest, and competition) had a powerful effect in freeing up enterprising individuals. The technological developments that led to the mechanization of agriculture and industry were buttressed by these liberal principles as individual entrepreneurs and inventors tried to become more efficient and profitable. The value of the individual and the desire for minimal government involvement in economic affairs helped spur on the Industrial Revolution among the middle and upper classes, making for an ideal environment in which innovation could flourish.

Changes in Agriculture: Enclosure

Prior to the 18th century, agriculture in Britain's traditional economy retained many of its medieval aspects. Small farmers practised subsistence farming on small plots of land carved out of three or four large fields that were held in common. As early as the 12th century, some of these fields were enclosed—that is, the common land became the private property of an individual (an **enclosure**), and the small

Figure 3-10 ►

In feudal times, the land belonged to a lord and was worked in small strips by his tenants. Immediately prior to the Industrial Revolution, the fields were held in common but small farmers often owned their own particular plots of land. The lord was able by law to force the land's sale.



farmers were dispossessed. The Church denounced this practice, and it became relatively infrequent. However, the growth of sheep farming and the invention of new agricultural technologies, such as the seed drill, required large enclosed fields to be effectively employed, so pressure mounted for enclosure in the 18th century. This time the pressure was accompanied by liberal beliefs in the sanctity of private property, and, in 1801, the British government passed the Inclosure (Consolidation) Act. Farmers received minimal compensation for their small strips of land, and far fewer agricultural labourers were needed on mechanized farms; thus the farmers forced off the land became a large workforce for the new factories.

Commercial and Industrial Revolutions

As a result of the European voyages of discovery in the 15th and 16th centuries, an influx of gold and silver from the Americas stimulated a money economy and the development of financial institutions in Britain. This discredited the government-regulated mercantilist system in favour of free trade, and provided **capital** (money) for the building of factories, made desirable by the new technologies that allowed machinery to replace hand labour. Gradually, the commercial entrepreneur emerged along with the trading merchant.

The factory was created during the 18th century as an expanding and wealthier population demanded more and better goods and as the use of steam engines and many other inventions made large-scale production possible. Large-scale production began in the textile industry. Machines such as the fly shuttle, spinning jenny, water frame, and power loom changed textile production from a cottage industry to a factory industry. The same process eventually occurred in all manufacturing industries.

Classical liberal ideology was inextricably woven into these developments in agriculture and commerce and provided the foundation for the capitalist society.

Figure 3-12 ▶

A textile factory, 1835. Before the Industrial Revolution, textiles were hand-produced by a variety of artisans working from their homes.

	Population in 1800	Population in 1900
London	800 000	6 500 000
Paris	500 000	3 000 000
New York	60 000	4 200 000

Source: UN-Habitat, "Today's Slums: Myths versus Reality," January 2007. http://www.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/Press_SG_visit_Kibera07/SG%2012.pdf.

Figure 3-11 ▲

Before the Industrial Revolution, most people lived in small towns where they did manual labour on a very small scale, providing goods and services for their immediate communities. During the Industrial Revolution, numerous people moved to cities to work in factories.





Figure 3-13 ▲

John Jacob Astor was the first multimillionaire in the United States. This illustration depicts his descendants taking tea in the family home in 1875. Why did industrialization result in such poor living conditions for some and such luxurious conditions for others? Which of the liberal thinkers' ideas that you have examined might help explain this reality? Why might some liberal thinkers argue against government intervention in the poor conditions of workers?

The Industrial Revolution's Impact on 19th-Century Society

One of the most profound impacts of the Industrial Revolution on 19th-century society was the change in the **class structure** that took place. Previously, wealth had been primarily derived from land ownership, and the aristocratic class that controlled the land dominated the social structure. As industrialization progressed, a new class of factory owners, bankers, retailers, lawyers, engineers, and other professionals arose. These groups gained substantial wealth and came to challenge the aristocratic classes for power and position in society. They were the **nouveau riche** (the newly wealthy), and they were not afraid to show off their wealth with ostentatious homes and lifestyles.

The demonstration of their wealth was a confirmation of the values that they held, but pursuing their own interests economically had obvious consequences. While the nouveau riche enjoyed tremendous economic gains, the labourers working in their factories endured horrible working conditions and were paid insufficient wages to meet their basic needs.

Émile Zola (1840–1902) was a French novelist who attempted to capture the ordinary, often tragic lives of the working class in his writing. The excerpt below is from his 1885 work *Germinal*, where Zola depicts the miserable working conditions in European mines of the late 19th century.

The four cutters had stretched out one above the other across the sloping coal face...Maheu was the one who suffered most. High up where he was the temperature was as high as 95° [35°C], the air did not circulate, and eventually you would suffocate. In order to see clearly he had had to hang his lamp on a nail near his head; but this lamp broiled his skull, making his blood seethe. His torture was worsened above all by the damp. Water kept flowing over the rock above him a few inches from his face; and huge drops kept rapidly, continuously, in a maddening rhythm, falling, always on the same spot. It was no use twisting his neck or bending his head, the drops fell on his face, beating at him, splattering endlessly...He didn't want to stop cutting and gave huge blows which jolted him violently between the two rocks, like a flea caught between the pages of a book, threatened by being completely crushed.

—Émile Zola, *Germinal*, Part 1, Chapter 4, trans. Havelock Ellis.

Ibiblio, www.ibiblio.org/eldritch/ez/germinal.html



Women and the Industrial Revolution

Many women had to find work to help support their families during the 19th century. Below are two very

different versions of how the Industrial Revolution affected women. Ivy Pinchbeck (1898–1982) argued in her text *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750–1850* (1930) that women were better off during the Industrial Revolution than previously. As a reviewer explains, according to Pinchbeck, women were better off for two reasons:

First, many women withdrew from the labor force and were able to enjoy more leisure and higher social standing. Pinchbeck sees the opportunity to specialize in housework as a privilege, and thus she sees withdrawal of some married women from the labor force as an improvement... The second way in which women were better off in 1850 was in improved working conditions for those women who remained in the labor force. Pinchbeck notes that, while contemporaries thought factory conditions were bad, these conditions were actually better than the conditions in alternative employments in domestic industry.

—Joyce Burnette, “A Pioneer in Women’s History: Ivy Pinchbeck’s *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750–1850*,” 2000.

Economic History Services

<http://eh.net/bookreviews/library/burnette>

The following is testimony given before a government commission addressing conditions for women working as seamstresses in 19th-century England.

The common hours of business are from 8 A.M. til 11 P.M in the winters; in the summer from 6 or half-past 6 A.M. til 12 at night. During the fashionable season, that is from April til the latter end of July, it frequently happens that the ordinary hours are greatly exceeded; if there is a drawing-room or grand fete, or mourning to be made, it often happens that the work goes on for 20 hours out of the 24, occasionally all night... The general result of the long hours and sedentary occupation is to impair seriously and very frequently to destroy the health of the young women. The digestion especially suffers, and also the lungs: pain to the side is very common, and the hands and feet die away from want of circulation and exercise.

—quoted in Erna Olafson Hellerstein, Leslie Parker Hume, and Karen M. Offen, *Victorian Women: A Documentary Account of Women’s Lives in Nineteenth-Century England, France and the United States* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1981), pp. 324–325.

The governments of the day followed the principles of classical liberalism and resisted legislation that would restrict the economic freedom of employers. It would be several decades before laws were passed to curtail the extreme abuse of workers.

- 1 What might explain the different views provided by each source? Do you think women were better off during the Industrial Revolution based on these two sources?
- 2 To what extent do these sources reveal the impact of liberalism on society? What other kinds of sources would be useful in more fully exploring this impact?



Figure 3-14 ▲

Jacob Riis took photos of the people and neighbourhoods in New York City to illustrate his book. Riis's book was instrumental in convincing Theodore Roosevelt (then New York City police commissioner, later president of the United States) to initiate a variety of reforms to improve conditions for people of low income.

Elizabeth Gaskell (1810–1865) was a writer living in Manchester, England, who wrote about the difficult circumstances the working classes experienced, and the wealthier classes' perceptions of them. The excerpt below is from her novel *North and South* (1855). When the mother of a factory owner is asked why workers at her son's factory are threatening to strike, she responds as follows:

"For the mastership and ownership of other people's property," said Mrs. Thornton, with a fierce snort. "That is what they always strike for. If my son's work-people strike, I will only say they are a pack of ungrateful hounds. But I have no doubt they will... The truth is they want to be masters, and make the masters into slaves on their own ground."

—Elizabeth Gaskell, *North and South*, 1855.

The living conditions of the working class were as difficult as their working conditions. Because of enclosure, the mechanization of agriculture, and the availability of jobs in factories, large segments of the population migrated to the cities in the 19th century in a process of **urbanization**. This led to overcrowding and unsanitary living conditions in the cities, with tenants sometimes being exploited by unscrupulous landlords.

Like other writers of the period such as Charles Dickens, Danish immigrant Jacob August Riis took up the cause of those living in urban poverty. A job as a police reporter in New York gave him first-hand knowledge of his subject. He described the horrendous conditions of low-income New Yorkers in his book *How the Other Half Lives*.

There are numerous examples of tenement-houses in which are lodged several hundred people that have a pro rata allotment of ground area scarcely equal to two-square yards [1.67 square metres] upon the city lot, court-yards and all included.

—Source: New York Health Department, quoted in Jacob A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York*, Chapter 2, 1890.

Explore the Issues

Concept Review

- 1 Identify principles of classical liberalism found in the Industrial Revolution. How well were these principles received by various individuals and groups within society?

Concept Application

- 2 Identify key characteristics of laissez-faire economics, and create a concept web to illustrate them. How

would these characteristics have affected 19th-century society?

- 3 Explain the relationship between the enclosure movement and private property rights.
- 4 How did classical liberalism influence 19-century society? Explain which of these changes were beneficial and which were detrimental. From whose perspective do you decide the beneficial or detrimental nature of these changes?

SKILL PATH

What Makes History Significant?

If the past is everything that has ever happened, how do historians decide what to write about? One answer is that they look for events that seem to be more important than others because they had an impact beyond the immediate circumstances of the event. They may have caused or contributed to major changes in a society or fit into a larger pattern of events. This is called *historical significance*. Determining historical significance will help you explore the question for this chapter: **To what extent can classical liberalism impact a society?**

As you have seen, the Industrial Revolution is considered to be a significant historical event. Here are some passages about the Industrial Revolution. All the authors agree that it was historically significant, but the reasons they give for its significance differ.

Your Task: As you read each excerpt below, think about the consequences each author is examining. Form a group of three or four students, and rank the excerpts from most significant to least significant, providing reasons why you put the excerpts in that order. Use the Questions to Guide You for assistance.

Excerpt 1

The changes brought by the Industrial Revolution overturned not only traditional economies, but also whole societies. Economic changes caused far-reaching social changes, including the movement of people to cities, the availability of a greater variety of material goods, and new ways of doing business. The Industrial Revolution was the first step in modern economic growth and development. Economic development was combined with superior military technology to make the nations of Europe and their cultural offshoots, such as the United States, the most powerful in the world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

—Source: “Industrial Revolution.” Microsoft Encarta Online Encyclopedia 2008.
http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761577952/industrial_revolution.html

Excerpt 2

The Industrial Revolution started in England around 1733 with the first cotton mill. A more modern world had begun. As new inventions were being created, factories followed soon thereafter. England wanted to keep its industrialization a secret, so they prohibited anyone who had worked in a factory to leave the country. Meanwhile, Americans offered a significant reward to anyone who could build a cotton-spinning machine in the United States. Samuel Slater, who had been an apprentice in an English cotton factory, disguised himself and came to America. Once here, he reconstructed a cotton-spinning machine from memory. He then proceeded to build a factory of his own. The Industrial Revolution had arrived in the United States.

—Source: “IRWeb: Information Page.” Oracle Education Foundation ThinkQuest.
<http://library.thinkquest.org/4132/info.htm>

Excerpt 3

The era known as the Industrial Revolution was a period in which fundamental changes occurred in agriculture, textile and metal manufacture, transportation, economic policies and the social structure in England. This period is appropriately labeled “revolution,” for it thoroughly destroyed the old manner of doing things; yet the term is simultaneously inappropriate, for it connotes abrupt change. The changes that occurred during this period (1760–1850), in fact, occurred gradually. The year 1760 is generally accepted as the “eve” of the Industrial Revolution. In reality, this eve began more than two centuries before this date. The late 18th century and the early nineteenth century brought to fruition the ideas and discoveries of those who had long passed on, such as, Galileo, Bacon, Descartes and others.

—Joseph A. Montagna, “The Industrial Revolution.” Yale-New Haven Teachers Institute.
<http://www.yale.edu/ynhti/curriculum/units/1981/2/81.02.06.x.html>

Questions to Guide You

1. Significance depends on point of view. The writer of history will decide what is or what is not significant depending on his or her point of view. What is the point of view of each author? Which perspectives or points of view are missing that could be important to building an informed position?
2. Read the three sources again to determine whether each point of view is primarily political, economic, or social. In addition, determine the writer's rationale
- and purpose. Fill out a chart similar to the following, and be prepared to defend your answers.
3. Significance depends on purpose. The significance of the event depends on its role in the larger narrative or story that the historian is telling. What purpose is each author using the Industrial Revolution to achieve? That is, why are they writing about the Industrial Revolution in the first place?

Source	Point of View (political, economic, or social)	Rationale	Purpose



Reflect and Analyze

In this chapter you have explored the Chapter Issue, *To what extent can classical liberalism impact a society?* You considered where the ideas of classical liberalism originated, how these ideas developed into the principles of liberalism, and some of the effects of liberalism on society in the 19th century.

In the first section of the chapter you were asked to consider the contributions of such individuals as Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, Smith, and Mill. While many of their ideas are commonplace in society today, they were radical notions that met with much resistance during the era in which they emerged.

The examination of the French and American revolutions in the second section of the chapter provided you with an opportunity to consider how classical liberal theory could be applied to 18th-century societies and how the ideas of classical liberal theory evolved into an ideology. Responses to classical liberalism resulted in new social, economic, and, specifically, political structures that significantly changed French, American, and other Western societies.

The third section of the chapter explored the social effects of classical liberalism through the Industrial Revolution and laissez-faire capitalism. While the conditions of the working classes during the Industrial Revolution were deplorable, the middle and upper classes accrued enormous economic benefits.

Respond to Issues

- 1 The Chapter Issue asks how classical liberalism can impact a society. Apply what you have learned from this chapter to determine the short- and long-term impacts of classical liberal ideas and principles as they evolved and were interpreted by the societies that adopted them.

Recognize Relationships among Concepts, Issues, and Citizenship

- 2 Conduct a search to locate sources that represent 19th-century popular culture (for example, literature, newspapers, dramas, sporting events, cartoons). Examine each source to determine how it expresses the prevalent ideologies of the day. Compile these sources into a PowerPoint presentation that demonstrates how popular culture was affected by classical liberal ideas. The presentation should represent various perspectives and demonstrate the positive and negative reactions to 19th-century liberalism.