17 September 2012

Industry, Workers, and Class

Croix Rousse district and Saone river
Lyon (Rhône)
How to think about French society and economy in the period 1800-1850?

“Dual revolution” model: France has a political revolution but not an industrial one

Proto-industrialization and de-skilling example of Lyon silkworkers (canuts)

Cultural construction of “class” as a category
The Dual Revolution* in Western Europe

France: political revolution

Great Britain: industrial revolution

The first proletarians were connected with manufacture, they were engendered by it… The production of raw materials and of fuel for manufacture attained importance only in consequence of this industrial change. We shall find…that the degree of intelligence of the various workers is in direct proportion to their relation to manufacture, and that the factory hands are the most enlightened as to their own interests… … the factory hands, eldest children of the industrial revolution, have hence from the beginning to the present formed the heart of the Labor Movement.

Friedrich Engels [1820-1895], The Condition of the Working Class in England (1845).


Population of Manchester

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>75,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>350,000</td>
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Dual Revolution thesis
How to define “class”?

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: class = “relation to the means of production”

The dominant means of production has changed over time:
- hunter-gatherers
- herders
- land (agriculture)
- industry (capital)

“A bourgeoisie from Pau” (1830)
gallica.bnf.fr

“Capture of the Bastille by the brave bourgeoisie” (1789)
gallica.bnf.fr

Dual revolution: class defined as something produced automatically by economic structures
Social rank based on status is not the same as social class.

Old-Regime France was a society in which many of the categories people used when thinking of themselves and others were not the same categories we generally use today.

For example, *pays* ("homeland") meant someone’s village or region, not “country.”

It is crucial to remember that the Three Orders/Estates were not “social classes.”

In theory, at least, membership in the Second or Third Estate was determined at birth. How is this different from social class?

In theory, on what was membership in the First Estate based?

Dual Revolution thesis depends on “class” (not “estate” or “order) as unit of analysis
The Third Estate included:

wholesale merchants, international trade

professions (law, medicine, “men of letters”)

families living “in a bourgeois fashion” (investments)

farmers owning their own land

urban tradesmen and artisans

watchmakers, printers
butchers, bakers
carpenters, shoemakers

household servants

sharecroppers

rural migrant laborers, menial laborers

Rigaud, *Portrait of Samuel Bernard* (banker to the Court in early 1700s)

Boucher, *The Beautiful Cook* (1735), detail.
The French Revolution, Political Equality, and Economic Liberalism

1789-1792    Constituent and Legislative Assemblies endorse economic reforms first attempted under the monarchy: “free” trade in grain; abolition of guilds; creation of integrated national economy by removing internal barriers;

Aug.-Sept. 1792    National Convention elected by universal male suffrage

Sept. 1793    responding to demands of Paris workers (sans-culottes), Convention debates declaring “Terror is the order of the day”—though they do not pass such a declaration, they do introduce wide-ranging economic measures: General Maximum (wage-and-price ceiling) and progressive income tax

late 1794-1799    to distance themselves from Robespierre, St. Just, and other “terrorists,” the Convention and Directory free most political prisoners and revoke economic/social measures; runaway inflation in 1795-1796 contributes to widespread popular misery

Dual Revolution thesis: France has a political revolution
What is economic liberalism?

\textit{libre} = free (as in “liberty,” “liberalism”)

nineteenth-century liberals want:
- free trade
- freedom of the press and of speech
- freedom of religion
- free access to education

Dual Revolution: political changes needed for economic growth
### Nineteenth-century Liberalism and Restoration conservatism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liberals</th>
<th>Conservatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free speech and press</td>
<td>Censorship to protect against dangerous ideas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written constitution and the rule of law</td>
<td>“tradition” and the divine right of kings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State support of public education for boys</td>
<td>Education not necessary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom of religion</td>
<td>Religion of the prince is the religion of the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free trade</td>
<td>Trade tariffs and prohibitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual merit</td>
<td>Organic social structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History is about human progress</td>
<td>History is the unfolding of a divine plan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE WELL:** Nationalism in this era can be either liberal or conservative, but it is nearly always “revolutionary”
Royal patronage and the production of luxury goods in eighteenth-century France

Jean-Henri Riesener, drop-leaf desk, 1783

Gobelins tapestry

Sevres porcelain bowl, 1787

Dual Revolution: Why France does not have an industrial revolution.
printed linen and cotton fabrics (*toiles de Jouy*), Oberkampf Manufacture, 1784

St. Gobain Glass and Mirror Manufacture

Dual Revolution: Does France have an industrial revolution?
Paternalism and French Industry: example of Le Creusot

Theodor Chasseriau, *Ironworks at Le Creusot* (1836)

Paternalism and French Industry: example of Le Creusot

Theodor Chasseriau, *Ironworks at Le Creusot* (1836)

Dual Revolution: Why France does not have an industrial revolution.
Industrialization… is at the heart of a larger, more complex process, often designated as modernization… In the period of the Industrial Revolution, industry moved ahead faster, increased its share of national wealth and product, and drained away the labor of the countryside. The shift varied from one country to another… [While] it was the most extreme in Britain… it was slowest in France, a country of small landowners, where a more gradual introduction of industrial technology combined with high tariffs on food imports to retard the contraction of the primary sector.


Is France backward?

What does Landes mean by “primary sector”?

Why does he think its “contraction” was “retarded” in France?

Why would the “retarded contraction of the primary sector” be a bad thing?

Dual Revolution: Why France does not have an industrial revolution.
To be continued...