

MAHIS -504 **History of the World**(1815-1945 AD)

MA HISTORY
3rd Semester

Rajiv Gandhi University

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HISTORY OF THE WORLD(1815-1945)

MA [History]
Third Semester
MAHIS – 504

RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY

Arunachal Pradesh, INDIA - 791 112

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Revised Edition 2021

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About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campusis linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post- graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminarsheld within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results ontime. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successfulin the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

About IDE

The formal system of higher education in our country is facing the problems of access, limitation of seats, lack of facilities and infrastructure. Academicians from various disciplines opine that it is learning which is more important and not the channel of education. The education through distance mode is an alternative mode of imparting instruction to overcome the problems of access, infrastructure and socio-economic barriers. This will meet the demand for qualitative higher education of millions of people who cannot get admission in the regular system and wish to pursue their education. It also helps interested employed and unemployed men and women to continue with their higher education, Distance education is a distinct approach to impart education to learners who remained away in the space and/or time from the teachers and teaching institutions on account of economic, social and other considerations. Our main aim is to provide higher education opportunities to those who are unable to join regular academic and vocational education programmes in the affiliated colleges of the University and make higher education reach to the doorsteps in rural and geographically remote areas of Arunachal Pradesh in particular and North-eastern part of India in general. In 2008, the Centre for Distance Education has been renamed as "Institute of Distance Education (IDE)."

Continuing the endeavor to expand the learning opportunities for distant learners, IDE has introduced Post Graduate Courses in 5 subjects (Education, English, Hindi, History and Political Science) from the Academic Session 2013-14. The Institute of Distance Education is housed in the Physical Sciences Faculty Building (first floor) next to the University Library. The University campus is 6 kms from NERIST point on National Highway 52A. The University buses ply to NERIST point regularly.

Outstanding Features of Institute of Distance Education:

(1) At Par with Regular Mode

Eligibility requirements, curricular content, mode of examination and the award of degrees are on par with the colleges affiliated to the Rajiv Gandhi University and the Department(s) of the University.

(ii) Self-Instructional Study Material (SISM)

The students are provided SISM prepared by the Institute and approved by Distance Education Council (DEC), New Delhi. This will be provided at the time of admission at the IDE or its Study Centres. SISM is provided only in English except Hindi subject.

(iii) Contact and Counseling Programme (CCP)

The course curriculum of every programme involves counselling in the form of personal contact programme of duration of approximately 7-15 days. The CCP shall not be compulsory for BA. However for professional courses and MA the attendance in CCP will be mandatory.

(iv) Field Training and Project

For professional course(s) there shall be provision of field training and project writing in the concerned subject.

(v) Medium of Instruction and Examination

The medium of instruction and examination will be English for all the subjects except for those subjects where the learners will need to write in the respective languages.

(vi) Subject/Counseling Coordinators

For developing study material, the IDE appoints subject coordinators from within and outside the University. In order to run the PCCP effectively Counseling Coordinators are engaged from the Departments of the University. The Counseling-Coordinators do necessary coordination for involving resource persons in contact and counseling programme and assignment evaluation. The learners can also contact them for clarifying their difficulties in then respective subjects.

SYLLABUS History of the World (1815-1945)

UNIT I: CONCERT OF EUROPE AND THE METTERNICH SYSTEM

- a) Concert of Europe
- b) Metternich

UNIT II: Revolutions of 1830 and 1848

- a) 1830 Revolution
- b) 1848 Revolution

UNIT III: Napoleon III

- a) Internal Policy
- b) Foreign Policy

UNIT IV: Unification Movements

- a) Italy
- b) Germany

UNIT V: Eastern Question

- a) Crimean War
- b) Berlin Congress
- c) Balkan War

INTRODUCTION

For many historians, history of the world begins when ideas of the enlightenment began to germinate culminating in the collapse of monarchies throughout the European continent. From 1789-1917, Europe was to witness many revolutions, both social political; these revolutions formed the foundation of the modern world as we know it and changed the lives of workers, peasants, aristocrats, the middle class, women and minorities living in European countries.

However, modern European history was also witness many tragedies. Wars were fought that killed more people than at any other point in history. The idealism embodied in the French Revolution and later the Russian Revolution and the power of the Industrial Revolution culminated into the two most horrifying events in the of humanity-the two world wars. How could such horrors have been allowed to occur? What part did nationalism and imperialism play in the perversion of enlightenment ideas? This book, History of the World (1815-1945), will try to address such questions.

Moreover, one needs to learn the consequences of the most destructive wars First World War and Second World War-and also focus on the objectives of the League of Nations and the United Nations Organization formed after these wars respectively. The book History of the World (1815-1945) has been designed keeping in mind the self-instruction mode format and follows the simple pattern, wherein each unit begins with an Introduction followed by Unit Objectives. The detailed content is followed by Summary i.e., the concise review. Check Your Progress (questions and answers), Questions and Exercises (both short- and long-type questions). Key Terms, Activity, and Did You Know; all act as useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

The book comprises 10 units.

Unit 1: Concert of Europe and the Metternich System

Unit 2: Revolutions of 1830 and 1848

Unit 3: Napoleon III

Unit 4: Unification of Italy and Germany

Unit 5: The Eastern Question: Crimean War, Berlin Congress and Balkan War

UNIT 1 CONCERT OF EUROPE AND THE METTERNICH SYSTEM

Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Unit Objectives
- 1.2 Concert of Europe
 - 1.2.1 Alexander I and Metternich
 - 1.2.2 Congress of Vienna and the Principle of Legitimacy
 - 1.2.3 The Holy Alliance
- 1.3 The Metternich System
 - 1.3.1 Reaction in Europe after 1815
- 1.4 Summary
- 1.5 Key Terms
- 1.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 1.7 Questions and Exercises
- 1.8 Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Concert of Europe, also known as Vienna System of International Relations, was the balance of power that existed in Europe after the downfall of Napoleon. The defeat of Napoleon brought with it one of the most complicated and difficult problems ever presented to statesmen and diplomatists. As all the nations of Europe had been profoundly affected by Napoleon's enterprises, they were affected by his fall as well. The destruction of the Napoleonic regime was to be followed by the reconstruction of Europe.

This work of reconstruction was undertaken by the Congress of Vienna, one of the most important diplomatic gatherings in the history of Europe (September 1814 to June 1815). Never before had there been seen such an assemblage of celebrities. There were the emperors of Austria and Russia; the kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Wurttemberg, Denmark; a multitude of lesser princes; and all diplomats of Europe, the most noticeable ones included Metternich and Talleyrand. All the powers were represented in the Congress of Vienna, except Turkey.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the balance of power in the Concert of Europe at the end of the Napoleonic regime
- Describe the dominant roles played by Alexander I and Klemens von Metternich at the Congress of Vienna
- Discuss the Principle of Legitimacy as followed by the Congress of Vienna
- Paraphrase the Metternich system and its reaction in Europe after 1815

1.2 CONCERT OF EUROPE

The European powers that met at the Congress of Vienna in 1814, to draw up a permanent peace settlement for Europe, laboured to produce an agreement that would, as nearly as possible, guarantee international tranquility. At the same time, however, they were by no means unwilling to advance the claims of their own countries to new territories. Although the principal decisions of the Congress of Vienna were made by representatives of the major powers, it was attended by an array of dignitaries from almost all the principalities of Europe. No fewer than six monarchs attended the Congress—the Tsar of Russia, the emperor of Austria, and the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria and Wurttemberg. Great Britain was represented by Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington. From France came the subtle intriguer Talleyrand, who had served as a bishop under Louis XVI and also as the foreign minister at the court of Napoleon, and who now stood ready to espouse the cause of reaction.

The main work of the Congress was the distribution of territories that France had been forced to relinquish. Certain arrangements had been agreed upon by the allies before going to Vienna, in the First Treaty of Paris, 30 May 1814; and now it was need of the hour to carry out these arrangements. For instance, the King of Piedmont, a refugee in his island of Sardinia during Napoleon's reign, was restored to his throne. Moreover, Genoa was handed over to King of Piedmont; so that the state which bordered France on the southeast may turn stronger to resist the French aggression. Belgium, previously an Austrian possession, was annexed to Holland and to the House of Orange, now restored, that this state might be a barrier in the north. It was understood that, in general, the doctrine of legitimacy should be followed in determining the rearrangement of Europe, that is, the principle that princes deprived of their thrones and driven from their states by Napoleon should get them back at the hands of collective Europe. Still, this principle was ignored whenever it suited the interests of the Great Powers.

1.2.1 Alexander I and Metternich

The dominant roles at the Congress of Vienna were played by Russia's Tsar Alexander I (1801–1825) and by the Austrian diplomat Klemens von Metternich (1773–1859). The dynamic Tsar of Russia is one of the most baffling figures in the history of Europe during that time. Reared at the court of Catherine the Great, the Tsar imbibed the doctrines of Rousseau from a French Jacobin tutor. In 1801, Alexander succeeded to the throne after his father was murdered, and ruled Russia during the chaotic period of the Napoleonic Wars. For the next two decades of his rule, Alexander disturbed the dreams of his fellow sovereigns by becoming the most liberal monarch in Europe. After the defeat of Napoleon in the Russian campaign, Alexander's mind turned more and more to mystical channels. He conceived of a mission to convert the rulers of all countries to the Christian ideals of justice and peace. But the chief effect of Alexander's voluble expressions of devotion to 'liberty' and 'enlightenment' was to frighten conservatives into suspecting a plot to extend his power all over Europe. He was accused of causing intrigue with Jacobins everywhere to substitute an all-powerful Russia for an all-powerful France.

The most commanding figure at the Congress of Vienna was Klemens von Metternich, born at Coblenz in the Rhine Valley, where his father was Austrian

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ambassador at the courts of three small German states. As a student at the University of Strassburg, the young Metternich witnessed mob violence connected with the outbreak of the French Revolution, and to this he attributed his lifelong hatred of political innovation. Metternich had been active in fomenting discord between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander, after the two became allies in 1807. He had played some part in arranging the marriage of Napoleon to the Austrian archduchess, Marie Louise.

Metternich had once declared himself an admirer of the spider, 'always busy arranging their houses with the greatest of neatness in the world'. At the Congress of Vienna, he attempted at every turn to arrange international affairs with equal neatness, to suit his own diplomatic designs. Metternich two great obsessions were hatred of political and social change, and fear of Russia. Above all, he feared, revolutions inspired by the Tsar for the sake of establishing Russian supremacy in Europe. For this reason, Metternich favoured moderate terms for France in its hour of defeat, and wasted no time to sponsor the restoration of Napoleon as emperor of the French under the protection and overlordship of Habsburg Monarchy.

1.2.2 Congress of Vienna and the Principle of Legitimacy

The basic idea that guided the work of the Congress of Vienna was the principle of legitimacy. This principle was invented by the Russian Tsar as an instrument for preventing France's future aggression, but it was ultimately adopted by Metternich as an inconvenient expression of the general policy of reaction. The policy was that the dynasties of Europe, which had reigned in previous regimes, should be restored to their thrones, and that each country should withdraw to their same respective territories it had held during 1789. Accordingly under this principle, Louis XVIII was recognized as the 'legitimate' emperor. For the same reason, the German left the bank of the Rhine was ceded to Prussia, and Austria was established as a major power in the Vienna Settlement.

However, the principle of legitimacy was not extended to the German principalities. There, despite pleas from rulers of the sovereign bits and pieces that had existed before 1789, the great powers agreed to the German settlement to retain the boundaries as redrawn by Napoleon. The fear of an aggressive Russia led the other European nations to support the maintenance as an anti-Russian bulwark of the Napoleonic kingdoms of Bavaria, Wurttemberg and Saxony. At the same time, however, Tsar Alexander was demanding that Poland, partitioned into virtual extinction by Russia, Austria and Prussia in the 1795, be reconstituted as a kingdom with himself as its constitutional monarch. Prussia was prepared to agree with this scheme, provided that she was allowed to swallow Saxony.

National avarice for territorial expansion rapidly eclipsed legitimacy as a guiding principle in these negotiations. Metternich, horrified at the double threat presented to Austria by Prussia and Russia, allied himself with France's Talleyrand and Britain's Castlereagh, both of whom secretly agreed to go to war against Russia and Prussia, if necessary, in order to prevent them from consummating their Polish–Saxon deal. A compromise was eventually reached, allowing Russia the major part of Poland and Prussia, a part of Saxony. Britain, no less anxious than the other victorious powers to gain compensation for its long years at war, received territories principally under French dominion in South Africa and South America and the island of Ceylon, thus adding further to its commercial empire.

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Legitimacy, as expressed in the treaties that concluded the Congress of Vienna, emerged as the latter-day expression of the principles of balance and stability that had shaped diplomacy during the eighteenth century triumph of the state. The age of absolutism had witnessed the emergence of an international state system dedicated to those principles. By enshrining them in the settlement, the diplomats at Vienna ensured that such a state system would be part of the legacy passed to their nineteenth century successors.

1.2.3 The Holy Alliance

In addition to the Treaties of Vienna, the allies signed two other documents in 1815; which proved to be of great significance in the history of Europe, for establishing the so-called Holy Alliance. The Holy Alliance further led to the establishing of the Quadruple Alliance that included Great Britain and France with the aim of upholding the European peace settlement and balance of power in the Concert of Europe concluded at the Congress of Vienna.

The Holy Alliance was formed at the behest of Alexander I of Russia, and it was signed in Paris on 26 September 1815. Alexander submitted a document to his immediate allies, Prussia and Austria. This document gave the popular name to the 'system of repression' which was for many years followed by the powers that had conquered in the late campaign. The document stated that it was the intention of the powers henceforth to be guided, in both their domestic and foreign policies, solely by the precepts of the Christian religion. The rulers announced that they would regard each other as brothers and their subjects as their children; and they promised to aid each other on all occasions and in all places.

The other powers, asked by the Emperor of Russia to express their approval of Christian principles, did so, preserving what dignity they could in playing what most of them considered a farce of questionable taste. For, knowing the principles that had actually governed the Tsar and other rulers at the Congress of Vienna, the rulers did not consider them particularly biblical or as likely to inaugurate a new and idyllic diplomacy in Europe.

As a matter of fact, no state ever made any attempt to act in accordance with the principles so highly approved. The only important thing about the Holy Alliance was its name, which was, in the opinion of all Liberals too good to be lost. Ironically it did contrast with what was known of the characters and policies of the rulers of Russia, Prussia and Austria—the Holy Allies.

The other document, signed on 20 November 1815, by Russia, Prussia, Austria and England established a Quadruple Alliance. The Alliance provided that these powers should hold congresses from time to time for the purpose of considering their common interests and the needs of Europe. The congresses that were held during the next few years in accordance with this agreement were converted into engines of oppression everywhere largely through the adroitness of Prince Metternich, Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, whose influence upon their deliberations was decisive.

1.3 THE METTERNICH SYSTEM

Prince Metternich (1773–1859) appeared to the generation that lived between 1815 and 1848 as the most commanding personality of Europe, whose importance is shown

Check Your Progress

- 1. Name some the dignitaries who attended the Congress of Vienna.
- 2. What was the main purpose of organizing the Congress of Vienna (September 1814 to June 1815)?
- 3. Who were the two dominant faces at the Congress of Vienna?

in the phrases, 'Era of Metternich' and 'System of Metternich'. Metternich was the central figure not only in Austrian and German politics, but also in European diplomacy. He was the most famous statesman Austria produced in the nineteenth century. A man of high rank, wealthy, polished, blending social accomplishments with literary and scientific pretensions; Metternich's foible was omniscience. He was the prince of diplomats, thoroughly at ease amid all the intrigues of European politics'.

Metternich's egotism was Olympian. He spoke of himself as being born 'to prop up the decaying structure' of the European society; and felt the world resting on his shoulders. 'My position has this peculiarity' he says, 'that all eyes, all expectations are directed to precisely that point where I happen to be'. He asks the question: 'Why, among so many million men, must I be the one to think when others do not think, to act when others do not act, and to write because others know not how?' Metternich himself admitted at the end of a long career that he had 'never strayed from the path of eternal law', that his mind had 'never entertained error'. Metternich felt and remarked that he would leave a void when he disappeared.

On analysis, however, his thinking appears singularly negative. It consisted of his criticism of the French Revolution. Metternich's lifelong role had been to oppose every major event that took place. Metternich believed in absolute monarchy, and considered himself as 'God's lieutenant in supporting it'. He hated parliaments and representative systems of government. All this talk of liberty, equality, constitutions; he regarded as pestilential, the hateful chatter of revolutionary French minds. Metternich defied himself as a man of the *status quo*. Keep things just as they are, all innovation is madness; such was the constant burden of his song. He was the convinced and resourceful opponent of all struggles for national independence, of all aspirations for self-government. Democracy could only 'change daylight into darkest night'. Such was the man who succeeded Napoleon in the centre of the European stage.

1.3.1 Reaction in Europe after 1815

Post-1815, the reaction in Europe—Austria, Germany, Spain and Italy—have been discussed in this section.

1. The Austrian Empire

Austria was not a single nation, like France, but was composed of many races. To the west were the Austrian duchies, chiefly German, the ancient possessions of the House of Hapsburg; to the north was Bohemia, an ancient kingdom acquired by the Hapsburgs in 1526; to the east, the Kingdom of Hungary, occupying the immense plain of mid-Danube; and to the south, beyond the Alps, the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, were purely Italian. The two leading races in this Austrian Empire were Germans—forming, the body of the population in the Duchies - and Magyars - originally an Asiatic folk, encamped in the Danube Valley since the ninth century and forming the dominant population of Hungary. There were many branches of the Slavic race in both Austria and Hungary. There were also Romanians, a different people still, in eastern Hungary.

Austria-a land of the old regime

To rule so vast a realm of 28 or 29 million people was a difficult task. This was the first problem of Francis I (1792–1835) and Metternich. Their policy was to resist all demands for reform, and to keep things as they were, to make the world stand still. The people were sharply divided into classes, each resting on a different basis. Of

these the nobles occupied a highly privileged position. They enjoyed freedom from compulsory military service, large exemptions from taxation, a monopoly of the best offices in the state. They possessed a large part of the land, from which in many cases they drew enormous revenues. On the other hand, the condition of the peasants, who formed the immense mass of the people, was deplorable in the extreme. They were even refused the right to purchase relief from the heaviest burdens. Absolutism in government, feudalism in society, special privileges for the favoured few, oppression and misery for the masses, such was the condition of Austria in 1815.

The police system

It was the fixed purpose of the government to maintain things as they were, and it succeeded largely for 33 years, during the reign of Francis I, till 1835, and of his successor Ferdinand I (1835–1848). During this period, Metternich was the chief minister. His system, at war with human nature and at war with the modern spirit, rested upon a meddlesome police, upon elaborate espionage, and upon a vigilant censorship of ideas.

Censorship was applied to theatres, newspapers and books. The frontiers were guarded so that foreign books of a liberal character might not slip in to corrupt people's mind. Political science and history practically disappeared as serious studies. Spies were everywhere, in government offices, in places of amusement, in educational institutions, and so on. Professors and students were subjected to humiliating regulations. Spies attended lectures.

The government insisted on having a complete list of books that each professor took out of the university library. Textbooks were prescribed. Students could not study abroad, or have societies of their own. Austrians could not travel to foreign countries without the permission of the government, which was rarely given. Austria was sealed as nearly hermetically as possible against the liberal thought of Europe. Intellectual stagnation was the price paid. A system like this needed careful bolstering at every moment and at every point. The best protection for the Austrian system was to extend it to other countries. Having firmly established it at home, Metternich laboured with great skill and temporary success to apply it in surrounding countries, particularly in Germany and in Italy.

We shall now trace the application of this conception of government in other countries. This will serve among other things to show the dominant position of the Austrian Empire in Europe from 1815 to 1848. Vienna, the seat of rigid conservatism, was now the centre of European affairs, as Paris, the home of revolution, had been for so long.

2. The German Confederation

One of the important problems presented to the Congress of Vienna concerned the future organization of Germany. The Holy Roman Empire had disappeared in 1806 at the hands of Napoleon. The Confederation of the Rhine, which Napoleon had created to take its place, had disappeared with its creator. Something must evidently be put in its place. The outcome of the deliberations was the establishment of the German Confederation, which was the government of Germany from 1815–1866. The Confederation consisted of 38 states. The central organ of the government was to be a Diet, meeting at Frankfort. This was to consist, not of representatives chosen by the people, but of delegates appointed by different sovereigns serving at their convenience.

They were to be, not deputies empowered to decide questions, but simply diplomatic representatives, voting as their princes might direct. Austria was always to have the presidency of this body. The method of procedure within the Diet was complicated and exceedingly cumbrous, making action difficult, delay and obstruction easy. The Confederation did not constitute a real nation, but only a loose league of independent states. The states agreed not to go to war against each other, and that was about the only serious obligation they assumed.

The Confederation was a union of princes and not of people. It was created because each prince was jealous of every other prince, and was far more concerned with the preservation of his own power than with the prosperity of Germany. Now the spirit of nationality had been aroused by the struggles with Napoleon. It was felt that the first need of Germany was unity and a strong national government. But German unity was, according to Metternich, an 'infamous object', and Metternich was supported by the selfishness of the German rulers; not one of whom was willing to surrender any authority. Intense was the indignation of all Liberals at what they called this 'great deception' of Vienna.

Disappointment of the Liberals

The Liberals experienced another disappointment as well. Supporting the cause of liberty, they had wished a constitution for each one of the 38 states; they wished a parliament in each; they wished to have the reign of absolutism brought to a close. Metternich, opposed even more to free political institutions than to a strong central government and succeeded in thwarting the reformers at this point. The Liberals were put off with only vague and doubtful promises, which, moreover, were never realized, except in the case of a few smaller states.

Metternich's programme was to secure the prevalence in Germany of the same principles that prevailed in Austria; and in this he largely succeeded. On favourable occasions, Metternich could apply the system of repression which in his opinion was the only sure cure for the ills of this world. One of these was a patriotic festival held in 1817 at the Wartburg, a castle famous in connection with the career of Martin Luther. This was a celebration organized by the students of German universities and it expressed the vigorous liberalism of students, their detestation of reaction and reactionaries. Somewhat later a student killed a journalist and playwright, Kotzebue, who was hated in university circles for being considered a Russian spy. These and other occurrences played perfectly into the hands of Metternich, who was seeking the a way establishing reaction in Germany as it had been established in Austria.

He secured the passage by the frightened princes of the infamous Carlsbad Decrees (1819), through whose provisions Metternich became the conqueror of the Confederation. These decrees were the work of Austria, seconded by Prussia. These signified in German history the suppression of liberty for a generation. These decrees determined the political system of Germany until 1848. These provided for a vigorous censorship of the Press, and subjected professors and students of universities to close government supervision. All teachers who should propagate 'harmful doctrines', that is, who should in any way criticize Metternich's ideas of government, should be removed from their positions; and once removed, could not be appointed to any other position in Germany. The student societies were suppressed. Any student expelled from one university was not to be admitted into another. By these provisions, it was expected that the entire academic community, professors and students, would be

reduced to silence. Another provision was directed against the establishment of any further constitutions of a popular character. Thus free parliaments, freedom of the press, freedom of teaching, and free speech were outlawed.

Reaction in Germany

The Carlsbad Decrees represent an important turning point in the history of Central Europe. They signalled the dominance of Metternich in both Germany and Austria. Prussia now docilely followed Austrian leadership, abandoning all liberal policies. The King, Frederick William III, had, in his hour of need, promised a constitution to Prussia—which he never kept. On the other hand, he inaugurated a peculiar persecution of all Liberals, which was criticized by many as cruel. Prussia entered upon a dull, drab period of oppression.

Let us now see how the same ideas were applied in other countries.

3. Restoration in Spain

In 1808 Napoleon had, as we have seen, seized the crown of Spain; and until 1814 had kept the Spanish King, Ferdinand VII, virtually a prisoner in France, placing his own henchman Joseph as king to the throne. The Spaniards rose against the usurper and for years and carried on a vigorous guerrilla warfare, aided by the English that ended in success. As their King was in the hands of enemy, they proceeded in his name to frame a government.

Being liberal-minded they drew up a constitution, the famous Constitution of 1812, which was closely modelled on the French Constitution of 1791. It asserted the sovereignty of people, thus discarding the rival theory of monarchy by divine right which had hitherto been the accepted as the basis of the Spanish state. This democratic document, however, did not have long to live, as Ferdinand, on his return to Spain after the defeat of Napoleon, immediately suppressed it and embarked upon a policy of angry reaction. The Press was gagged. Books of a liberal character were destroyed wherever found, and particularly all copies of the constitution. Thousands of political prisoners were severely punished.

Vigorous and efficient in suppressing all liberal ideas, the government of Ferdinand was indolent and incompetent in other matters. Spain, a country of about 11 million people, was wretchedly poor and ignorant. The government, however, made no attempt to improve conditions. Moreover, it failed to discharge the most fundamental duty of any government, that is, to preserve the integrity of the empire. The Spanish colonies in America had been for several years in revolt against the mother country, and the government had made no serious efforts to put down rebellion.

Revolution in Spain (1820)

Such conditions, of course, aroused great discontent. The army particularly was angry at the treatment it had received, and became a breeding place of conspiracies. A military uprising occurred in 1820 which swept everything and forced the King to restore the Constitution of 1812 and to promise henceforth, to govern in accordance with its provisions. The text of the Constitution was posted in every city, and parish priests were ordered to expound it to their congregations.

Revolution had once again triumphed and only five years after the Battle of Waterloo (1815). An absolute monarchy, based on divine right, had been changed into a constitutional monarchy based on the sovereignty of people. Would the example

be followed elsewhere? Would the Holy Alliance look on in silence? Had the revolutionary spirit been so carefully smothered in Austria, Germany and France, only to blaze forth in outlying sections of Europe? Answers to these questions were quickly forthcoming.

4. Italy-A Geographical Expression

After the fall of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna restored most of the old states which had existed before he first came to Italy. There were ten of them—Piedmont, Lombardy–Venetia, Parma, Modena, Lucca, Tuscany, the Papal States, Naples, Monaco and San Marino. Genoa and Venice, until recently independent republics, were not restored, as republics were not 'fashionable'; they were handed over to Piedmont and Austria.

These states were too small to be self-sufficient, and as a result Italy was for nearly 50 years, the sport of foreign powers, dependent, on Austria. Austria was given outright the richest part of the Po Valley as a Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Austrian princes or princesses ruled over the duchies of Modena, Parma and Tuscany, and were easily brought into the Austrian system. This was how Austria became the rural of both northern and southern Italy for Ferdinand, the King of Naples. He made an offensive and defensive treaty with Austria, pledging himself to make no separate alliances and to grant no liberties to his subjects beyond those which were obtained in Lombardy and Venetia. Naples was a satellite in the great Austrian system. The King of Piedmont and the Pope were the only Italian princes at all likely to be intractable. And Austria's strength in comparison with theirs was that of a giant compared with pygmies.

Reactionary policies of the Italian princes

Italy became again a collection of small states, largely under the dominance of Austria. Each of the restored princes was an absolute monarch. None of the states had a parliament. Italy had neither unity nor constitutional forms, nor any semblance of popular participation in the government. The use which the restored princes made of their unfettered liberty of action was significant.

Hating the French, Italians undertook to extinguish all reminders of them. They abolished all constitutions and many laws and institutions of the French origin. Vaccination and gas illumination were forbidden for the simple reason that the French had introduced them. In Piedmont French plants in the Botanic Gardens of Turin were torn up, French furniture in the royal palace was destroyed in response to this vigorous and infantile emotion. In every state, there was distinct retrogression and the Italians lost ground—politically, industrially and socially. In most, the inquisition was restored. Education was handed over to the clergy. The course of studies was carefully purged of everything that might be dangerous. The police paid particular attention to 'the class called thinkers'.

Thus, Italy was ruled by petty despots and in a petty spirit. Moreover most of the princes took their cue from Austria, the nature of whose policies we have already examined. The natural result of such conditions was deep and widespread discontent. The discontented joined the Carbonari, a secret society, and bided their time.

In Naples, a military insurrection broke out. The revolutionists demanded the Spanish Constitution of 1812, not because they knew it well, but because it was very democratic and possessed the advantage of being readymade. The King immediately yielded, and the constitution was proclaimed.

NOTES

ACTIVITY

- Prepare a note of the important happenings related to the Quadruple Alliance of 1815. You may refer to some historical books and articles.
- Research the Internet and make a chronological chart of the major events related to the Revolution in Spain (1820).

DID YOU KNOW?

The population of the German Confederation (excluding Austria) grew 60 per cent from 1815 to 1865. The era witnessed the demographic transition in Germany. After 1815, increased agricultural productivity met a larger food supply, and a decline in the incidences of famines, epidemics and malnutrition. This allowed the German couples to marry at an early age and have more children.

1.4 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The Concert of Europe, also known as Vienna System of International Relations, was the balance of power that existed in Europe after the downfall of Napoleon.
- The European powers that met at the Congress of Vienna in 1814, to draw a
 permanent peace settlement for Europe, laboured to produce an agreement
 that would as nearly as possible guarantee international tranquility.
- Although the principal decisions of the Congress of Vienna were made by representatives of the major powers, it was attended by an array of dignitaries from almost all the principalities of Europe. No fewer than six monarchs attended the Congress—the Tsar of Russia, the emperor of Austria, and the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria and Wurttemberg. Great Britain was represented by Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington.
- The main work of the Congress was the distribution of the territories that France had been forced to relinquish. Certain arrangements had been agreed upon by the allies before going to Vienna, in the First Treaty of Paris, 30 May 1814; and now it was need of the hour to carry out these arrangements.
- The dominant roles at the Congress of Vienna were played by Tsar Alexander I (1801–1825) and by the Austrian diplomat Klemens von Metternich (1773–1859).
- Metternich had been active in fomenting discord between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander, after the two became allies in 1807. He had played some part in arranging the marriage of Napoleon to the Austrian archduchess, Marie Louise.
- At the Congress of Vienna, Metternich attempted at every turn to arrange international affairs with equal neatness, to suit his own diplomatic designs.
- Metternich's two great obsessions were hatred of political and social change, and fear of Russia.

Check Your Progress

- 4. 'Metternich had two great obsessions that formulated his system'. What were those obsessions?
- 5. What do you understand by the 'principle of legitimacy'?
- 6. How was the 'Holy Alliance' formed?
- 7. What was the role played by the Carlsbad Decrees in the history of Central Europe?

- The basic idea that guided the work of the Congress of Vienna was the principle
 of legitimacy. This principle was invented by the Russian Tsar as an instrument
 for protecting France against future aggression, but it was ultimately adopted
 by Metternich as inconvenient expression of the general policy of reaction.
- The policy under the principle of legitimacy was that the dynasties of Europe, which had reigned in previous regimes, should be restored to their thrones, and that each country should withdraw to their respective territories it had during 1789.
- Tsar Alexander was demanding that Poland, partitioned into virtual extinction by Russia, Austria and Prussia in 1795, be reconstituted as a kingdom with himself as its constitutional monarch. Prussia was prepared to agree with this scheme, provided that the state was allowed to swallow Saxony.
- National avarice for territorial expansion rapidly eclipsed legitimacy as a guiding
 principle in these negotiations. Metternich, horrified at the double threat
 presented to Austria by Prussia and Russia, allied himself with France's
 Talleyrand and Britain's Castlereagh, both of whom secretly agreed to go to
 war against Russia and Prussia, if necessary, in order to prevent them from
 consummating their Polish–Saxon deal.
- In addition to the Treaties of Vienna, the allies signed two other documents in 1815; which proved to be of great significance in the history of Europe, for establishing the so-called Holy Alliance. The Holy Alliance was formed at the behest of Alexander I of Russia, and it was signed in Paris on 26 September 1815. The other document, signed on 20 November 1815, by Russia, Prussia, Austria and England established a Quadruple Alliance.
- Metternich was the central figure not only in Austrian and German politics, but also in European diplomacy. He was the most famous statesman Austria produced in the nineteenth century.
- Metternich's programme was to secure the prevalence in Germany of the same principles that prevailed in Austria; and in this he largely succeeded. On favourable occasions, Metternich could apply the system of repression which in his opinion was the only sure cure for the ills toward world.
- Carlsbad Decrees determined the political system of Germany until 1848. These
 provided for a vigorous censorship of the Press, and subjected professors and
 students of universities to close government supervision.
- The Carlsbad Decrees represent an important turning point in the history of Central Europe. They signalized the dominance of Metternich in both Germany and Austria. Prussia now followed Austrian leadership, abandoning all liberal policies. King, Frederick William III, had, in his hour of need, promised a constitution to Prussia—which he never kept.
- The Constitution of 1812 asserted the sovereignty of people, thus discarding the rival theory of monarchy by divine right which had hitherto been the accepted basis of the Spanish state.
- The revolutionists demanded the Spanish Constitution of 1812, not because they knew it well, but because it was democratic and possessed the advantage of being readymade.

1.5 KEY TERMS

- Carbonari: Members of a secret political society, formed in 1811, with liberal republican objectives, and engaged in the struggle for Italian unification
- Carlsbad Decrees: A set of reactionary restrictions introduced in the states of the German Confederation, and lasted till 1848; and provided for a vigorous censorship of the press, and subjected the professors and students of the universities to close government supervision
- **Divine right:** The doctrine that a monarch derives his power to reign directly from God
- Holy Alliance: A coalition created by Russia, Austria and Prussia; after the fall of the Napoleonic regime
- **Principle of legitimacy:** For Metternich, legitimacy meant that only monarchs of the Congress of Vienna were the legitimate rulers, and the illegitimacy of the French Revolution was not be tolerated
- Quadruple Alliance: The treaty signed, in 1815, by the Great Britain, Russia, Prussia and Russia; with the aim of upholding the European peace settlement and balance of power in the Concert of Europe
- Sovereignty: Supremacy of authority or rule as exercised by a sovereign or sovereign state

1.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

- The Congress of Vienna was attended by an array of dignitaries from almost all
 the principalities of Europe. No fewer than six monarchs attended the
 Congress—the Tsar of Russia, the emperor of Austria, and the kings of Prussia,
 Denmark, Bavaria and Wurttemberg. Great Britain was represented by Lord
 Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington.
- 2. The main work of the Congress was the distribution of the territories that France had been forced to relinquish. Certain arrangements had been agreed upon by the allies before going to Vienna, in the First Treaty of Paris, 30 May 1814; and now it was need of the hour to carry out these arrangements.
- 3. The dominant roles at the Congress of Vienna were played by Tsar Alexander I (1801–1825) and by the Austrian diplomat Klemens von Metternich (1773–1859).
- 4. Metternich's two great obsessions were hatred of political and social change, and fear of Russia.
- 5. The policy under the principle of legitimacy was that the dynasties of Europe, which had reigned in previous regimes, should be restored to their thrones, and that each country should withdraw to their respective territories it had held during 1789. The basic idea that guided the work of the Congress of Vienna was the principle of legitimacy. This principle was invented by the Russian Tsar as an instrument for protecting France future aggression, but it was ultimately adopted by Metternich as in convenient expression of the general policy of reaction.

- 6. In addition to the Treaties of Vienna, the allies signed two other documents in 1815: which proved to be of great significance in the history of Europe, for establishing the so-called 'Holy Alliance'. The Holy Alliance was formed at the behest of Alexander I of Russia, and it was signed in Paris on 26 September 1815. The other document, signed on 20 November 1815, by Russia, Prussia, Austria and England established a Quadruple Alliance.
- 7. The Carlsbad Decrees represent an important turning point in the history of Central Europe. They signalized the dominance of Metternich in both Germany and Austria. Carlsbad Decrees determined the political system of Germany until 1848. These provided for a vigorous censorship of the Press, and subjected the professors and students of the universities to close government supervision.

1.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

- 1. What were the demands of Russia and Prussia in the Congress of Vienna?
- 2. What were the shortcomings of the Congress of Vienna?
- 3. What was the Holy Alliance?
- 4. What was the Quadruple Alliance?
- 5. What were the personal characteristics and the political opinions of Metternich?
- 6. What were the causes of the Spanish Revolution of 1820?

Long-Answer Questions

- 1. Describe the ways in which conservative political and social views shaped the peace settlement of the Congress of Vienna.
- 2. Explain the consequences of the peace of settlement for the period 1815–1848 in Europe.
- 3. What is Metternich's historical significance?
- 4. Describe the government of Austria after 1815. What was the German Confederation?
- 5. Why were the Liberals of Germany disappointed with the work of the Congress of Vienna?
- 6. What was the course of events in Germany after 1815? What role did the Carlsbad Decrees play?
- 7. What is meant by the phrase 'Italy—a geographical expression'? What were some of the features of the reaction in Italy after 1815?
- 8. Why were several international congresses held from 1820–1822? How did the policies of the Holy Allies clash with those of America? What was the outcome of that clash?

1.8 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 REVOLUTIONS OF 1830 AND 1848

Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Unit Objectives
- 2.2 The July Revolution of 1830
 - 2.2.1 Objectives of the Revolution
 - 2.2.2 Influence on Europe
- 2.3 The French Revolution of 1848
 - 2.3.1 Opposition to Louis Philippe
 - 2.3.2 Napoleon's Regime
 - 2.3.3 Beginning of the Counter-Revolution in France
 - 2.3.4 England: The French Revolution to the Treaty of Amiens
 - 2.3.5 The Bourgeois Empire
 - 2.3.6 Napoleon's Invasion of Russia
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 - 2.3.8 The Second Republic
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- 2.4 Summary
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- 2.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 2.7 Questions and Exercises
- 2.8 Further Reading

2.0 INTRODUCTION

From 1789 to 1870, history of France stood witness to a number of revolutions. Essentially, three main revolutions broke out in France during this phase. The first two revolutions included the Revolution of 1789 and the July Revolution of 1830. These two revolutions erupted against the autocratic rule of the Bourbons. The third major revolution took place against the failures of Louis Philippe, the Duke of Orleans, in the year 1848. All such revolutions of France had a great impact on the socioeconomic and political set-up of Europe.

The July Revolution of 1830 broke out against the absolute monarchy of Charles X. Similarly, the Revolution of 1848 erupted to root out the monarchical government of Louis Philippe. The political condition of almost all countries of the continent was greatly affected by these revolutions. Though the July Revolution of 1830 was not a huge success, with the aid of the Great Britain, the revolutionists were successful in establishing constitutional monarchy in Belgium. Other than Great Britain, some other nations, including France, gave recognition to the newly formed government of Belgium. Similarly, the revolutionists achieved success in Prussia and Sardinia where liberal constitutions were framed and constitutional monarchy was established.

It is to be noted that the major objective of the revolutionists in 1830 was to reestablish political and social systems in France, which were being destroyed by reactionary powers. On the other hand, the outbreak of the Revolution in 1848 took place primarily because of economic unrest. Due to the Industrial Revolution, the circumstances had considerably changed in France and other European countries. Though the Industrial Revolution raised the prosperity of the state, the socioeconomic disparity in the state widened. The declining economic status of the working class, where labourers were forced to work under subhuman conditions, increased discontent against the existing ruling power. This rising economic discontent was the chief cause for the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848.

We will elaborate on the causes and the course of these two revolutions—Revolutions of 1830 and 1848—in this unit. A point to be noted is that the principle of social equality was established in France as an outcome of the July Revolution of 1830. On the other hand, the Revolution of 1848 established political equality in France. Also, due to the Revolution of 1848, the socialistic principles that included 'the nationalization of the industries' and 'the right to work' came into practice for the first time.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the causes that led to the Revolution of 1830
- Explain the objectives of the July Revolution of 1830
- Elaborate on the influence and significance of the July Revolution upon Europe
- · Learn the causes and the after-effects of the French Revolution of 1848

2.2 THE JULY REVOLUTION OF 1830

The significance of July Revolution of 1830, or the Second French Revolution as it is widely known, is that it gave way to the political voice of the masses. That was the period when the secret societies were formed, and then the same were turned into clubs where dissent voices would come up against the wrong policies of the government. The appointment of the Polignac ministry and its audacious and alarming announcement precipitated a crisis situation that shortly exploded in a revolution.

The Chamber of Deputies practically demanded the dismissal of the unpopular Ministry. The King refused and declared that 'his decisions were unchangeable'. Further, by dissolving the Chamber itself and conducting new elections, he wanted to secure a chamber subservient to his will. But the voters thought otherwise. The elections resulted in a crushing defeat for the King and his ministry. Charles would not yield. His own brother, Louis XVI, had come to a tragic end, he said, because he had made concessions.

Having failed at other methods, Charles was now determined upon coercion. On 26 July 1830, he issued several ordinances, suspending the liberty of the Press, dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, changing the electoral system, reducing the number of voters from 100,000 to 25,000, and ordering new elections. In other words, the King was the supreme lawgiver, not at all affected by the Charter. If those ordinances were to stand, the people would have had no liberty, and the autocratic rule of the monarch would have prevailed. Not to have opposed them would have been to acquiesce quietly in the transformation of the government into the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV.

2.2.1 Objectives of the Revolution

As the significance of the ordinances became apparent, popular anger began to manifest itself. Crowds assembled in the streets shouting, 'Down with the Ministry'; 'Long live the Charter'. On Wednesday, 28 July 1830, civil war broke out. The insurgents were mainly old soldiers and a group of republicans and workmen—men who hated the Bourbons, who followed the tricolour flag as the true national emblem, rather than the white flag of the royal house.

The civil war lasted three days. It was the July Revolution—the Glorious Three Days. It was a street war that was limited to Paris. The insurgents were not very numerous, probably not more than 10,000. But the government had itself probably not more than 14,000 troops in Paris. The insurrection was not difficult to organize. The streets of Paris were narrow and crooked. Through such tortuous lanes it was impossible for the government to send artillery, a weapon which it alone possessed. The streets were paved with large stones, which could be torn up and piled in such a way so as to make fortresses for the insurgents.

On the night of July 27–28, the streets were cut by hundreds of barricades made in the manner of paving stones, of overturned wagons, of barrels and boxes, of furniture, of trees and objects of every description. Against such obstacles, soldiers could make but little progress. If they overcome a barricade and carried on, it was immediately rebuilt. This was more threatening than before as it would cut their line of reinforcements and lead to possible retreat. The war continued in the ferocious heat of July. On 31 July, on the verge of losing all, Charles abdicated in favour of his nine-year-old grandson, the Duke of Bordeaux, son of the murdered Duke of Berry, and fled to England with his family. For next two years, Charles lived in Great Britain, keeping a melancholy court in Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh, of somber memory during the life of Mary, Queen of Scots. Later Charles moved to Austria, where he died of Cholera in 1836.

After the demise of the monarch, people who had done the actual fighting undoubtedly were in favour of a republic. However, a certain group of journalists and deputies and the majority of Parisians were in favour of Louis Philippe d'Orléans, who represented a younger panel of the Royal family. It was in general believed that Louis had sympathy for liberal opinions and cause. With such an open-minded person as the leader, it was said, there would be no more attempts to re-enthrone the nobility and the clergy. When the government turns liberal, resting on the middle class, the voice of the people could not be suppressed. But it was the real leader of the Republicans—Lafayette—who was to take a final call of selecting between a monarchy and republic. Lafayette finally threw his influence in favour of Louis Philippe, arguing that a monarchy under so liberal and democratic a prince would after all be 'the best of republics'.

On August 7, the Chamber of Deputies called Louis Philippe to the throne, ignoring the claims of the minor legitimate ruler, the Duke of Bordeaux. The Charter had been slightly modified; and the parliamentary form of government was restored. The tricolour flag superseded the white flag of the Bourbons. The reign of Louis Philippe now began.

2.2.2 Influence on Europe

The influence of the Revolution of 1830 was felt all over Europe—in Poland, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, England, and Netherlands. It was the signal and encouragement

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for widespread popular movements which for a short time seemed to threaten the whole structure erected in 1815 at Vienna. It created an immediate problem for the rulers of Europe. Now that revolution had again broken out in France would they 'intervene' as they had done in Spain and Italy? At first they were disposed to do so. Metternich's immediate impulse was to organize a coalition against Louis Philippe—'King of the Barricades'.

But for various reasons, this was impracticable. All the powers, therefore, recognized Louis Philippe, though with varying indications of annoyance. The settlement of 1815 was undone forever. The elder branch of the House of Bourbon, put upon the throne of France by the Allies of 1815, was pushed from it by the revolution.

1. Kingdom of Netherlands

Another part of the diplomatic structure of 1815 was overthrown. The Congress of Vienna had created an essentially artificial state to the north of France, the kingdom of Netherlands. It had done this explicitly for the purpose of creating a barrier against France. The Belgian provinces, hitherto Austrian, were in 1815 annexed to Holland, to strengthen the state so that it might be in a position to resist attack until the other powers could come to its rescue.

It was easier to declare Belgium and the Netherlands as formally united under one ruler than to make them in any real sense a single nation. Though by a glance at the map, it might seem that the people of this little corner of Europe must be essentially homogeneous; such was not the case. There were many more points of difference than of similarity between them. People in these European states spoke different languages. They even had different faiths to follow—the Dutch were Protestants and the Belgians were Catholics. They differed in their economic life and principles—the Dutch were an agricultural and commercial people and inclined toward free trade, whereas Belgians were manufacturing people and inclined toward protective trade.

For Belgians, the union with the Dutch was from the start an unhappy one. They saw themselves added to and subjected to another people inferior in number to themselves, whereas the feeling of nationality had been aroused in them as in other people by the spirit and example of the French Revolution. Moreover, Belgians had hoped for a larger and more independent life than they had ever had before.

Friction between people of these states was a regular feature. The Belgians resented the fact that the officials in the state and the army were mostly Dutch. They objected to the King's attempts to force the Dutch language into a position of undue privilege; though this initiative aimed at fusing the two. As the years went by, Belgians became more and more disillusioned by the social, economic and political system.

2. Kingdom of Belgium

The July Revolution came as a spark in the midst of all this. There was street fighting in Brussels as there had been in Paris. The revolution spread rapidly. The royal troops were driven out and on 4 October 1830, and Belgium declared itself independent. A congress was called to determine the future form of government. It decided in favour of a monarchy, adopted a liberal constitution, and elected its first king—King Leopold of Coburg, whose coronation took place in July 1831.

Would the Great Powers which in 1815 had added Belgium to Holland consent to the undoing of their work? Would they recognize the new kingdom? They had

suppressed revolution in Spain and Italy, as we have seen. Would they do it again in the interest of their handiwork, the treaties of Vienna? Now, however, they were divided; and in this division lay the salvation of the new state. They, therefore, made the best of the situation. At a conference in London, Russia, Austria France and England formally promised to respect the neutrality forever.

This part of the work of the Congress of Vienna had consequently been undone. A new state had arisen in Europe, as a result of revolution.

3. Kingdom of Poland

The Poles had hoped that the French Revolution and, later, that Napoleon might restore their nation, so wantonly destroyed, as we have seen. In this, they were disappointed. But in 1815, at the Congress of Vienna, they found unexpected aid; though in the end it proved to be illusory. Alexander I, Tsar of Russia, was at that time aglow with generous and romantic sentiments. Under such influence, the Tsar conceived the plan of restoring the old kingdom of Poland. For him, Poland should be a kingdom entirely separate from the Empire of Russia. And that the Tsar would be Emperor of Russia and King of Poland. Furthermore, the union of the two states would be personal.

Alexander had desired to restore Poland to the full extent of its possessions in the eighteenth century. This could have been possible if Prussia and Austria relinquish the provinces they had acquired in the three partitions. However, this was not accomplished at the Congress of Vienna. Although Prussia and Austria did give back some of their Polish possessions, they retained most of it. The Polish kingdom erected in 1815, did not even include all Polish territories that had been acquired by Russia.

Of this new state, Alexander was to be king. To it he granted a constitution and established a parliament of two chambers with considerable powers. Roman Catholicism was recognized as the state religion; but a generous measure of tolerance was extended to other sects as well. Freedom of the Press was guaranteed and Polish was made the official language. All positions in the government were to be filled by Poles, not by Russians. Poland had established several liberal institutions and was considered to be a prosperous career for the Poles as a constitutional monarchy came to power. The Poles had never enjoyed such civil freedom. To this, Poland was also receiving a considerable measure of home-rule.

But this regime, optimistic as it was encountered obstacles from the very beginning. The Russians were opposed to the idea of a restored Poland and particularly to a constitutional Poland, when they themselves had no constitution. Why should their old enemy be so greatly favoured when they, the real supporters of the Tsar, were not? The hatred of Russians and Poles, in fact centuries old, continued undiminished. Moreover, what the dominant class of Poles desired, far more than liberal government, was independence. They could never forget the days of their prosperity. Independence is what Alexander would never grant to the Russians. His purposes and aspirations of the Poles were irreconcilable. After a few years, friction developed between the ruler and the ruled. The latter became more and more convinced that they must fight for their liberty, waiting only for a favourable moment. That moment seemed to have come in 1830. The Poles, inflamed by the reports of the successful revolution in France, rose in insurrection against the new Tsar, Nicholas I, toward the end of 1830, declared that the House of Romanoff had ceased to rule in Poland, and prepared for a life and death struggle.

NOTES

Check Your Progress

- What kinds of ordinances were issued by King Charles in July 1830?
- 2. Name a few European states that were affected by the Revolution of 1830 in France.
- 3. What kind of constitutional provisions were granted to the state of Poland by Alexander I in 1830s?

The Polish insurrection

Russia's military resources were so great that Poland could not hope alone to achieve national independence. The Poles expected foreign intervention, but no intervention came. Enthusiasm for the Poles was widespread among people in France, England and Germany. But the governments, none of which was controlled by public opinion, refused to move. Thus Poland was left to fight alone with Russia, and of the outcome there could be no doubt. The Poles fought with great bravery, but without good leadership, without careful organization, without a spirit of subordination to military authorities.

The war went on from January 1831, until September of that year, when Warsaw fell before the Russians. The results of this ill-advised and ill-executed insurrection were deplorable in the extreme. Poland ceased to exist as a separate kingdom and became merely a province of the Russian Empire. The state constitution was abolished and it was henceforth ruled with great severity and arbitrariness. The insurgents were savagely punished. Many were executed, many sent to Siberia. Thousands of Polish officers and soldiers escaped to the countries of western Europe and became a revolutionary clement in Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, always ready to fight for liberty. They were the sworn foes of tyranny everywhere as they were its most conspicuous victims. Even the Polish language seemed doomed, such was Russia's repressive policy.

2.3 THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848

In 1848, Europe saw a series of revolutions erupting across the continent. The Orleans monarchy ended after the February revolution and it led to the creation of the French Second Republic. The June revolution was a bloody but unsuccessful uprising by the workers of Paris against a conservative turn in the course of the republic.

The new monarch of France was already 57 years old. He was the son of the notorious Philippe Egalite, who had conspired during the Revolution for the throne occupied by his cousin, Louis XVI, who had, as a member of the Convention, voted for the latter's execution, and had himself later perished miserably on the scaffold. In 1789, Louis Philippe was only sixteen year old; too young to take part in politics, although he became a member of the Jacobin Club. Later, Louis joined the army and fought valiantly for the Republic at Valmy and Jemappes. Becoming suspected in Revolution, he fled from France in 1793 and entered a life of exile that was to last for 21 years. Louis went to Switzerland, where he lived for a while, teaching geography and mathematics in a school at Reichenau.

While leaving Switzerland, his disguise was discovered. Louis travelled as far north as the North Cape, and as far west as the United States. He finally settled in England and lived on a pension granted by the British government.

After the fall of Napolean, Louis returned to France to recover a large part of his family property, which was confiscated during the Revolution, but had not been sold off. During the Restoration, he lived in the renowned Palais Royal, located in central Paris. This helped Louis in cultivating better public relations, in particular appealing to the solid, rich bourgeoisie by a display of liberal sentiments and by leading a good-humoured and unconventional mode of life. He walked the streets of Paris alone, spoke and drank with workmen with engaging informality and sent his

sons to the public schools to associate with the sons of the middle class—a delicate compliment fully appreciated by the latter. But beneath this exterior of republican simplicity, there lay a strong ambition for personal power—a nature essentially autocratic.

2.3.1 Opposition to Louis Philippe

The first part of the reign of Louis Philippe was troubled and it was doubtful whether it could endure for long. It had many enemies: Legitimists, Bonapartists and Republicans. The Legitimists defended the rights of Charles X and his descendants. They regarded Louis Philippe as a usurper, a thief who had treacherously and shamelessly stolen the crown of the young Duke of Bordeaux. This party was numerically small, so thoroughly had the reign of Charles X offended and alienated the nation.

Louis Philippe's struggle with the Republicans was far more severe. The latter had acquiesced at first in his rule on the assurance of Lafayette, in whom they reposed great confidence, that the rule would really constitute the best of republics; of which the King was essentially democratic, and that the popular throne would be surrounded by republican institutions. But both, Lafayette and Louis, were shortly undeceived.

They were under the impression that the new government would adopt a broad and liberal national policy, taking into consideration the common interests of various sections of the population, and that they would stand in favour of a democratic set-up (evolution) in the state. In its place, Lafayette and Louis witnessed a hastily established narrow class system. This class system opposed democracy just as it had opposed aristocracy. The July Monarchy early asserted that its policy would be that of the 'golden mean' neither conservative nor radical, but moderate. In the initial stage, the suffrage was broadened by reducing the age and property qualifications. Because of this, the electorate was doubled—from 100,000 to 200,000. But very soon the government made it clear that there would be no further expansion of the electorate. This signified that the great mass of people were to have no electoral franchise vote.

Republicans, bitterly disappointed at the turn things were taking, soon became sworn enemies of the July Monarchy. They attempted insurrections which were of a serious nature, but only to be put down. The government adopted vigorous measures for the suppression of this party, breaking up their societies, restricting the right of association, prosecuting their editors, crushing their newspapers under heavy fines, finally declaring illegal any argument for, or defence of, any other form of government than that of the existing monarchy, and forbidding any one from self-proclamation of being an adherent to any fallen royal house.

These laws greatly weakened the moral position of the July Monarchy, as individual liberty was little more than an empty word. But they were successful in their immediate aim. They drove all rival parties to cover, and France was governed for 18 years by the propertied classes, by an aristocracy of wealth. The Republicans were effectually silenced for many long years. Their enmity, however, was a factor in the ultimate overthrow of this system.

The parliamentary history of France in that decade (1830–1840) was marked by instability. Ten ministries came to power in a span of 10 years. It was only in 1840 that the Ministry of Guizot, of about seven years time span i.e., from 1840 to 1848, came into power. For several years after his accession to the throne, Louis Philippe was careful to guard himself from the appearance of assuming personal power. But

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now that his enemies were crushed, Louis declared his real intentions as a monarch. He no more was interested in following the English theory—'the king reigns, but he does not govern'. In Guizot, Louis had found a man who sympathized with his views of kingship, and who did not believe that the monarch should be simply an ornamental head of the state.

Guizot was an eminent professor, a historian and an orator, who held certain political principles. He refused to recognize that France should get any alteration in her political institutions. Guizot believed in the Charter of 1814, as revised in 1830. According to him, any further reform would be unnecessary and dangerous. His policy was one of stiff and unyielding conservatism. Guizot opposed any extension of the suffrage, opposed any legislation for the labour class. All discontent appeared to him frivolous, fictitious and merely the devious work those who wanted to act selfishly.

2.3.2 Napoleon's Regime

Louis Napoleon became the President of the Second Republic with the majority of support coming from the peasants on 2 December 1848. In 1851, he dissolved the elected assembly and established the second French empire, which was in power till 1871. A feeling of 'right to work' among the masses was an outcome of the February revolution. The unemployed were taken care of by 'national workshops'.

Simultaneously, a kind of industrial parliament was constituted at the Luxembourg Palace with Louis Blanc as its President. The main objective of this parliament was to prepare a scheme to organize labour. The June Day uprising was the result of ill feeling among the liberal Orleanist and radical republicans and socialists. After the death of Louis XVIII, who was the head of a constitutional monarchy, his brother the Count of Artois Charles X ascended the throne in 1824.

Charles X, unlike his brother, was an extremely unpopular reactionary monarch. He had grand aspirations and did not want to remain a mere constitutional monarch. He tried ways and means to consolidate his own authority and to weaken the authority of the lower house. He issued four ordinances of St. Cloude which abolished freedom of the Press, reduced the electorate by 75 per cent and dissolved the lower house.

This action was presumably prompted by one of his chief advisors Jules, prince de Polignac. There was an immediate reaction from the citizens and the revolution of Three Glorious Days took place in July 1830. Charles had no other course than to abdicate his throne and escaped to England from Paris. The throne was occupied by Louis Philippe of the Orleanist branch, and he replaced the old Charter by the Charter of 1830. His rule was known as the July Monarchy. Louis was also nicknamed the 'Bourgeois Monarch' as he was the head of a moderately liberal state controlled specifically by educated elites. His opposition comprised of Legitimists (former Ultra-Royalists) on his right, and on his left the Republicans and the Socialists.

Louis favoured the privileged groups and this led to the middle and working classes losing their right to vote. About one per cent of the population held the franchise by 1848. In spite France having a free press and trial by jury only, the landowners were permitted to exercise their franchise and this isolated the petty bourgeoisie from the high bourgeoisie. Louis Philippe was unpopular as he was indifferent to the needs of a society which comprised middle class people and he excluded them from politics. Disappointed by Louis Philipe's opposition to parliamentarism; early in 1848 some Orleanist liberals, like Adolphe Thiers, turned against him.

Check Your Progress

- Name the groups that did not extend their support to Louis Philippe's regime.
- 5. Why was Louis Philippe nicknamed as 'Bourgeois Monarch'?

2.3.3 Beginning of the Counter-Revolution in France

The Ninth of Thermidor (28 July 1794) was the start of the Bourgeois counterrevolution. After Robes Pierre was assassinated, the Deputies of the Convention continued to falsely assert their loyalty to the cause of the revolution; but soon abandoned their hypo-natural attitude and related their true colours.

'Jeunesse Doree' or 'Golden Youth' was a band of wandering and wealthy youth who now took over the streets. The Thermidoreans controlled the representatives of a new section of the bourgeoisie, which thriving on speculation had grown during the revolution, in the Convention and the Government organs. The fixed prices were abolished and commerce was given complete freedom resulting in escalation of prices and speculation reaching new heights. The poor sections of society starved while tremendous profits were accumulated by traders and speculators.

With the destruction of the Jacobin Club by the Golden Youth in November 1794, the onset of the counter-revolution began. The Girondins and Feuillants and other counter-revolutionary groups settled their scores with the Jacobins.

The major social and democratic achievements of the autocratic Jacobins were done away with. A new constitution which abolished universal voting rights and reinstated electoral qualifications based on property was drafted in 1795.

The directory

In accordance with the new constitution, the end of 1795 saw the transfer of power to the Directory (an executive of five 'directors') and two legislative chambers—the council of the ancients and the council of the 500. It was the new avaricious and speculative bourgeoisie who controlled the Directory and the two chambers. This ruling group looked upon the urban poor which it feared greatly. This formed the basis of the anti-popular reactionary policy it followed. Having captured the wealth of the former land owning nobles, the new Bourgeoisie could not allow the reinstatement of the old regime. The attempts of the royalists to recapture power were annihilated by the anti-monarchist government and it showed that the Directory did not have any semblance of a coordinated policy. In its attempt to compromise between the right and the left, this vacillating policy was nick named 'bascule' or 'political sea-saw'.

Gracchus Babeuf carefully planned a conspiracy known as the 'conspiracy of equals', and it was exposed by the Directory in 1796. Babeuf was the first communist revolutionary and hoped to eradicate private property using the dictatorship of the minority. He propagated a primitive egalitarian regime and failed to understand and appreciate the role of the proletariat.

The conspiracy petered out with the execution of Babeuf. Now the right threatened the Directory, and in 1797 a monarchist coup loomed large and the Directory had to resort to force to defend itself. Because of this political sea-saw, the Directory soon found itself losing most of its erstwhile authority and the confidence of the people in general. It had to try hard to keep itself in power.

The 18th Brumaire Coup d'Etat

Napoleon was appointed as commander of the armed forces by the council of ancients on the excuse that there was a threat of a new Jacobin conspiracy. It was on the morning of 18th Brumaire i.e., 9 November 1799 that Napoleon vowed to defend the epublic founded on liberty, equality and the sacred principles of popular representation.

This was the opening of a political coup, and by the next day evening the Directory and all its organs was swept away in a highly and demonstratively legal fashion and a new order of the consulate was established.

Napoleon's real motive behind the latest coup was to get rid of all the sacred principles and set up his own unlimited dictatorship.

The Consulate

Coup d'Etat, known as the 'Constitution of the Year VIII', was drawn up naturally according to Napoleon's instructions. It was short and the terms were not clear. It stated that France was to remain a republic as before and the slogan liberty, equality and fraternity was retained along with the revolutionary calendar introduced by the Convention. The power of execution was passed from the Directory to the three councils; and the two legislative chambers were replaced by the senate, the state council, the tribunate and the legislative body. The government appointed deputies for these choosing from proposed candidates. But these were ineffective as power was more apparent than real. The First Consul General Bonaparte held real power in his hands; and until he carried out his Coup d'Etat in 1799, he was just known as the finest generals among the others such as Moreau, Jourdan and Massena.

Aware of his own credibility among his people, Napolean gave an emotional speech before the coup, and quietly and inconspicuously removed the republic and the principles of the revolution. He eradicated the parliamentary system and the local self-government and replaced it with a strong centralized administration covering the whole country. The Ministry of the Interior and police domains: social, political, spiritual as well as private.

Joseph Fouche, an erstwhile priest and an extreme Jacobin, was the head of the police network. He was cunning, mendacious, treacherous, and a master of intrigue. Fouche with a desire for reprisals against Jacobins and royalists, blamed the Jacobins for any upheaval in the country. He suppressed the freedom of the Press and managed to get a dozen newspapers closed down. The 13 newspapers which survived were all turned into government bodies.

The campaign of 1800 and the end of the second coalition

Realizing that police measures were inadequate to strengthen his power, Napoleon led the French Army into Northern Italy where the main Austrian forces were deployed. Choosing the most difficult route across the Alps, by way of the high Grand St. Bernard Pass, they appeared in the enemies' territory; and on June 14 Napoleon succeeded in defeating the Austrian Army at Morengo. At the same time, at Hohenlinden, General Moreau defeated the Austrian Army. The Austrians gave up and signed the Treaty of Luneville on 9 February 1801. The terms were dictated by the victor and France annexed Belgium, and all German territory on the left bank of the river Rhine. Austria had to recognize the 'daughter republics' Helvetian (Switzerland), Batavian (Holland), Ligurian (Genoa area) and cisalpine (Lombardia) though they were entirely dependent on France with Piedmont having French occupation.

2.3.4 England: The French Revolution to the Treaty of Amiens

France became the leading power in Western Europe after the Treaty of Luneville. Now France eyed England its traditional enemy which had been competing with France in Europe and in the colonies. England with the introduction of the latest

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mechanical innovations had many improvements. The state's naval fleet had grown greatly and a large amount of profits were being accrued by the big bourgeoisie from the wars. Yet the enormous military expenditure made the country's economy shaky. Prices soared, in particular the price of bread, and the living conditions of the masses were unbearable. Riots broke out in various English towns in the year 1795 and the slogan 'Bread and Peace for the People or off with the King's Head' was splashed all over the walls of the poor districts. There was mutiny in the English warships, in the English Channel and the North Sea in 1797.

In 1798, a revolt broke out in Ireland. William Pitt, the younger head of the English Government, managed to suppress these outbreaks by means of concessions and repressions. He wanted to win France. But Suvorov's victory in Italy on the Adda, and in the battle of Trebbia, and the subsequent reconciliation between Russia and France, and with Austria finally retiring from the war; William Pitt realized that there was no hope of victory over France. Pitt resigned as people demanded peace, and a peace treaty on mutual concessions was signed between England and France at Amiens. Finally, France was at peace after a decade of pricey wars and loss of life. The country defeated some of the states, and signed peace treaties with some others, and was recognized as the strongest military power in Europe.

Napoleon becomes Emperor

Napoleon, on the strength of all these victories, was now the glorious 1st Consul. He was made Consul for life in 1802, and in 1804 he was hailed Emperor of France. Napoleon no longer felt that he should continue to devote himself to the reptiblican cause. He wished to be crowned by the Pope and made him come to Paris, and during the coronation ceremony grabbed the Imperial Crown from the Pope's hands and set it on his head himself.

2.3.5 The Bourgeois Empire

France was no more a Republic. It had become an Empire. The Tuileries Palace was Napolean's court, and he wanted the magnificence and splendour of his palace outshine to the rest. New imperial nobility consisting of former clerks, stable boys and petty traders were made dukes, princes and earls overnight. The emperor's new emblem was 'golden bees sewn on black velvet'.

So a new bourgeois monarchy was established under the one-man dictatorship of Napoleon. It was powerful, rich, lavish and brilliant, but not feudal in its character. Bonaparte abolished many of the democratic freedoms and persecuted the democrats ruthlessly. He went out of his way to protect and strengthen the bourgeois gains. All his social and civil legislation promoted only the interests of the bourgeoisie and land owning peasants.

There was also the question of dynastic succession and the emperor began to make plans for military successes. The French bourgeoisie wanted to dominate Western Europe but neither England nor the old feudal monarchies of Europe were prepared to accept the ascendancy of this new bourgeois empire. Notwithstanding the peace treaties of 1801 and 1802, both sides were preparing seriously for war.

The Third Coalition

A large-scale war was fought in Europe in the autumn of 1805. A powerful French coalition was set up on the promptings of English diplomats and was duly joined by

England, Russia and Austria. Prussia was also ready to attack France. Napoleon made the Austrian Army taste defeat at Ulm on the 20th October, and on 13th November Vienna was occupied. Meanwhile on 21st October, the English Navy under the capable command of Admiral Nelson annihilated the Franco-Spanish fleet at Trafalgar. The invasion of Britain was abandoned by Napoleon and the Battle of Ulm was made up by the Battle of Trafalgar and the balance of power was restored. Napoleon routed the Austrian and Russian armies on 2 December 1805. This battle was waged at Austerlitz and was known as the 'battle of three emperors'. Emperor Francis of Austria along with Czar Alexander of Russia fled the battlefield amidst hopeless confusion.

After Austria's surrender, the Treaty of Pressburg was signed on 26th December. This had humiliating terms as a result of which the Holy Roman Empire vanished and the expanding French empire gobbled up a sizeable part of the territory. The French gained political prestige of great magnitude.

The Fourth Coalition

In 1806, Russia and England were joined by Prussia, Saxony and Sweden in the Fourth Coalition against France.

The Prussian Army with its iron disciplinary regimentation promised a swift victory over the revolutionary anti-Christ. The Prussians were defeated decisively within six days in two battles fought almost at the same time at Jena and Auerstadt. It began on 8th October 1806. The Prussian retreated abandoning town after town and the Prussian Fortress equipped with huge artillery guns and 22,000 strong Garrison surrendered without resistance at Magdeburg. Ironically, Marshall Ney in command of the French advanced forces had not even fired a single shot. Within a month, the War of Prussia subsided.

The Russians were swimming against strong currents. On 7th and 8th February of 1807, at Preussisch-Eylau, a tough battle was fought between the French Army and the Russian Army. The losses were more but the outcome was indecisive. On 14th June, at Friedland, Napoleon gained victory.

The Treaty of Tilsit

Napoleon and Alexander hoping to end hostilities met at Tilsit, signed a peace treaty for a Franco–Russian alliance on 7 July 1807, on the promises of Napoleon to give his firm support for the Russian claims in the Middle East. Russia recognized the conquests and reforms of Napoleon in Western Europe. Thus Russia and France became allies against England and joined the Continental System. This resulted in the blockade of British Isles in 1806 and 1807. Napoleon thought to subjugate England either by starvation or capitulation.

The Fifth Coalition was mustered by England in 1809 and it waged a war with Napoleon's Empire. Austria was France's main enemy and in two or three months her armies were defeated. In October 1809, Austria, which had French occupation, had to accept a humiliating peace.

Reasons for Napoleonic victories

The French Empire in the year 1809 included Belgium, Holland, Northern and Central Italy, Illyria and Dalmatia. An Italian kingdom was set up in Northern and Central

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Italy and Napoleon's stepson Eugene de Beauharnais was the regent. The vassal states of the French empire were the remainder of Western and Central Europe. The Spanish throne was adorned by Napoleon's brother Joseph and his brother-in-law became the King of Naples. Napoleon was the head of the Confederation of the Rhine which covered the bulk of the Western German states. Napoleon's younger brother Jerome ruled the Kingdom of Westphalia, which was the part of the former Prussian territory. Prussia and Saxony were now the allies of France, while Russia maintained friendly terms with Napoleon; and by 1809, he had achieved complete hegemony over Europe.

Napoleon was successful because he had a rare capacity for work. He was bold and decisive and possessed an iron will. Though short and slight, Napoleon had the gift of asserting his authority over others. He was an extremely talented leader and he chose able and gifted helpers to be with him. There were other equally efficient commanders like Davout, Ney, Murat, Massena, Berthier, Lannes and others, but Napoleon by his sheer vitality eclipsed them all.

Napoleon's wars, waged against the feudal absolutist states of Europe, showed a clear progressive phenomena. French troops after winning a state, abolished old feudal practices and replaced them with more progressive bourgeoisie's social patterns. It practically destroyed the Holy Roman Empire and wiped out hundreds of tiny small German states with feudal particularism and disunity.

Deepening contradictions within the Napoleonic Empire

Napoleon had far-reaching ambitions to expand his empire however his policies were not progressive. He focused more on annexation of countries. Napoleon looted and sacked the lands he conquered. He plundered and robbed them dry of their industrial raw materials, money and other forms of wealth. The national integrity of many people of Europe was threatened and the national liberation movements began to grow, only later to play an important part in bringing down the French Empire.

Popular resistance in Spain

In Spain, the Spanish rose against the foreign conquerors and guerrilla activities began. A 20,000 strong French Army commanded by General Dupont surrendered to the guerrilla forces at Baylen in July 1808. An angered Napoleon ordered for Dupont's court martial and decided to send large forces to Spain. Saragossa was stormed and the Spanish fought to the very end which revealed their determination to die rather than submit to their conquerors.

The resistance in Spain did not subside even after the defeat at Saragossa. It instead, set an inspiring example for other people of Europe. Carbonari, an Italian secret society, was organized to liberate the country from French occupation. In Prussia, national patriotic movement took many forms to fight oppression. In Konigsberg, a society known as the Tugendbund or 'Union of Virtue' was set up by officers and students. The peasants of Austria started a guerrilla resistance movement in the Austrian Tyrol, which threatened the French occupation.

Napoleon ignored these ill omens as he was power hungry and turned into a despotic monarch. National liberation movements were developing at a very fast rate and instead of curbing them; the emperor waged an unwanted irresponsible war against Russia.

2.3.6 Napoleon's Invasion of Russia

Napoleon did not declare war on Russia. But on the night of 24th June 1812, his troops marched treacherously and crossed Niemen. Napoleon advanced swiftly capturing town after town, and was confronted by the Russian First Army near Smolensk. The Russian Army was commanded by Barclay de Tolly and he was supported by the Second Army led by Bagration. After a fierce battle, the Russian Army retreated with a bulk of its garrison intact.

Russian resistance was stoic and sustaining. They felt it was their sacred duty to drive away the foreign conquerors from their lands. Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Bashkirs and others heroically struggled against the French Army supported by the people of these states. The peasants in the occupied territories of Russia refused to make any business with the enemy or provide them with food supplies. They abandoned their villages before the enemy approached, burnt their huts and took refuge in the woods taking their cattle with them. The peasants also formed partisan detachment to find the enemy.

In Smolensk, Alexander appointed Mikhail Kutuzov to the post of commanderin-chief of all armed forces and it greatly increased the soldier's morale.

At that time, the French Army was advancing towards Moscow rapidly. Kutuzov decided to give battle near the village of Borodino and Barclay de Tolly took up positions on the high hill overlooking river Kolocha on the right; and on the left Bagration deployed his garrison on the open plain near the village of Semyonovskaya with artillery emplacements.

On 7 September 1812, a French army consisting of 130,000 men faced 120,000 men of the Russian Army. Napoleon sent his men to attack the left flank commanded by Bagration. He did so as this was the weak link in the deployment. Even after fierce fighting, the artillery guns were seized by the French and Bagration was fatally wounded. But the Russian troops did not surrender. Napoleon struck the centre of the Russian line and captured the mound held by Raevsky's Battery. The Russian lines would not allow any breakthrough, and by evening the battle drew to a close with a loss of 58,000 men and 47 of their finest generals. Kutuzov had to retreat due to lack of ammunition. The Military Council met in the village of Fili, and it decided to surrender Moscow to the French without a fight.

At the dawn of 14th September, the Russian detachments left Moscow and motivated the people to leave the city rather than remain there when the enemy took over. The French Army marched into Moscow; but as fire broke out in different parts of the city, it spread to the French Army camps and destroyed its vital food supplies.

The Russian turn counter-offensive

Kutozov, feeling bad about abandoning Moscow, set about to work out a new plan of action to drive the enemy out of the country. The Russians had to take in new reinforcements and train them.

Kutuzov was a shrewd man and could foresee Napoleon's resultant plans of action. It took an unexpected route and kept his army intact. Napoleon lost track of the Russian Army and did not know where they were.

The Partisan detachments as instructed by Kutuzov made surprise attacks against the French. They were able to take prisoners and were able to recover much of the looted material. On October 1812, the Battle of Tarutino was fought and Russia

won the battle. The Battle of Maloyaroslavets made Napoleon realize to what extent the Russians had been reinforced. In mid-November, an exhausted French Army approached the River Berezina and a fierce battle ensued during the crossing and the French suffered a loss of thousands of soldiers.

Napoleon facing defeat abandoned his army and fled to safety secretly in the beginning of December. He travelled in a simple carriage to Paris, hiding his face under a thick fur collar, with the intention of mustering a new army. The patriotic war of 1812 saved Russia from the invasion of the foreign conqueror. It also shattered Napolean's ambition of enslaving the Russians.

2.3.7 Fall of Napoleonic Empire

Napoleon returned to France and gathered all those capable of bearing arms and set out to meet the Russian troop with his new army. Meanwhile, the Russian Army had made their way to Germany. Europe after hearing the defeat of the Grande Armée, rose up to battle. Prussia, Austria, Saxony and other states formed the anti-French coalition and marched westwards. At the Battle of Leipzig, which lasted from 16-19 October 1813, the allies defeated Napoleon conclusively and forced him to retreat. This battle was called the 'battle of the nations'. But Napoleon displayed amazing energy and tough leadership in the battle of 1814. He had many small victories which were negligible to reverse the course of war.

The allied forces under the command of Alexander of Russia marched victoriously into Paris on 31 March 1814. Napoleon signed an act of abdication at Fontainebleau. He was exiled to Elba for life.

The Bourbons were restored to their throne by the allied monarchs and brother of Louis XVI count of province was brought to Paris with an escort of allied armies. He had been living in exile for 25 years, and was now proclaimed Louis XVIII of France.

French Middle Class and Britain

When the French knew that the Reform Act of 1832 in Britain gave voting rights to anybody paying ten pounds or more per year, the French's free Press took note of it. The working class of France was negligibly better off than Britain's working class. But unemployment made all skilled workers come to the level of the proletariat. Prohibition of child labour was the only law passed by the monarchy in 1841. But the law was not practised.

Economic depression was found due to financial crisis and bad harvests in 1847. People could not have political gatherings and demonstrations in France. So a series of fund-raising banquets were held by the activists. It was a means to circumvent the law or the ban and give a legal outlet for criticism of the regime. The Campaign des Banquets began in July 1847 and continued till 1848. Louis Philippe forbade these banquets and the people rebelled. The efforts of the popular republicans and liberal Orleanists were united to act against the government. Barricades were erected, and there was arson and looting when fights broke out between the citizens and municipal guards. Angry citizens began marching towards the royal palace.

2.3.8 The Second Republic

A provisional government was organized when the liberal opposition met on 26 February 1848. Universal Suffrage and unemployment relief were the two major NOTES

goals of this republic. On 2nd March, Universal Suffrage was implemented and F_{rance} got nine million new voters.

The unemployed got relief through national workshops, which promised the citizens the right to work. These workshops employed 100,000 workers and paid daily wages of 70,000 lires; and 479 newspapers were founded in 1848. Since most of the wealthy classes had left, there was a 54 per cent decline in businesses in Paris. As a result, there was a co-incidental decline in luxury trade and credit was unobtainable.

Rise of conservatism within the Second Republic

The Second Republic was extremely disordered. The conservatives began to oppose the new government hardly after a month of its establishment; and by the April elections, it was obvious that there was a popular uncertainty about the liberal foundations of the provisional government. The voters elected a chiefly moderate and conservative Constituent Assembly. Jacques-Charles Dupont de L'Eure stepped down and the executive commission a body of state acting as head of State with 5 co-presidents took over. They set out to construct a stronger economy and to provide social services.

The landed class peasants and small farmers were to pay new taxes which was intended to give relief to the unemployed in the cities. The new government lost the support of the rural France and the taxes were ignored nearly totally. To do justice, the hardworking rural farmers were not inclined to pay for the unemployed city people and besides the number of people looking for jobs was far more than the number of jobs that were available. The right to work policy was not very successful. Jobs like building roads and replanting trees were provided and it was obvious that the demands of the government were far more pressing than what the revolutionaries had expected.

2.3.9 End of the French Revolution

The 1848 revolution was mainly participated by the petite bourgeoisies who were owners of small properties, merchants and shopkeepers. The petite bourgeoisie outnumbered the working classes. So the provisional government which was created to tackle the concerns of the liberal bourgeoisie could not be successful because the working classes were not great in number. In the countryside, where the population of farmers was high, problems such as shortage of food, bad harvest and other issues made them less consumed with the problems of the bourgeoisie. The thermidorian reaction and the ascent of Napoleon III to throne showed that people preferred an efficient and able dictatorship compared to the uncertainty of a revolution.

The age of revolution in France came to an end with politics preferring the right. Louis Napoleon won the election and returned the old order removing the republicans and returning the masses to their former place. He dissolved the National Assembly though he had no constitutional right to do so and became the unopposed ruler of France by 2 December 1851. This was a successful Coup. Even though resistance erupted it was suppressed and the second republic was over for all practical purposes. He brought back universal voting right which was feared by the republicans because they expected the countryside to vote against the republic. Louis Napoleon adopted the title Emperor Napoleon III and the second empire began.

The Beginning of Socialism

Year after year, the negative policy—the policy of inertia—was pursued, arousing more and more disgust. Not only was Guizot's policy of rigid conservatism strongly opposed by the Liberals; but the whole theory upon which it rested—the entire existing

economic system, was subjected at this time to a far more radical attack. The condition of the masses provoked discussion, and many writers began to preach new doctrines concerning the organization of industry and the crucial question of the relations of capital and labour, doctrines henceforth called socialistic, and appealing with increasing force to millions of labourers who believed that society weighed with unjustifiable severity upon them, that their labour did not by any means receive its proportionate reward.

Saint-Simon was the first to announce a socialistic scheme for the revolution of society in the interest of the 'most numerous' classes. He believed that the state should own the means of production and should organize industry on the principle of 'Labour according to capacity and reward according to services'. Saint-Simon's doctrine gained direct importance when it was adopted by a man who was a politician, able to recruit and lead a party and to formulate a programme that would appeal to the masses. Such a man was Louis Blanc, who was destined to play a part in the overthrow of the July Monarchy and in the Republic that succeeded.

In his writings, Louis Blanc tried to convince the labourers of France of the evils of the prevailing economic conditions, a task which was not difficult. He denounced in vehement terms the government of the bourgeoisie as government—of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich. It must be swept away and the state must be organized on a thoroughly democratic basis.

Louis Blanc proclaimed the *right* of every man to employment and the duty of the state to provide it. According to him, the state could do it if it would organize the industry. He was of the opinion that let the state establish, with its own capital, national workshops; and let the workmen manage these and share the profits. The class of employers would thus disappear and the labourers would get the full result of their labour. Louis Blanc's theories, propounded in a style at once clear and vivid, were largely adopted by workingmen. A socialist party was thus created. It believed in a republic; but it differed from the other republicans in that, while they desired simply a change in the form of government, this socialist party desired a greater sweeping change in society.

ACTIVITY

- 1. Research on the Internet and make a chronological chart on the achievements of the Napoleon's regime.
- 2. Visit a public library and list a few famous titles on history of French revolutions. Evaluate the coverage of one such title.

DID YOU KNOW?

According to the law of succession established by Napoleon I, the claim passed first to his son. Known by Bonapartists as Napoleon II, he was living under virtual imprisonment at the court of Vienna under the name Duke of Reichstadt. Next in line was Napoleon I's eldest brother Joseph Bonaparte, followed by Louis Bonaparte and his sons. Since Joseph had no male children, and because Louis-Napoléon's own elder brother had died in 1831, the death of the Duke of Reichstadt in 1832 made Louis-Napoléon (Napoleon III) the Bonaparte heir in the next generation. Napoleon III was the last monarch to rule France.

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Check Your Progress

- 6. Was Jacobin conspiracy a context for appointing Napoleon as the commander of the French armed forces? Give reasons in support of your answer.
- List a few victories of Napoleon Bonaparte.
- 8. How did France benefit from the Treaty of Luneville?
- Name the states that formed the Fourth Coalition in the year 1806.
- 10. What were the terms laid in the Franco-Russian alliance of 1807?
- II. What were the major changes marked in the French Empire of 1809?

2.4 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The significance of July Revolution of 1830, or the Second French Revolution
 as it is widely known, it gave way to the political voice of the masses. The
 appointment of the Polignac ministry and its audacious and alarming
 announcement precipitated a crisis situation that shortly exploded in a revolution.
- On 31 July 1830, on the verge of losing all, King Charles abdicated in favour
 of his nine-year-old grandson, the Duke of Bordeaux, son of the murdered
 Duke of Berry, and fled to England with his family.
- On August 7 1830, the Chamber of Deputies called Louis Philippe to the throne, ignoring the claims of the minor legitimate ruler, the Duke of Bordeaux. The Charter had been slightly modified; and the parliamentary form of government was restored. The tricolour flag superseded the white flag of the Bourbons.
- The Belgian provinces, hitherto Austrian, were in 1815 annexed to Holland, to strengthen the state so that it might be in a position to resist attack until the other powers could come to its rescue.
- A congress was called to determine the future form of government in Belgium.
 It decided in favour of a monarchy, adopted a liberal constitution, and elected its first king—King Leopold of Coburg, whose coronation took place in July 1831.
- Alexander I, Tsar of Russia, had desired to restore Poland to the full extent of
 its possessions in the eighteenth century. That was possible when Prussia and
 Austria did relinquish the provinces they had acquired in the three partitions.
 This, however, was not accomplished at the Congress of Vienna.
- The new Polish Kingdom, erected in 1815, did not even include all of the Polish territories that Russia had acquired.
- The Russians were opposed to the idea of a restored Poland, and particularly to a constitutional Poland, when they themselves had no constitution.
- During the Polish Insurrection of 1831, Poles fought with great bravery, but without good leadership, without careful organization, without a spirit of subordination to the Russian military authorities.
- The Legitimists defended the rights of Charles X and his descendants. They
 regarded Louis Philippe as a usurper, a thief who had treacherously and
 shamelessly stolen the crown of the young Duke of Bordeaux.
- Louis Philippe's struggle with the Republicans was far more severe. The latter had acquiesced at first in his rule on the assurance of Lafayette, in whom they reposed great confidence, that the rule would really constitute the best of republics; of which the King was essentially democratic, and that the popular throne would be surrounded by republican institutions. But both, Lafayette and Louis, were shortly undeceived.
- The parliamentary history of France in that decade (1830 to 1840) was marked by instability. Ten ministries came to power in a span of 10 years. It was only in 1840 that the Ministry of Guizot, of about seven years time span i.e., from 1840 to 1848, came into power. For several years after his accession to the

- throne, Louis Philippe was careful to guard himself from the appearance of assuming personal power.
- Louis Napoleon became the President of the Second Republic majorly elected by the support of the peasants on 2 December 1848. In 1851, he dissolved the elected assembly and established the second French empire which was in power till 1871.
- The Ninth of Thermidor (28 July 1794) was the start of the Bourgeois counterrevolution. After Robes Pierre was assassinated, the Deputies of the Convention continued to falsely assert their loyalty to the cause of the revolution; but soon abandoned their hyponatural attitude and show their true colours.
- With the destruction of the Jacobin Club by the Golden Youth in November 1794, the onset of the counter-revolution began. The Girondins and Feuillants and other counter-revolutionary groups settled their scores with the Jacobins.
- Napoleon was appointed as commander of the armed forces by the council of
 ancients on the excuse that there was a threat of a new Jacobin conspiracy. It
 was on the morning of 18th Brumaire i.e., 9 November 1799 Napoleon vowed
 to defend the republic founded on liberty, equality and the sacred principles of
 popular representation.
- Coup d'Etat, known as the 'Constitution of the Year VIII', was drawn up according to Napoleon's instructions. It was extremely short and the terms were not very clear. It stated that France was to remain a republic as before and the slogan liberty, equality and fraternity was retained along with the revolutionary calendar introduced by the Convention. The power of execution was passed from the Directory to the three councils; and the two legislative chambers were replaced by the senate, the state council, the tribunate and the legislative body.
- Napoleon had far-reaching ambitions to expand his empire and his policies had less and less of progressive elements. He focused more on annexation of countries.
- In Spain, the Spanish people rose against the foreign conquerors and guerrilla activities began. A 20,000 strong French Army commanded by General Dupont surrendered to the guerrilla forces at Baylen in July 1808.
- At the dawn of 14 September 1812, the Russian detachments left Moscow and motivated the people to leave the city rather than remain there when the enemy took over. The French Army marched into Moscow; but as fire broke out in different parts of the city, it spread to the French Army camps and destroyed its vital food supplies.
- A provisional government was organized in France when the liberal opposition met on 26 February 1848. Universal Suffrage and unemployment relief were the two major goals of this republic. On 2nd March, Universal Suffrage was implemented and France got nine million new voters.
- The Campaign des Banquets began in July 1847 and continued till 1848.
- Saint-Simon was the first to announce a socialistic scheme for the revolution of society in the interest of the 'most numerous' classes. He believed that the state should own the means of production and should organize industry on the principle of 'Labour according to capacity and reward according to services'.

- Louis Blanc tried to convince the labourers of France of the evils of the prevailing economic conditions, a task which was not difficult. He denounced in vehement terms the government of the bourgeoisie as government—of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich. It must be swept away and the state must be organized on a thoroughly democratic basis. He was of the opinion that let the state establish, with its own capital, national workshops; and let the workmen manage these and share the profits. The class of employers would thus disappear and the labourers would get the full result of their labour. Louis Blanc's theories, propounded in a style at once clear and vivid, were largely adopted by workingmen. A socialist party was thus created.
- The major objective of the revolutionists in 1830 was to reestablish the political and social systems in France, which were being destroyed by the reactionary powers. On the other hand, the outbreak of the Revolution in 1848 took place primarily because of economic unrest. Due to the Industrial Revolution, the circumstances had considerably changed in France and other European countries.

2.5 KEY TERMS

- Absolute monarchy: Form of administration where the monarch exercises ultimate governing authority as head of both the state and the government
- · Autocrat: A ruler with unlimited power
- Battle of Tarutino: Was a part of Napoleon's invasion of Russia, which took place in October 1812; was the first battle won by the Russian Army after the Battle of Borodino
- **Bourbons:** French royal family descended from Louis I, Duke of Bourbon (1270–1342); whose members have ruled in France, Spain, Naples and Sicily.
- Conservatism: A political and social philosophy that promotes retaining traditional social institutions
- July Monarchy: Liberal and constitutional monarchy in France under Louis Philippe I that started with the July Revolution of 1830 and ended with the Revolution of 1848 in France
- Treaty of Luneville: Peace treaty signed on 9 February 1801 between the French Republic and the Holy Roman Emperor Francis II
- Universal suffrage: The right to vote granted to every adult citizen

2.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

- 1. On 26 July 1830, King Charles issued several ordinances, suspending the liberty of the Press, dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, changing the electoral system, reducing the number of voters from 100,000 to 25,000, and ordering new elections.
- 2. The influence of the Revolution of 1830 was felt all over Europe—in Poland, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, England, and the Netherlands.
- To Poland, Alexander I granted a constitution and established a parliament of two chambers with considerable powers. Roman Catholicism was recognized

Revolutions of 1830 and 1848

as the state religion; but a generous measure of toleration was given to other sects. Freedom of the Press was guaranteed. Polish was made the official language. All positions in the government were to be filled by Poles, not by Russians.

The first part of the reign of Louis Philippe was troubled. It was doubtful
whether it could long endure. It had many enemies, Legitimists, Bonapartists
and Republicans.

- 5. Louis was also nicknamed the 'Bourgeois Monarch' as he was the head of a moderately liberal state controlled specifically by educated elites. His opposition comprised of Legitimists (former Ultra-Royalists) on his right, and on his left the Republicans and the Socialists.
- 6. Napoleon was appointed as commander of the armed forces by the council of ancients on the excuse that there was a threat of a new Jacobin conspiracy. It was on the morning of 18th Brumaire i.e., 9 November 1799 Napoleon vowed to defend the republic founded on liberty, equality and the sacred principles of popular representation. Napoleon's real motive behind the latest coup was to get rid of all the sacred principles and set up his own unlimited dictatorship.
- 7. On June 14 Napoleon succeeded in defeating the Austrian Army at Morengo. At the same time, at Hohenlinden, General Moreau defeated the Austrian Army. The Austrians gave up and signed the Treaty of Luneville on 9 February 1801. The terms were dictated by the victor and France annexed Belgium, and all German territory on the left bank of the river Rhine. Austria had to recognize the 'daughter republics' Helvetian (Switzerland), Batavian (Holland), Ligurian (Genoa area) and cisalpine (Lombardia) though they were totally dependent on France with Piedmont having French occupation.
- France became the leading power in Western Europe after the Treaty of Luneville. It had annexed Belgium and the German territory on the left bank of the river Rhine.
- 9. In 1806, Russia and England were joined by Prussia, Saxony and Sweden in the Fourth Coalition against France.
- 10. Napoleon and Alexander hoping to end hostilities met at Tilsit, signed a peace treaty for a Franco-Russian alliance on the 7 July 1807, on the promises of Napoleon to give his firm support for the Russian claims in the Middle East. Russia recognized the conquests and reforms of Napoleon in Western Europe. Thus Russia and France became allies against England and joined the Continental System. This resulted in the blockade of British Isles in 1806 and 1807.
- 11. The French Empire in the year 1809 included Belgium, Holland, Northern and Central Italy, Illyria and Dalmatia. An Italian kingdom was set up in Northern and central Italy and Napoleon's stepson Eugene de Beauharnais was the regent. The vassal states of the French empire were the remainder of Western and Central Europe. The Spanish throne was adorned by Napoleon's brother Joseph and his brother-in-law became the King of Naples. Napoleon was the head of the Confederation of the Rhine which covered the bulk of the Western German states. Napoleon's younger brother Jerome ruled the Kingdom of Westphalia, which was the part of the former Prussian territory. Prussia and Saxony were now the allies of France, while Russia maintained friendly terms with Napoleon; and by 1809, he had achieved complete hegemony over Europe.

NOTES

2.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

- 1. How was the restoration of the Bourbons brought about? What form of government was set up by the Constitutional Charter of 1814?
 - 2. What civil rights were guaranteed by the Charter of 1814?
 - 3. What were the general causes that led to the Revolution of 1830?
 - 4. What was the July Monarchy, and why was it called so?
 - 5. Discuss the 18th Brumaire Coup d'Etat of 1799.

Long-Answer Questions

- 1. What were the July Ordinances? Describe the Revolution of 1830. How did Louis Philippe become King?
- 2. What influence did the Revolution of 1830 exercise upon the rest of Europe?
- 3. What were the sources of friction within the Kingdom of the Netherlands after 1815? How did the Kingdom of Belgium come into existence?
- 4. Was the Kingdom of Poland created in 1815 as a restoration of the former kingdom? Why did Alexander I create that kingdom in 1815 and with what institutions did he endow it?
- Was Alexander's Polish policy a success or a failure? Give reasons for your answer.
- 6. What was the nature of the opposition the July Monarchy encountered? What were Guizot's political principles?
- 7. Describe the theories of Louis Blanc. Did the reign of Louis Philippe represent any advance over that of Charles X? How was Louis Philippe overthrown?

2.8 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3 NAPOLEON III

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 Political Inclinations of Napoleon
- 3.3 Internal Policy
- 3.4 Foreign Policy
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 Key Terms
- 3.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 3.8 Questions and Exercises
- 3.9 Further Reading

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (Neopion III) had become chief of the house of Bonaparte in 1832 at the age of 24. He was the son of Louis, the former King of Holland. He regarded his position with utmost seriousness. He believed that he had a right to rule over France. He clung to this belief for 16 years, even though those years brought him hardly any practical encouragement.

Gathering about him a few adventurers, Napoleon in 1836 tried to win over the Strasbourg for a coup detat and in 1840, at Boulogne, he tried to seize power once again. Both attempts were puerile in their conception, and were executed shabbily. Both ended in fiasco. He had gained the name of being ridiculous, a thing exceedingly difficult for Frenchmen to forgive or forget. As a result of this he had been exiled to the United States, from where he shortly returned. As a result of the latter, he was imprisoned in the fortress of Ham in northern France, from which he escaped in 1846, disguised as a mason. He then went to England and in 1848, at the time of the Chartist risings, he was a special constable stationed in Trafalgar Square. The Revolution of 1848 created an opportunity for him.

Like his great prototype, whom he constantly sought to imitate, he offered his services to the Republic. He was elected as a member of the Constituent Assembly, where the impression he created was that of mediocrity, with few ideas of his own, who could probably be controlled by oners. His name, however, was a name to reckon with. This was his only capital, but it was sufficient. He was popular with the peasants and secured their support.

When the presidential election was held in December 1848, Louis Napoleon was overwhelmingly chosen with over five million votes to Cavaignac's million and a half. The new President entered upon his duties on 20 December 1848. On that day before the Assembly he swore 'to remain faithful to the democratic republic,' and said: 'My duty is clear. I will fulfill it as a man of honour. I shall regard as enemies of the country all those who endeavour to change by illegal means that which France has established.' He kept his oath for nearly three years and then broke it, because he wished to remain in power, having no desire to retire to private life; yet the Constitution forbade the re-election of a president at the end of the four-year term. Louis Napoleon took a leaf out of the biography of Napoleon I, and climbed to power by carrying

through a *coup d'etat*, far more skillfully than his uncle had engineered, —that of the 19th of Brumaire.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the political inclinations of Napoleon III
- Describe the internal (domestic) policies of Napoleon III
- Explain the foreign policies of Napoleon III

3.2 POLITICAL INCLINATIONS OF NAPOLEON

In this section, we will discuss some of the major political happenings in the Napoleonic era.

1. The Coup d'état of December, 1851

On 2 December 1851, anniversary of the coronation of Napoleon I and of the battle of Austerlitz, the Prince President struck, and struck hard. During the early morning hours many of the military and civil leaders of France, republican and monarchist, were arrested and taken to prison. A battalion of infantry was sent to occupy the Legislative Chamber. Posters were posted on all the walls of Paris, pretending to explain the President's purposes, which included a re-modeling of the constitution in the direction of the system established by Napoleon I at the time of the Consulate. 'This system, created by the First Consul at the beginning of the century, has already given to France repose and prosperity; it will guarantee them to her again.' The people were called upon to approve or disapprove these suggestions.

2. The Massacre of the Boulevards

The President had not neglected to make preparations for the uprising. His police controlled all the printing establishments, as in the period of crisis emerged flaming appeals to revolt, also all the bell towers, which were accustomed to ring out the appeal to insurrection. Nevertheless the third barricades were raised. On 17 October 1961 occurred 'the famous massacre of the Boulevards.' Over 150 were killed and a large numbers were wounded. Paris was cowed. Thousands of arbitrary arrests were made and martial law was implemented. Probably a hundred thousand arrests were made throughout France.

All who appeared dangerous to Louis Napoleon were either transported out of country or imprisoned. This vigorous policy was aimed particularly at the republicans, who were for years completely silent. Having thus, abolished all opposing leadership, Louis Napoleon appealed to the people for their opinion, as to entrusting him with power to remodel the Constitution along the lines indicated in his proclamation. On 20 December, 7,439,216 voted in favour of so doing, and only 640,737 voted in the negative. While the election was in no sense fair, the issue presented was neither clear nor simple, while force and intimidation were resorted, to, yet it was evident that a large majority of Frenchmen were willing to try again the experiment of a Napoleon.

having Paris chosen as the seat of the congress which drew up the treaties at the end of that war. And now an heir was born to him, the Prince Imperial, as interesting in his day and as ill-fated as the King of Rome had been in his. Fortune seemed to have emptied her full horn of plenty upon the author of the *coup d'etat*.

2. Napoleon's Mexican Expedition

Another serious mistake of Napoleon was culminating at this very time, his Mexican policy, a most unnecessary, reckless and disastrous enterprise.

Mexico was a republic but there was a faction among the Mexicans which wished to overthrow it. This faction, under French inspiration and direction, held an assembly which decreed that Mexico should henceforth be an Empire and that the imperial crowns should be offered to Archduke Maximilian of Austria, brother of Francis Joseph, the Emperor of Austria. This assembly represented, perhaps, 350,000 people out of about 7,000,000. It offered a fatal gift. This young prince of 31 was of attractive and popular manners, and of liberal ideas.

Young, handsome, versatile, half poet, half scientist, he was living in a superb palace, Miramar, overlooking the Adriatic, amid his collections, his objects of art, and with the sea which was his passion always before him. From out of this enchanting retreat he now emerged to become the central figure of a short and frightful tragedy. Mexico lured him to his doom. Influenced by his own ambition and that of his spirited wife, Carlotta, daughter of Leopold I, King of Belgium, and receiving definite promises of French military support until 1867, he accepted the imperial crown and arrived in Mexico in May 1864.

3. Disastrous Outcome of the Mexican Adventure

This entire project, born in the brain of Napoleon III, was to prove hopeless from the start, disastrous to all who participated in it, to the new Emperor and Empress, and to Napoleon. The difficulties confronting the new monarch were insuperable. A guerilla warfare was carried on successfully by Juarez, using up the French soldiers and putting them on the defensive. A greater danger threatened the new empire when General Lee surrendered at Appomattox. The United States had looked from the first with disapprobation upon Napoleon's project. Now that the Civil War was over, she threatened intervention.

Napoleon was unwilling to risk a conflict with this country, and consequently promised to withdraw his troops speedily from Mexico. Maximilian could not remain long an Emperor without Napoleon's support. His wife, Carlotta, returning to Europe to persuade Napoleon in frantic personal interviews not to desert them, received no promise of support from the man who had planned the whole adventure, and in the fearful agony of her contemplation" of the impending doom of her husband became insane. Maximilian was taken by the Mexicans and shot on 19 June 1867. The phantom Empire vanished. From out of this enchanting retreat he now emerged to become the central figure of a short and frightful tragedy. Mexico lured him to his doom. Influenced by his own ambition and that of his spirited wife, Carlotta, daughter of Leopold I, King of Belgium, and receiving definite promises of French military support until 1867, he accepted the imperial crown and arrived in Mexico in May 1864.

4. Napoleonic Wars in Europe

The Mexcian expedition was the most expensive enterprise for the French emperor. It has dried the financial resources of his country, which was already disorganized.

It had prevented his playing a part in decisive events occurring in central Europe in 1864–1866, in the Danish war, and the Austro-Prussian war, the outcome of which was to alter so seriously the importance of France in Europe by the exaltation of an ambitious, aggressive, and powerful military state, Prussia. It had damaged him morally before Europe by the desertion of his protégés to an appalling fate before the threats of the United States. It had lessened his prestige at home.

The Menace of War

Thus clouds were gathering, thicker and ever darker, around the throne of Napoleon the Third. There were domestic troubles, but, in the main, it was the foreign relations that inspired alarm. The astonishing success of Prussia, which Napoleon might have prevented, that was the sore point. A re-organization so sweeping in central Europe as the overthrow of Austria, her expulsion from Germany, and the consolidation and aggrandizement of Prussia, a powerful military state, upset the balance of power. A feeling of alarm spread through France. 'Revenge for Sadowa,' was 'a cry often heard henceforth. Its meaning was that if one state like Prussia should be increased in area and power, France also, for consenting to it, had a right to a proportionate increase that the reciprocal relations might remain the same.

'Revenge for Sadowa,' was a cry commonly heard hereafter. It meant that if a state, such as Prussia expanded in terms of area and became more powerful, France, which had agreed to it, also was entitled to a fair increase in the same proportion.

In the time period between 1866 and 1870, people started accepting the idea that war would eventually break out between Prussia and France. The governments on both sides also came to believe in this eventuality. Several French citizens wished for 'revenge for Sadowa.'

Bismarck desired war as a technique of ensuring the unification of Germany, because it was clear that Napoleon would not be keen to give his nod to extend the Confederation so as to embrace states in south Germany.

The Hohenzollern Candidacy

Given the displeasure amongst the conscientious statesmen, conflict was inevitable. Yet, the battle between France and Prussia began suddenly, and took Europe by storm. What was unimagined till the 1st of July, 1870, just broke out on July 15. It all happened in a roundabout way. Due to a revolution in Spain, Queen Isabella had been forced to flee the country. Therefore, there was no Spanish monarch. On July 2, Paris was informed that Leopold of Hohenzollern, who was related to the King of Prussia, had agreed to be the King of Span. Bismarck had a hand in this, and supported this move even though he was aware of Napoleon's hostile stand. France did not approve, as was clear from the reports in the papers and the reaction of the French Parliament. A crisis began to brew. There was intervention from other powers, who were all in favour of peace. Eventually, on July 12, Hohenzollern withdrew his candidature.

France Declares War against Prussia

With the withdrawal of Prince Leopold's candidature, the tension was at once relieved. The fear of war that was looming large, soon vanished. However, there were two people who did not approve—Bismarck and Gramont, the French minister of Foreign Affairs. The former felt so humiliated that he thought he should put in his resignation and give up his public life altogether. The latter, who was known to be an irresponsible

and thoughtless politician, was not happy with his diplomatic triumph, and wanted yet another victory, which would further add to Prussia's discomfort. The Ministry of France demanded that the Prussian King should promise to never ever renew Hohenzollern's candidacy. The King, however, refused to give in to this demand and gave Bismarck the authority to publish a report on the occurrence. Bismarck, who was waiting for a chance like this, used it to incite the French into declaring war. In his own words, the report was aimed as 'a red flag for the Gallic bull.'

The impact of the report was evident almost instantly. It made both the countries furious. The Prussians took it as an insult to their King, while the French felt their ambassador had been insulted. In addition, the newspapers were full provocative and false reports in both the countries. Those who were promoting peace were ignored in the ensuing chaos and furore. France declared war on July 15.

This war went on to be one of the most devastating and catastrophic in French history. Though the French had declared war on the Prussians, the manner in which they did so drove the states of south Germany to join Bismarck's side. France had banked upon the support of these south German states. They felt that the French had insulted them by demanding that the King of Prussia should vow never to accept the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern. Prussia was joined by Bavaria, Baden and Wurttemberg. The French military failed to estimate the level of difficulty of the work confronting them. They were ill-prepared and ill-equipped. Their numbers were small and their commanders lacked prowess as compared to their Prussian counterparts. Other than a handful of success stories, the war was more a reflection of their failures. The Germans managed to cross the Rhine and successfully entered Alsace and Lorraine.

The French army met with failure at Sedan, and was forced the very next day to surrender to the Germans. Napoleon himself was captured as prisoner of war. On these two days, almost 1,20,000 French soldiers were either killed, injured or taken prisoners.

Such horrendous tragedies resonated throughout the world. France's army ceased to exist. While one had surrendered at Sedan, the other was locked up in Metz. The following mail was received from the Emperor on 3 September: 'The army has been defeated and is captive; I myself am a prisoner.'

Being a prisoner Napoleon could not head the government of France. Therefore, in Thiers words, there was a 'vacancy of power'. The very next day, on 4 September, Sunday, the legislative body was summoned. However, even before they could begin discussing, they were mobbed. Slogans of 'Down with the Empire! Long live the Republic!' resounded. Gambetta, Jules Favre, and Jules Ferry, followed by the crowd, continued on to the Hotel de Ville where they declared the Republic. The Empress was forced to flee. A Government of National Defence was put together, headed by General Trochu, which remained the actual government of France through the remaining part of the war.

The war between France and Germany spanned approximately six months, from I August, 1870 to I February, 1871. This war fits into two periods, the Imperial and the Republican. During the Imperial period, that is, in August, the regular armies were, either destroyed or bottled up. Then the Empire fell and the Emperor was imprisoned in Germany. The second period was five-month long. Under the Government of National Defense, France courageously defended itself with full spirit despite the discouraging conditions.

5. The Siege of Paris

The Germans proceeded to Paris, leaving just enough of the army to continue the siege of Metz. Then, on 19 September, one of the most famous sieges in history began, which spanned four months, and amazed Europe. Huge stores were gathered in the city, the citizens were given arms, and the defence was full of power and energy. The people of Paris were confident of being able to hold on till the time new armies could be collected and the diplomacy could intervene. To be able to organize new armies, a delegation led by Gambetta, from the Government of National Defense, escaped from Paris by balloon. They went on to set up a seat of government, first at Tours, then at Bordeaux. Gambetta, who was energetic, articulate and highly patriotic, was easily able to impress and succeeded in raising new armies. The Germans were amazed by the power of resistance of these armies, but since they could not be trained due to paucity of time, they could not succeed. They failed to break into the strong iron barricade that protected Paris.

Once the Empire was overthrown, all that was left in the name of war was the siege of Paris, and the armies' endeavoured to break that siege. These efforts did not bear any fruit because Metz fell on 27 October 1870. Starvation led to the 6000 officers and 173,000 men surrendering with hundreds of cannons and war supplies. This was probably the greatest of surrenders recorded in history. After a month, Strasbourg had surrendered and 19,000 soldiers became prisoners of war.

The surrender of Metz was catastrophic, especially as it made it possible to send more German armies for the reinforcement of the siege of Paris, and to assault the forces being gathered by Gambetta in the rest of France. These armies were unable to relieve Paris. The troops in Paris could not break through them either. The siege was reduced to a mere exercise in endurance.

Capitulation of Paris

The Germans started bombarding the city in the beginning of January. Some parts suffered immense losses and were destroyed by fires. The people of Paris were on the brink of a famine. There was no beef or lamb available after the second week of November. After the second week of December, people had access to only thirty grams of horse meat daily, per person, which cost approximately two dollars and half a pound; By the second week of January, even bread, of the worst quality, was rationed to three hundred grams. People consumed anything they could lay their hands on, even cats and rats. Rats were available in the market for two francs per piece. By the end of January there was no food available, in any form. As if that was not enough, the winter during that period was one of the worst. The supply of coal and firewood could not meet the demand. Trees in the Champs Elysees (shonza-le-za) and the Bois de Boulogne (bua de bo-Ion) were felled and fires were lit in public squares where the poor could warm themselves. Even the wine stored in casks froze. On January 28, Paris surrendered following a gallant struggle.

The Treaty of Frankfurt

Bismarck's terms of peace were unusually harsh. These terms were stated in the Treaty of Frankfurt, which was signed on 10 May, 1871. France was forced to give up Alsace and a big segment of Lorraine, which included the fortress of Metz. France was to pay an absolutely exceptional war compensation of five thousand million francs (a billion dollars) within three years. France was also expected to support a German

army of occupation, which was to be slowly withdrawn as the instalments of the indemnity were paid.

Completion of Italian Unification

In the meantime, other events had taken place as an outcome of the war. Italy seized Rome and thus accomplished her unification. The Pope's rule was therefore terminated. The French battalion which lent its support to the Pope was withdrawn. This happened as a result of the battle of Sedan. The troops of Victor Emmanuel invaded the Pope's own troops, overcame them, and gained entry into Rome on 20 September, 1870. This completed the unity of Italy and Rome was made its capital.

Completion of German Unification

Germany's unification was a more important outcome of the war as also the formation of the Empire. Bismarck had felt it was necessary to engage in a war with France to unify Germany. During the war, Prussia and the South German states negotiated and drew up treaties. The confederation was expanded to cover all the German states. King William I was announced to be the King of the German Empire on 18 January, 1871. As a result of the war of 1866, Austria was expelled from Germany and Italy. With the war of 1870 the unification of both countries was accomplished. While Berlin became the capital of a federal empire, Rome became capital of a unified Kingdom.

ACTIVITY

Research on the Internet and make a note on some of the major domestic policies of Napoleon III (except the ones discussed in this unit).

DID YOU KNOW?

Napoleon Bonaparte instituted lasting reforms, including higher education, a tax code, road and sewer systems, and established the Banque de France (central bank).

3.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- On 2 December 1851, anniversary of the coronation of Napoleon I and of the battle of Austerlitz, the Prince President struck, and struck hard.
- On 17 October 1961, 'the famous massacre of the Boulevards took place.'
 Over 150 were killed and a large numbers were wounded. Paris was cowed.
- The Republic, though officially continuing another year, was now dead. Louis Napoleon, though still nominally President, was in fact an absolute sovereign.
- It was a mere formality when a year later (21 November 1852) the people of France were permitted to vote on the question of reestablishing the imperial dignity, and of proclaiming Louis Napoleon Bonaparte the emperor.

NOTES

Check Your Progress

- 4. Louis-Philippe wanted to make France a great power again by breaking up the European system created by the of 1815.
- 5. What was Napoleon's intention behind the Mexican expedition?
- 6. Bismarck desired war as a technique of ensuring the _____ of Germany.
- 7. When was the Treaty of Frankfurt signed.

- Napoleon III was proclaimed Emperor of France and the Second Empire was established.
- Napoleon was in many other ways progressive. Particularly he sought to develop
 the wealth of the country, and his reign was one of increasing economic
 prosperity; manufactures, commerce, banking, all were greatly encouraged.
- Feeling that his popularity was waning, Napoleon decided to win over the Liberals, who had hitherto been his enemies, by granting in 1868 certain reforms which, they had constantly demanded, larger power to the Legislative Chamber and greater freedom of the press.
- Another serious mistake of Napoleon was culminating at this very time, his Mexican policy, a most unnecessary, reckless and disastrous enterprise.
- Napoleon was unwilling to risk a conflict with this country, and consequently promised to withdraw his troops speedily from Mexico.
- The war between France and Germany spanned approximately six months, from 1 August, 1870 to 1 February, 1871.
- The Germans proceeded to Paris, leaving just enough of the army to continue the siege of Metz. Then, on 19 September, one of the most famous sieges in history began, which spanned four months, and amazed Europe.

3.6 KEY TERMS

- Carbonari: Also known as the charcoal burners, they were groups of secret revolutionary societies in Italy influenced by liberal ideas; played an important role in the 1820 Revolution, as well as subsequent events of Italian unification
- Carlsbad Decrees: A set of reactionary restrictions introduced in the states of the German Confederation by resolution of the Bundesversammlung in 1819
- Duchies: Territories rules by dukes or duchesses

3.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

- One of the aims of the 1851 coup was to remodel the constitution in the direction of the system established by Napoleon I.
- Louise Napoleon Bonapart (also known as Napoleon III) established the Second Empire in November 1852 after proclaiming himself the emperor of France.
- 3. The emperor, although was socialistic in approach, considered it necessary to put in place a police state as he considered that after such a turbulent history, France needed a government under an enlightened and benevolent autocrat.
- 4. Congress of Vienna
- 5. Napoleon wanted to establish Mexico as a satellite government for French export.
- 6. Unification
- 7. The Treaty of Frankfurt was signed on 10 May 1871.

3.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

- 1. How long did the Second Republic endure?
- 2. Was Napoleon III successful in his domestic policies?
- 3. How far were Louis Napoleon's foreign policies successful?
- 4. Write a note on the siege of Paris.
- 5. What did the slogan 'Revenge for Sadowa' mean?
- 6. What were the causes of the Franco-German War of 1870?

Long-Answer Questions

- 1. Describe the constitution of the Second Republic.
- 2. Give an account of the career of Louis Napoleon down to the year 1848. How did he become the emperor? What were his policies during the early part of his reign?
- 3. Give an account of the Mexican expedition of Napoleon III.
- 4. What were the effects of that Mexican expedition upon the position of Napoleon III?
- 5. Describe the main events of the Franco-German War. What were the terms of peace?
- 6. What relation does the Franco-German War have with the problem of the unifications of Germany and Italy?

3.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 UNIFICATION OF ITALY AND GERMANY

Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 Background to Italian Unity
 - 4.2.1 The Napoleonic Era
 - 4.2.2 Revolutions of 1820, 1830 and 1848
 - 4.2.3 Cayour's Rise
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 - 4.3.3 Venetia and Rome
- 4.4 Historical Background of the German Unification
- 4.5 Bismarck's Rise to Power
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 - 4.5.2 Relations with Austria
 - 4.5.3 Austro-Prussian War
- 4.6 Completion of the German Unification
- 4.7 A Comparison between German and Italian Unification
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- 4.10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 4.11 Questions and Exercises
- 4.12 Further Reading

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The socialist and labour movements in Britain, France and Germany were linked to the French Revolution. Napoleon Bonaparte, the 'child of revolution', had promoted the concepts of nationalism and liberalism across Europe. These factors were mainly responsible for the unification of Italy and later Germany.

Before the unification of Italy and Germany, these countries were divided into small principalities, which were often at war with each other. Their disintegration had exhausted the national resources of these countries. In addition, powerful European countries, such as Russia, France and Great Britain, by exploiting the state of chaos, were constant threats for these disintegrated regions. Thus, the unification was an 'event in waiting'.

In this unit, we will be discussing the background and causes for the unification of Italy and Germany in detail.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- · Discuss the background to Italian unity
- Summarize the Italian War of Independence

- Explain the historical background of German unification
- Describe the role of Otto Von Bismarck in German unification
- List the similarities and differences between the movements of Italian and German unification

4.2 BACKGROUND TO ITALIAN UNITY

The roots of Italian unity can be traced back to ancient times—to the time of the Roman Empire. However, after the decline of Rome, Italy had become a geographical entity characterized by regional diversity. The commercially important towns of the Italian region in the middle ages were Milan, Venice, Genoa and Florence. These towns managed to become autonomous so that, by 1500, they became like the Greek city states of the past. Moreover, Italy had only a vague link with the Holy Roman Empire; and in spite of the aspirations of a few Italian patriots and the development of a common language and literature, political unity under a monarchy had not been built.

This lack of political unity was due to the following reasons:

- The medieval German Emperor, who had unsuccessfully tried to dominate Italy, had left behind two conflicting groups, the Ghibellines who supported the maintenance of a tradition connected with Germany and the Guelphs, who rejected that doctrine.
- 2. The Pope, who had both religious and temporal power over Rome and its neighbouring districts.
- 3. The early commercial development of Italian towns had led to trade rivalries.
- 4. The wealth of Italy was immense. The most famous banking family was Medicis of Florence, who patronized art, learning and financed geographical expeditions. As a result of this, the Italian peninsula became a counter in the power struggle of the Great powers of Europe from the days of the Renaissance. Italy first passed into Spanish and then to the Austrian sphere of influence. The Bourbons of France had their influence over the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, known as the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which was situated in the southern tip of Italy.

4.2.1 The Napoleonic Era

Napoleon Bonaparte's Kingdom of Italy, which was under his direct rule, with his stepson serving as the Viceroy, brought together the city states in Northern and Central Italy. At the same time, the southern part of the peninsula was placed under Napoleon's brother-in-law Joachim Murat. Napoleon gave Italy a modern administration and Italians became aware of concepts of liberalism and freedom. The territorial rearrangement showed how delicate the existing structure in Italy was. Due to the seepage of Napoleonic ideas, the revolutionary secret society of Carbonari (the Charcoal Burners) was set up. Its aim was the liberation of Italy from foreign control and the obtaining of constitutional government.

The defeat of Napoleon was followed by the Peace Settlement of Vienna in 1815. Through this settlement Austria was given a commanding position in Italy. This meant the overwhelming influence of Count Metternich, the conservative chancellor

of Austria, on Italy. He wanted a return to the old order and the status-quo of prerevolutionary Europe and was the personification of reactionary aristocracy. In Northern Italy, the regions of Venetia and Lombardy were administered as part of the Austrian/ Hapsburg Empire. Austrian princes ruled in the Duchies of Tuscany, Parma and Moderna. These together with the Papal States formed central Italy, while the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was in southern Italy.

Metternich, the Chancellor of Austria, was friendly both with the Pope and with Ferdinand I, the Bourbon king of the Two Sicilies. The system of government of the Metternich era was one which the Italian people found burdensome, especially after they had been exposed to the revolutionary ideas of freedom and liberty. The only ruler in the peninsula with Italian interests at heart was the King of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel I. He too was however soon forced to toe the Austrian line.

Beneath this surface of Metternich conservatism, liberal ideas were gaining acceptance among the middle class, professionals and business men. This liberal agitation had twin emphasis on constitutional reform and national unity. However, due to severe government controls, Italian liberals had to operate underground. Thus, the Carbonari and the Free Masons conducted their activities through secret societies. The Carbonari had widespread support in Naples and Sicily.

4.2.2 Revolutions of 1820, 1830 and 1848

In this section, we will discuss the revolutions of 1820, 1830 and 1848 (the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 have been discussed in detail in Unit 2).

1. Revolution of 1820

In 1820, there was revolution in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies against the autocratic rule of King Ferdinand I. As a result of the revolutions, liberals were able to extract a constitution from him. Metternich acted swiftly and secured the support for the principle of intervention from the King of Prussia and the Czar of Russia. An Austrian army was invited to restore order. The opposition collapsed and the constitution was abrogated. In 1821, soldiers revolted in Piedmont and King Victor Emmanuel I abdicated in favour of his brother, Charles Albert, who was sympathetic to the liberal's cause. Charles Albert proclaimed a constitution but, Austrian troops intervened and absolute monarchy was re-established.

2. Revolution of 1830

The revolutionary disturbances in France in 1830 had the effect of spreading to Central Italy, where liberal rebels were looking for support from Louis Philippe, the new French King who had come to the throne after the 1830 Revolution. In the Papal state, the Italian tri-colour of red, white and green was raised as a symbol of democracy and nationalism. There were also outbreaks in Parma and Modena against the Hapsburg rulers. These revolutions were once more crushed by Austrian troops.

Joseph Mazzini

Italian nationalists advocated a variety of solutions to achieve their goal of a united Italy. In the context of that time, the most radical solution was the republican solution, associated with the name of the great Italian patriot, Joseph Mazzini (1805–1872). Mazzini, whose nickname was the Beating Heart of Italy, was the son of a University professor, from Genoa. As a young carbonari, Mazzini had been driven into exile by

events of 1821. He conducted a persistent campaign of agitation and directed many unsuccessful raids and plots. However, these failures did not dampen his zeal and enthusiasm,

Mazzini believed in the free association of people, his slogan being 'God and the people'. Though his outlook was religious, Mazzini had little respect for the Papacy. He founded the political movement Young Italy (*La Giovine Italia*) in 1831, which successfully mobilized the Italian youth to the republican and nationalist cause. Mazzini once stated, 'the tree of liberty does not fructify unless it is planted by the hands of citizens and rendered fertile by the blood of citizens and guarded by the swords of citizens'. His banner had the slogan unity and independence on one side and liberty equality and humanity on other side.

3. Revolution of 1848

In 1848, disturbances in Italy began even before the February uprising in Paris. The first signs in Italy appeared in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, where King Ferdinand II was forced to accept a liberal constitution. After the revolution in France, Charles Albert granted a constitution in March 1848, providing for a Parliament elected by tax payers, ministerial responsibilities, the suppression of feudal privileges and granting of individual liberties.

When the news of Metternich's fall in Vienna was received, revolutions broke out in Austrian held territories, Austrian troops led by General Radetzky were driven out of Milan and the people demanded the transfer of Lombardy to Sardinia–Piedmont, In Venice, a republic was proclaimed under Daniel Manin (1804–1857). Following the expulsion of Austria from Lombardy, Charles Albert declared war on Austria to drive them out of the territory remaining in their hands in Northern Italy. His forces were joined by detachments from the Two Sicilies, the Papal State, Tuscany and Lombardy. But this enthusiasm was short-lived and in May 1848, the Pope declared that he could not fight Catholic Austria. The troops of the Two Sicilies were also withdrawn, King Ferdinand II having crushed the revolution there.

Consequently, in July 1848, Charles Albert was defeated by Radetzky at Custoza and Austria re-occupied Lombardy. The Italian extremists were not deterred and staged an uprising in the Papal States in the beginning of 1849. The Pope fled to Naples and a Roman Republic was proclaimed under Joseph Mazzini's leadership. The republicans also gained in the Two Sicilies and in Tuscany. Charles Albert also tried to revive the struggle but was again defeated at Novarra. Disappointed, he abdicated in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II. Louis Napoleon, the nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, who had proclaimed the Second Republic in France, intervened in Rome.

Ignoring the constitutional provision not to act against a fellow republic, Napoleon III sent an expedition to Rome. The French forces were gallantly resisted by Mazzini's followers, led by Giuseppe Garibaldi, but were defeated in July 1849. Pope Pius IX was restored as ruler and now turned hostile to liberals and nationalists. The rulers of Tuscany were restored with Austrian aid while Sicily was brought under Ferdinand's control. In Venice, the republic collapsed as well. Thus, the Revolution of 1848 failed in Italy, except for in Sardinia-Piedmont, which remained only state to retain its constitution. This would be extremely significant for future events.

Nationalist sentiments in Italy did not lessen despite the failures of 1848-49. A few revolutionaries remained republicans, while most nationalists were converted to a movement directed against the provincial governments and the influence of the

clergy. One such nationalist was Daniele Manin. Manin led a new organization called the Italian National Society (*Società Nazionale Italiana*) which put forward the idea of a united Italy under Victor Emmanuel II. This programme was so broad based that it attracted all shades of nationalist opinion.

4.2.3 Cayour's Rise

The Kingdom of Sardinia–Piedmont emerged as the only modern liberal state in Italy. The man responsible for this achievement was Count Camillo di Cavour. Born in 1810, Cavour belonged to a noble Piedmontese family. As a teenager, he served in the Sardinian Army. His extensive reading of English writings and his subsequent visit to Britain made him a typical mid-nineteenth century liberal. Being of a practical bent of mind, Cavour understood the importance of the scientific and technological changes of his time.

In 1847, when censorship was relaxed, Cavour founded a newspaper in which he proposed moderate reforms and Italian unity. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies where he made an immediate impact. In 1850, he was made Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, and two years later, became Prime Minister. He modeled his welfare state on the English liberal models. Sardinia–Piedmont already had a parliamentary system of government.

Under Cavour's directions, a flourishing commerce and industry was established. Tariffs were reduced, factories were built and the use of machinery encouraged. An improvement in communications was brought about through expansion of roads and railways. Not only did Cavour believe in individual liberty in economic, political and social matters, but he also believed in equality. Thus, in Sardinia taxes were equitably distributed.

Cavour was a pragmatist and therefore, was willing to seek the support of different political elements—right, centre and left—for the realization of his aim of Italian unity. He seized whatever opportunity that presented itself, taking decisions based on sound judgments. Cavour had no patience for the revolutionary ideologies of republicans. He reduced the influence of the Church, for he believed that reactionary conservatives were as dangerous as radicals. Thus, Jesuits were expelled and monastic establishments suppressed. Cavour maintained that Italian unification should be brought about under Sardinia's leadership, Sardinia being most suitable as it was a modern liberal state.

4.3 ITALIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

In this section, we would discuss the causes and the outcome of the Italian War of Independence in detail.

4.3.1 Unification of Northern and Central Italy

Cavour knew that the slogan, *Italia fara da se* (Italy will manage alone) was impractical. The cause of Italian unity would require much more to take on Austria. To promote the cause of Italian unity, Sardinia participated in the Crimean War in 1854, on the side of France and Britain, against Russia. Cavour hoped that because of Sardinia's participation, Britain and France would agree to help the cause of Italian unification

NOTES

Check Your Progress

- Fill in the blanks using appropriate words.
- (a) The defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte was followed by the Peace Settlement of Vienna in 1815. Through this settlement,

given a commanding position in Italy.

(b) In 1820, there was revolution in the

> against the autocratic rule of King Ferdinand I.

(c) The Kingdom of

emerged as the only modern liberal state in Italy.

maintained that Italian unification should be brought about under Sardinia's leadership, Sardinia being most suitable as it was a modern liberal state.

NOTES

Cavour also expected Austria to join Russia in the Crimean War, however, Austria remained neutral. Sardinia did gain something by her participation in the Crimean War. Cavour attended the Peace Congress at Paris in 1856, and here he brought up the question of Austrian domination over Italy. He sought the support of the French Emperor, Napoleon III, in expelling Austria from the Italian peninsula and thus creating an Italian state.

Napoleon III, who was convinced that his uncle had fallen when he had opposed the national will in Italy and Germany, was responsive. Napoleon III thought that a war with Austria would get him the support of French liberals. He also hoped to get some concessions from Sardinia. He saw himself redrawing the map of Europe. Yet Napoleon III hesitated in helping Sardinia because of the following reasons:

- An Austrian war could be risky because Austria was strong
- A united Italy could be a rival to France in the Mediterranean
- Many French Catholics were opposed to any attempts at Italian unity, which might decrease power of the papacy

An attempt on his life, in January 1858, by Felice Orsini made Napoleon III realize that he would have to act on the cause of Italian unity. At a secret meeting held at Plombieres in July 1858, Napoleon proposed that France would help Sardinia drive Austrian troops out of Lombardy and Venetia, which would be incorporated into Sardinia, while the smaller central states and some Papal territories would constitute another state, which Napoleon III secretly thought could be ruled by a Bonaparte. The southern part of Italy would remain unchanged and the Pope would still be sovereign in Rome. In return for this assistance, France would receive Nice (Mediterranean Port) and Savoy (an alpine Province).

Napoleon III went on to obtain a promise of Russian neutrality, playing on the Russian resentment of Austrian neutrality during the Crimean War. The marriage of Napoleon III's cousin Prince Victor Napoleon with the Sardinian King Victor Emmanuel II's daughter Clotilde sealed the bargain, which came to be known as the Pact of Plombieres. To win public opinion, Austria was made to appear as the aggressor. War broke out in 1859 between Piedmont and Austria. The plan was carried out and forces of Piedmont and France defeated Austria at Magenta and Solferino.

The success caused peaceful revolutions to break out in Tuscany, Modena and Parma. Nationalists assumed control in these provinces and the rulers were driven into exile. They demanded incorporation of these central Italian states, including the Papal States, into a united Italy under the King of Sardinia. Napoleon III was not prepared for this. The French Catholics blamed their Emperor's intervention for the national movement in the Papal States. Prussia mobilized along the River Rhine. The Austrian troops in Venetia were receiving reinforcements. Not wanting to go to war with Prussia, Napoleon III suddenly concluded peace with Austria at Villafranca in 1859, without consulting Sardinia. This was a huge setback for Sardinia.

As a result of the Conference in Villafranca, it was agreed that:

- Lombardy would be given to Sardinia
- Venetia would remain with Austria
- The princes in Central Italy would be restored to their thrones, and
- The Pope would become President of an Italian federation

Check Your Progress

- 2. How did the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies come into existence?
- 3. When was Young Italy (La Giovine Italia) formed?

After the conference Italian nationalists and French liberals denounced Napoleon III as a traitor. Cavour resigned as Prime Minister of Sardinia, convinced that the cause had been lost. The Sardinian King now played his role in Italian unification. The King of Sardinia decided to accept the terms made at the conference of Villafranca and consolidate whatever few gains had been made. The terms of the settlement were formalized in the Treaty of Zurich. The addition of Lombardy to the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont marked the completion of the first stage in the Italian unification.

Villafranca had made the nationalists in central Italy even more determined not to accept their old rulers. They took up the slogan 'Italy will take care of itself'. The people of the central Italian states and of a part of the Papal States held plebiscites and voted to join Sardinia. At first, Napoleon III refused to recognize this. Subsequently, Cavour returned to office and bargained with Napoleon III.

Disregarding the Conference of Villafranca, Napoleon III and Victor Emmanuel II consequently signed the Treaty of Turin in 1860. Through this treaty, Sardinia gave to France, Nice and Savoy and in return France recognized not only the union of Lombardy with Sardinia but also of Parma, Modena and Tuscany and of the papal province of Romagna. Nice and Savoy had belonged to the first French Republic and the first Napoleonic Empire and had been given to Sardinia-Piedmont by the Vienna Settlement of 1815. The Union of the central Italian States including Papal territory with Sardinia Piedmont marked the second stage of the Italian unification movement.

4.3.2 Garibaldi and Movement in South Italy

Following the unification of northern and central Italy, there was also a similar movement in the south of Italy. The man largely responsible for the growth of nationalism in the south was Joseph Garibaldi (1807–1882).

Garibaldi was a native of Nice and had been a sailor in the Sardinian Navy. Inspired by the nationalist and republican ideals promoted by Young Italy, he took part in a mutiny on his warship and was consequently condemned to death. Garibaldi escaped and fled to South America, where as a member of the Italian legend, he fought in revolutionary wars for fourteen years.

Garibaldi returned to Italy and led a volunteer army in the Sardinian War of 1848 against Austria and defended the Roman republic. After the defeat of 1849, Garibaldi went to New York where he made a good deal of money. In 1854, he returned to Italy and waited for an opportunity to fight for the freedom of his beloved land.

Southern Italy continued to be ruled in a dictatorial manner under Francis II, the successor of Ferdinand II. In 1860, the people of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies rose in revolt, inspired by the events in Northern and Central Italy. Garibaldi had played his role by mobilizing the masses in support of Victor Emmanuel II, putting his loyalty to Italian unity before his republican sympathies.

On receiving the news of the outbreak in Sicily, Garibaldi assembled a volunteer army of 1,000 red shirts, as they were called, to assist the rebels. However, the Governments of Sardinia and the Two Sicilies were at peace. With all this diplomatic skill, Cavour openly threatened Garibaldi and his Red Shirts with arrest, but secretly indicated to Garibaldi that he could proceed. The English fleet, patrolling the Mediterranean, helped Garibaldi to land in Sicily. The defending army in Sicily gave in and within three months, Garibaldi and his Red Shirts controlled the island. Garibaldi then crossed over to the mainland, taking possession of Pales. King Francis II fled and took refuge in the fortress of Gaeta.

NOTES

Check Your Progress

- Fill in the blanks using appropriate words.
 - (a) To promote the cause of Italian unity, Sardinia participated in the _____ in 1854 on the side of France and Britain, against Russia.
 - (b) An attempt on
 his life in
 January 1858 by
 Felice Orsini
 made
 realize that he
 would have to
 act on the cause
 of Italian unity.
 - (c) Not wanting to go to war with Prussia,
 Napoleon III suddenly concluded peace with Austria at
 _____ in 1859, without consulting Sardinia.
 - (d) Garibaldi put aside his personal preference and handed over the Two Sicilies to
 - (e) The _____ in 1871 completed both German and Italian unifications.
- 5. At the Peace Congress at Paris in 1856, why did Napoleon III hesitate in helping Sardinia?
- What were the major decisions taken in the Conference of Villafranca, 1859?

Garibaldi was so popular at this juncture that he could have become a republican dictator. However, he announced that he would march to Rome and hand over Southern Italy to Victor Emmanuel II. This was however dangerous because Napoleon III's French troops were stationed there since 1849 and loyal Catholics opposed an attack on Rome, the seat of the Pope. Cavour and Victor Emmanuel II decided to intervene and Sardinian troops were sent into the Papal State. They then passed on into Naples, where they joined the Red Shirts. Cavour announced the incorporation of Papal territory, except for Rome and its neighboring districts, into Sardinia, despite the protests of the Pope.

Garibaldi put aside his personal preference and handed over the Two Sicilies to King Victor Emmanuel II. King Frances II surrendered and went into exile. Plebiscites were held in the papal states of Marches and Umbria, confirming their annexation to Sardinia-Piedmont. This completed the third stage in the Italian unifications. There were no obstacles, as Austria was in no position to play any role in Italy. British public opinion was also in favour of the Italian cause. From the French point of view, the result far exceeded the wishes of Napoleon III. Consequently, Napoleon III could only strengthen the garrison at Rome and warn Sardinia not to move into what remained of Papal territory.

The first parliament, representing the united Italian nation, excluding Rome and Venetia, met in 1861. Victor Emmanuel II took the title of King of Italy instead of the King of Sardinia-Piedmont. Cavour died six months later, having seen most of his objectives completed.

4.3.3 Venetia and Rome

The new Italian Government entered into an alliance with Prussia against Austria in 1866. When the Austria-Prussian War broke out that year, Italian troops invaded Venetia. However, Italian troops were repulsed by Austrian troops, as was the Italian squadron by the fleet in the Adriatic Sea. However, by the Treaty of Prague in 1866, Austria had to cede Venetia to Italy.

In 1864, a Franco Italian convention had been entered into, whereby French troops were to leave Rome in two years and after the Austria-Prussian War in 1866, the French quit. However, Garibaldi's reappearance on the Roman scene brought the French back.

The Franco-Prussian War in 1871 completed both German and Italian unifications. On the eve of the war, Napoleon III withdrew the French garrison from Rome. Pope Pius IX was left with only his personal guards. When it became clear that Napoleon III could not send his troops back, the Italian Government sent its troops to invade and occupy the Papal state. The Pope tried to put up resistance, but a plebiscite vote in favour of the union of the Papal state with the Italian Kingdom decided the issue. Rome became the national capital in 1871 and the unification of Italy was completed.

4.4 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE GERMAN UNIFICATION

There is a list of events which led to the German unification. In this section, we would elaborate on those events.

Like Italy, Germany also had been characterized by a lack of unity. By the early 16th century, the Holy Roman Empire was restricted to German speaking people, although theoretically it claimed political predominance over all Christian rulers and people of Central and Western Europe. By this period, the German had become conscious of a common language, a common tradition and a common nationality. They recognized that their political institutions were outdated and needed reform. However, there were conflicts between various groups concerning the methods and goals of reform. There were princes, free cities and knights quarreling with one another. Moreover, religions dissensions had left half of the German population Protestant while the other half was Catholic. The former were further subdivided into Lutherans and Calvinists. Each German state was devoted to its own form of Christianity rather than to German nationalism.

While there was growth of capitalism in German cities at the beginning of the sixteenth century as well as the growth of a middle class profiting from Spanish and Portuguese overseas explorations, civil wars had weakened the Holy Roman Empire economically and politically.

After the Thirty Years War (1618–1648) the strength of independent German princes grew, having become enriched by the confiscation of property owned by religious organizations. German princes got rid of local assemblies and established their autocratic rule. Some princes increased their power by conquest or matrimonial alliances. As these independent German states became stronger, the Holy Roman Emperor grew weaker. By the eighteenth century, Austria was the most famous and influential German state, the Holy Roman Emperor being chosen from the ruling dynasty of Austria, the Hapsburgs. However, Austria included widely different dominions like Bohemia and Hungary. Brandenburg–Prussia, ruled by the Hohenzollerns, was a great power, having a strong army. Bavaria, Saxony and Hanover were the other important states.

Napoleonic Era

During the Napoleonic Era, the number of German states was reduced from three hundred to less than a hundred, through the confiscation of a number of ecclesiastical lands and free cities. Some of these cities to the east of the Rhine river became part of France. After the Holy Roman Empire came to an end, a new Confederation of the Rhine under the protection of the French Emperor was formed by some of the German states. In Northern and Western Germany, a kingdom was carved out of German states, including, Prussia and was governed by Napoleon's brother, Jerome. The most important effect of the Napoleonic conquest of Germany was the abolition of feudalism and serfdom, the recognition of equality of all citizens before law and the application of principles and precepts of the Napoleon Code.

Peace Settlement of Vienna

The Peace Settlement of Vienna, signed after the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte, made no effort to restore the ecclesiastical states and petty principalities or to resurrect the Holy Roman Empire. Instead, a German confederation of thirty eight states, with a legislature known as the Diet was set up. The German Confederation was presided

NOTES

Check Your Progress

- Fill in the blanks using appropriate words.
- (a) After the
 the strength of
 independent
 German princes
 grew, having
 become enriched
 by the
 confiscation of
 property owned
 by religious
 organizations.
- (b) The Peace Settlement of Vienna resulted in the setting up of a German Confederation presided over by the
- (c) The introduced in the German Confederation in 1819 made detailed provisions for the supervision of university students and professors, restricted the press and forbade the grant of any constitution that was inconsistent with the principle of monarchy.
- (d) Otto Von
 Bismarck
 concluded that
 the great
 questions of the
 day were not to
 be resolved by
 speeches and
 resolutions but
 through a policy
 of

over by the Austrian emperor. Austrian dominance was apparent from the outset even though the confederation was placed nominally under the guarantee of all the powers, all of whom were signatories to the Vienna settlement.

At this time, Austria was under control of its conservative chancellor, Prince Clemens Metternich. Metternich was a believer in the old order and a defender of the status-quo. He knew that he could count on the support of smaller German states, all of whom were jealous of Prussia. Thus, any attempt to achieve the promise in the Constitution of the Confederation that a representative form of government would be adopted in the feudal system was curbed by Austria. Though some south German states retained the Napoleonic code of laws and granted charters, the princes placed restrictions on the Press and Parliament while police activities kept liberals under check.

In Northern and Central Germany, conservative rule was rigorously imposed. Prussia abolished provincial tariffs and established free trade within the Kingdom in 1818. The liberal spirit was kept alive in the universities where students formed secret societies. The middle classes wanted participation in government while the lower classes wanted social reform. The Carlsbad Decrees introduced in the German Confederation in 1819 made detailed provisions for the supervision of university students and professors, restricted the press and forbade the grant of any constitution that was inconsistent with the principle of monarchy. Thus, the forces of reaction remained firmly in control in the German Federation.

The Revolution of 1830

The 1830 Revolution in France had mild repercussions in Germany. In Saxony, Hanover and Hesse rioting by liberals led to their rulers granting constitutional concessions, all of which were short lived. One important effect of the 1830s Revolution in France on Germany was the completion of the *Zollverein* or German Customs Union under Prussian leadership. In the 1840s the ideas of Socialism inspired by Saint Simon, Fourier and Cabet began to appear in German publications. A paper advocating the principles of national tariffs was brought out. In German and Austrian universities, liberals looked to university professors for leadership. They espoused the cause of national unity and greater freedom, but they were a small group.

Frankfurt Parliament

When the Revolution of 1848 broke out in France, and Metternich fell from power in Austria, crowds of agitators mainly comprising students and workers, demanded a constitution from King Frederick William IV of Prussia. They took to rioting and put up barricades. The King gave in and appointed a liberal ministry and a constituent assembly, issued a proclamation in favour of unification and even paraded in the streets of his capital Berlin wearing the revolutionary colour of red, black and gold.

This success of the revolutionaries led to the demand for constitutions in the smaller states, where constitutions were subsequently granted. The Diet of the German Confederation at Frankfurt also kept pace trying to change itself into a liberal parliament by modernizing its organization, annulling repressive laws and adopting the flag of red, black and gold. Elections to a German National Assembly were held and liberals obtained a majority. The liberals were mainly lawyers, judges and businessmen. The assembly, known as the Frankfurt Parliament, met with no opposition from existing governments. Even the rival Diet of the Confederation sent greetings to it.

The Frankfurt Parliament proclaimed a national German Empire and selected a liberal Austrian prince named Archduke John of Austria as temporary head because it was assumed that the new German Empire would include the German parts of the Austrian Empire. The Assembly also assumed that the new Germany would be a federation and a constitutional monarchy, with a bicameral parliament and ministerial responsibility. One chamber in the parliament would represent the states and the other the people. A declaration of the Fundamental Rights of the German Nation was adopted. This declaration has been regarded as a classic expression of mid nineteenth century European liberalism.

The parliament next commissioned Prussia to act on its behalf against Denmark. The ruler of Denmark, King Frederick VII had tried to integrate the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein on the peninsula, between Denmark and Germany, more closely with the rest of his Danish domains. Thus, Prussia went to war against Denmark. The war ended with a compromise in 1852 called the London Protocol that satisfied neither side.

Counter-Revolution

In the meanwhile, the tide had turned against the Revolution in the Hapsburg Empire in Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Italy and Hungary. Conservatives in Prussia, who were mainly landlords and clergymen, were exerting pressure to halt the work of the Prussian liberals in the Constituent Assembly. The Prussian liberals wanted to abolish the nobility, make the King a mere figurehead and send an army to aid the revolutionaries at Vienna. King Frederick William IV acted, replacing his liberal ministers with conservatives and used his troops to frighten both the Constituent Assembly and the population of Berlin. He then exiled and dissolved the Constituent Assembly, drafted a constitution, whereby power would be with the king and his ministers, though he would consult with a parliament, representing the upper classes and the richer sections of the middle class.

The liberals at Frankfurt had provided in the constitution adopted in 1849 that the King of Prussia would be head of united Germany. Frederick William IV was hesitant. While he was attracted to nationality, whereby the prestige of Prussia and the Hohenzollerns dynasty would be increased, he disapproved of the source of the offer, that is, the popular elected representatives. He declared that he could not accept the crown from the 'gutter'. He knew that the other German princes might become jealous, not to mention the Hapsburg emperor of Austria. This marked the end of the Frankfurt Assembly, which led to an extremist reaction. Efforts were made to dethrone princes and establish republics. But these were short lived and were suppressed by Prussian troops. German republicans were jailed or exiled.

Yet Frederick William IV was not opposed to the idea of German union. He invited the other German states, without Austria, to form a new union under his presidency but only the lesser states responded and the Erfurt Parliament met in 1850. Austria challenged the proposed Union and was supported by South German states and Hanover. A showdown between Prussia and Austria seemed imminent. However, rather than face war against Austria, Prussia gave in. Subsequently, a treaty called the Treaty of Olmutz was signed in 1850 by Frederick William IV and Schwarzenberg, Metternich's successor. According to the treaty, Prussia would abandon the Erfurt Union and accept the revival of the German Confederation under Austrian leadership.

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The treaty was seen as a complete humiliation for Prussia, with the treaty being called the 'humiliation of Olmutz'. Sometime later, the Diet of the Confederation at Frankfurn repealed the declaration of the Fundamental Rights of the German Nation.

Watching the proceedings at Frankfurt was a young Prussian named Otto Von Bismarck. He concluded that the great questions of the day were not to be resolved by speeches and resolutions but through a policy of 'blood and iron'. This observation was to be of great significance for German unification.

4.5 BISMARCK'S RISE TO POWER

The Italian example and Cavour's war with Austria in 1859 provided inspiration for a revival of the national movement in the German regions. Plans for unity varied, some wanted a strong central state, others a federation. While some looked to Austria for leadership, others looked to Prussia; however, no one was sure how to solve the Austro-Prussian relationship. New societies were formed and the liberals spoke in favour of institutions in several German states.

The weakness of Austria had been apparent in 1859 and led to doubts whether she could lead Germany to unity at all. Opinions were now increasingly expressed in favour of Prussian leadership, especially by Prussian conservatives who were dominant in Prussia. They recalled how Frederick William IV had to give in to Austria in 1850 and abandon his plans of a German union.

In 1858, Frederick William IV became mentally unstable and Prussian affairs passed into the hands of his brother, William I. William I was conservative and religionsminded, believed in divine right of kings and had a great deal of interest in military matters. William I initiated army reforms. He appointed General Helmuth von Moltke as chief of the army and Albrecht von Roon as minister of war. Under William I's reign the number of men conscripted annually into the army increased and the modernization of the army's equipment was carried out.

In 1859, the fear that Napoleon III might invade Austria following Austria's defeat by Franco–Italian forces and Napoleon's subsequent annexation of Nice and Savoy made Prussia think about keeping watch on the River Rhine. Napoleon III's slogan of 'national boundaries' also made the reform of the Prussian army more urgent. William I had plans for expansion but the lower house of the Prussian Diet opposed them. The liberals wanted to make Prussia a constitutional monarchy and thought that by blocking finance for military reform they could make the king give in. Consequently, the king dissolved the lower house and ordered new elections; but the result was a majority for the progressives who wanted to make the King promote liberal policies. Thus, a deadlock followed. To break up the stalemate, King William I summoned Otto von Bismarck.

Bismarck belonged to a Prussian Junker family. The Junkers were the landed country gentry who enjoyed influence in Prussian society. Bismarck was brought up to combine the traditions of the aristocracy with patriotism. He did not do well as a student and was considered to lack regularity and discipline, which led to his dismissal from the civil service. Bismarck was a staunch monarchist and in 1848, had been in a minority of two in voting against the vote of thanks to King Frederick William IV. when the king promised to grant a constitution.

Check Your Progress

- 8. Why did the Frankfurt Parliament proclaimed a national German Empire and select a liberal Austrian prince?
- 9. What led to the 'humiliation of Olmutz'?

4.5.1 Bismarck's Realpolitik

Bismarck believed in Realpolitik and defended the existing Prussian set up against the liberals. He approved of the constitution of 1850 with the Parliament, but he was active in promoting a conservative party, which opposed the liberals. In 1851, he entered the Prussian diplomatic service and from 1851–1859 served as Prussian representative to the Diet of the Confederation at Frankfurt. This gave him valuable insights into German politics and heightened his dislike of Austria. As ambassador of Prussia at Petersburg from 1859–1862, Bismarck learned Russian and won the regard of the Czar. He also served as Ambassador to Paris for a few months where he correctly gauged the character of Napoleon III. In 1862, he was summoned to Berlin by King William I, on the advice of von Room, to break the impasse with the Prussian Parliament.

Thereafter, Bismarck was to be in charge of Prussian affairs. At the outset, Bismarck tried to negotiate with the progressives in the Prussian Parliament, but this did not achieve any results. In 1863, the progressives refused to vote for the Budget, unless Bismarck was dismissed. Consequently, Bismarck bypassed the legislators, collected taxes without Parliament's vote and went ahead with army reforms, applying the budget of the preceding year for the current year.

4.5.2 Relations with Austria

After becoming in charge of Prussian affairs, Bismarck was determined to make a definite settlement of the Austro-Prussian issue. He knew that this could involve war, since Austria would not easily give up her prime position in Germany. Bismarck felt that even if war occurred, the reformed army could be used to create a unified Germany, in which Prussia would occupy the chief position and Austria would be excluded by force.

Throughout the 1860s, Bismarck directed the course of events towards the realization of this aim. To Bismarck, war was a tool to achieve ends; however, diplomacy was still preferable. Like a good craftsman, Bismarck used the appropriate tool at the right time and for proper purpose. Thus, when the Revolution of 1863 broke out in Poland, Bismarck used this event to gain the support of the Czar of Russia. He offered the Czar his assistance and signed the Alvensleben convention in 1863, while other powers provided Russia with interfering advice. In the same year, Austria proposed a reform of the German Confederation, but Prussia refused to participate.

4.5.3 Austro-Prussian War

Bismarck knew that the answer to opposition by Liberals at home was accomplishment abroad. The occasion presented itself when the King of Denmark tried to capture the provinces of Schleswig–Holstein into a centralized German state in opposition to the will of the German Confederation. Prussia joined Austria in a concise successful war against Denmark. Bismarck, however, was sure that Prussia needed to completely subsume the northern German confederation, which would require the expelling of Austria from German matters.

Bismarck's first task was to ensure that there was no coalition against him. He had no problems gaining support from Alexander II of Russia because of the

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Check Your Progress

- Fill in the blanks using appropriate words.
 - (a) In 1858,
 Frederick
 William IV
 became mentally
 unstable and
 Prussian affairs
 passed into the
 hands of his
 brother,
 - (b) Bismarck believed in Realpolitik and defended the existing Prussian set up against the
 - (c) After the
 Revolution of
 1863 broke out
 in Poland,
 Bismarck offered
 the Czar his
 assistance, and
 signed the

in 1863.

(d) In 1866, debates between Austria and Prussia over the management of the

duchies resulted in war.

(e) During the attack on Austria in 1866, Bismarck had progressively tied Prussia's destiny to the Alvensleben convention in 1863. Bismarck was also able to charm Napoleon III with blurred promises of territorial gains along the river Rhine, which he did not intend to keep. Bismarck, actually, had very little for Napoleon III, once referring to Napoleon III as the 'sphinx without a riddle'. When Austria declined to renounce its role in German affairs, Bismarck was prepared.

In 1866, debates between Austria and Prussia over the management of the Schleswig-Holstein duchies resulted in war. This war lasted for seven weeks and resulted in a Prussian victory over the Austrians. In defeating Austrians on the battlefield, the Prussians assumed the position of the senior Germanic state. This resulted in a clear partition between Austrian and German interests and forced the smaller states to line up themselves alongside the Prussians, with whom they shared economic ties because of the Zollverein customs agreement.

After Austria's defeat at the hands of Prussia at the Battle of Sadowa, Bismarck showed his mastery of 'realpolitik'. He provided Austria with liberal terms, as he knew well that he might need the neutrality, if not the collaboration, of Austria in the future. Austria paid no compensation and lost no land to Prussia. However, Austria was forced to cede Venice to Italy. After the war, the German Confederation was disbanded and Austria decided to withdraw from German affairs. The territories north of the Main River were joined into a new North German Confederation led by Prussia. The Catholic states of the south remained autonomous, although they formed coalitions with Prussia.

Bismarck next turned to the parliament. He understood that nationalism was his main weapon to force the parliament to accept his terms and conditions. During the attack on Austria in 1866, he had progressively tied Prussia's destiny to the 'national development of Germany'. He established a new federal constitution for the North German Confederation. In this constitution, each state held its own local government, but the Prussian King became the president of the confederation and the chancellor – Bismarck - was answerable only to the president.

The federal government (literally comprising of King William I and Bismarck) managed the army and foreign matters. The legislature had two houses; one appointed by the states, the other elected by the universal male suffrage. He then secured his border in Prussia by asking the Prussian Parliament to issue a special indemnity bill to endorse (after the fact) all the government's expenditure between 1862 and 1866. Here, Bismarck's success in uniting the northern German states and establishing a legislature where all could take part was paid off. The liberals saw achievement beyond their wildest dreams and agreed to cooperate.

4.6 COMPLETION OF THE GERMAN UNIFICATION

The Franco-Prussian war broke out in July 1870. The Second Empire of France found that it had no sympathizers. Napoleon III thought that Austria might join him but Austria wanted to first observe the likely outcome of hostilities between the two sides and this was not favourable to France. As for Italy, Napoleon's willingness to withdraw the French garrison from Rome deprived him of the bargaining power with Victor Emmanuel II. The South German states joined Prussia. The French forces were no match for Moltke's efficient and more numerous military machines.

The French defeat at Sedan in September 1870 marked the first phase of the struggle and led to the collapse of the French Second Empire. Bismarck let it be known that he would not make peace with France unless Germany should be safeguarded against future French intervention. This was to be secured by taking the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. However, the new republican government of France declared that it would not give up any territory. Thus war between the two sides continued until January 1871, when the German army marched into Paris.

The subsequent surrender by the French led to an armistice so that elections could take place to elect a French National Assembly, which could have the authority to conclude peace. By the Treaty of Frankfurt in 1871, France ceded to Germany Alsace and Lorraine and agreed to pay an indemnity of 1 billion dollars (5 milliard francs). The German occupation army remained in Northern France until the indemnity was paid in 1873.

The most important result of the Franco-Prussian war was the completion of German unity. The South German states by separate agreement consented to Bismarck's proposal that they enter the North German Confederation. The enlarged German state was called the German Empire with the King of Prussia proclaiming himself the German Emperor.

4.7 A COMPARISON BETWEEN GERMAN AND ITALIAN UNIFICATION

The similarities and differences between German and Italian unification are enumerated as:

Similarities

The similarities between the German and Italian unification are as follows:

- In both Italy and Germany, unification was achieved through war.
- In both countries the obstacle to unification was Austria but in Germany, Austria
 was not a hated foreign power but the leader of the German states.
- Both unification movements used the same methods of risk taking, provocation and diplomacy.

Differences

The differences between the German and the Italian unification are as follows:

- Unlike the House of Savoy, the Hohenzollerns of Prussia were new challengers for control in their respective countries.
- Prussia, unlike Sardinia-Piedmont, was a great power and tackled her problems with her own resources and did not have to depend upon foreign aid.
- Prussia counted more on her economic leadership in the Zollverein, than on liberalism. Moreover, the strength of her armed forces was another factor while public opinion counted only in the last stage of the unification movement.
- It has been stated that Prussia did not lead the German states to unity as Sardinia— Piedmont had in Italy, but imposed unity.

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Check Your Progress

- State whether the following sentences are true or false.
- (a) The French
 defeat at Sedan
 in September
 1870 marked the
 first phase of the
 struggle and led
 to the collapse of
 the French Third
 Empire.
- (b) By the Treaty of Frankfurt in 1871, France ceded to Germany Alsace and Lorraine and agreed to pay an indemnity of 1 billion dollars (5 milliard francs).
- (c) In both Italy and Germany, unification was achieved through non violent peaceful struggles.
- (d) Sardinia—
 Piedmont, unlike
 Prussia, was a
 great power and
 tackled her
 problems with
 her own
 resources and did
 not have to
 depend upon
 foreign aid to
 unify the country.
- 12. What was the most important outcome of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870?

ACTIVITY

- Using the Internet as your resource, find out the relationship between Vatican
 City, the sovereign city state ruled by the Pope, and the Government of
 Italy.
- After Napoleon III's defeat at the hands of Prussia, the French Third Republic was proclaimed. Using the Internet as your resource, find out the history of the French Third Republic and how it ended.

DID YOU KNOW?

Bismarck as a typical Prussian Junker—an image which he encouraged by wearing military uniforms. He was well educated and cosmopolitan, and was fluent in English, French, Polish, Italian and Russian.

4.8 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The roots of Italian unity can be traced back to ancient times—to the time of the Roman Empire. However, after the decline of Rome, Italy had become a geographical entity characterized by regional diversity.
- Napoleon Bonaparte's Kingdom of Italy, which was under his direct rule, with
 his stepson serving as the Viceroy, brought together the city states in Northern
 and Central Italy. At the same time, the southern part of the peninsula was
 placed under Napoleon's brother-in-law Joachim Murat. Napoleon gave Italy
 a modern administration and Italians became aware of concepts of liberalism
 and freedom.
- The defeat of Napoleon was followed by the peace settlement of Vienna in 1815. Through this settlement, Austria was given a commanding position in Italy. This meant the overwhelming influence of Count Metternich, the conservative chancellor of Austria, on Italy. He wanted a return to the old order and the status-quo of pre-revolutionary Europe and was the personification of reactionary aristocracy.
- Italian nationalists advocated a variety of solutions to achieve their goal of a
 united Italy. In the context of that time, the most radical solution was the
 republican solution, associated with the name of the great Italian patriot, Joseph
 Mazzini.
- In 1848, disturbances in Italy began even before the February uprising in Paris.
 The first signs in Italy appeared in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, where King Ferdinand II was forced to accept a liberal constitution. After the revolution in France, Charles Albert granted a constitution in March 1848, providing for a Parliament elected by taxpayers, ministerial responsibilities, the suppression of feudal privileges and granting of individual liberties.

- When the news of Metternich's fall in Vienna (1848) was received, revolutions broke out in Austrian held territories, Austrian troops led by General Radetzky were driven out of Milan and the people demanded the transfer of Lombardy to Sardinia-Piedmont.
- The Revolution of 1848 failed in Italy, except for in Sardinia-Piedmont, which remained only state to retain its constitution. This would be extremely significant for future events.
- The Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont emerged as the only modern liberal state in Italy. The man responsible for this achievement was Count Camillo di Cavour.
- Cavour maintained that Italian unification should be brought about under Sardinia's leadership, Sardinia being most suitable as it was a modern liberal state.
- To promote the cause of Italian unity, Sardinia participated in the Crimean War 1854, on the side of France and Britain, against Russia. Cavour hoped that because of Sardinia's participation, Britain and France would agree to help the cause of Italian unification. Cavour also expected Austria to join Russia in the Crimean War, however, Austria remained neutral.
- Sardinia did gain something by her participation in the Crimean War. Cavour
 attended the Peace Congress at Paris in 1856, and here he brought up the
 question of Austrian domination over Italy. He sought the support of the French
 Emperor, Napoleon III, in expelling Austria from the Italian peninsula and thus
 creating an Italian state.
- At a secret meeting held at Plombieres in July 1858, Napoleon proposed that
 France would help Sardinia drive Austrian troops out of Lombardy and Venetia,
 which would be incorporated into Sardinia, while the smaller central states and
 some Papal territories would constitute another state, which Napoleon III secretly
 thought could be ruled by a Bonaparte.
- War broke out in 1859 between Piedmont and Austria. The plan was carried out and forces of Piedmont and France defeated Austria at Magenta and Solferino.
- However, not wanting to go to war with Prussia, Napoleon III suddenly concluded peace with Austria at Villafranca in 1859, without consulting Sardinia. This was a huge setback for Sardinia.
- Nationalists in central Italy became even more determined not to accept their
 old rulers. They took up the slogan 'Italy will take care of itself'. The people of
 the central Italian states and of a part of the Papal States held plebiscites and
 voted to join Sardinia.
- Following the unification of Northern and central Italy there was also a similar movement in the south of Italy. The man largely responsible for the growth of nationalism in the south was Joseph Garibaldi (1807–1882).
- In 1860, the people of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies rose in revolt, inspired
 by the events in Northern and Central Italy. Garibaldi had played his role by
 mobilizing the masses in support of Victor Emmanuel II, putting his loyalty to
 Italian unity before his republican sympathies. On receiving the new of the
 outbreak in Sicily, Garibaldi assembled a volunteer army of 1,000 red shirts, as
 they were called, to assist the rebels.

- The English fleet, patrolling the Mediterranean, helped Garibaldi to land in Sicily. The defending army in Sicily gave in and within three months, Garibaldi and his Red Shirts controlled the island. Garibaldi then crossed over to the mainland, taking possession of Pales.
- Garibaldi was so popular at this juncture that he could have become a republican dictator. However, he announced that he would march to Rome and hand over Southern Italy to Victor Emmanuel II.
- The first parliament, representing the united Italian nation, excluding Rome and Venetia, met in 1861. Victor Emmanuel II took the title of King of Italy instead of the King of Sardinia-Piedmont.
- Like Italy, Germany also had been characterized by a lack of unity. By the early
 16th century, the Holy Roman Empire was restricted to the German speaking
 peoples, although theoretically it claimed political predominance over all
 Christian rulers and peoples of Central and Western Europe.
- During the Napoleonic Era, the number of German states was reduced from three hundred to less than a hundred, through the confiscation of a number of ecclesiastical lands and free cities.
- The Peace Settlement of Vienna, signed after the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte, resulted in the creation of a German confederation of thirty eight states, with a legislature known as the Diet was set up. The German Confederation was presided over by the Austrian emperor.
- When the Revolution of 1848 broke out in France and Metternich fell from power in Austria, crowds of agitators mainly comprising of students and workers, demanded a constitution from King Frederick William IV of Prussia. They took to rioting and put up barricades. The King gave in and appointed a liberal ministry and a constituent assembly.
- Conservatives in Prussia, who were mainly landlords and clergymen, were exerting pressure to halt the work of the Prussian liberals in the Constituent Assembly.
- King Frederick William IV acted, replacing his liberal ministers with conservatives and used his troops to frighten both the Constituent Assembly and the population of Berlin. He then exiled and dissolved the Constituent Assembly, drafted a constitution, whereby power would be with the king and his ministers, though he would consult with a parliament, representing the upper classes and the richer sections of the middle classes.
- In 1858, Frederick William IV became mentally unstable and Prussian affairs passed into the hands of his brother, William I.
- In 1862, Otto Von Bismarck was summoned to Berlin by King William I, on the advice of von Room, to break the impasse with the Prussian Parliament.
- After becoming in charge of Prussian affairs, Bismarck was determined to
 make a definite settlement of the Austro-Prussian issue. He knew that this
 could involve war, since Austria would not easily give up her prime position in
 Germany. Bismarck felt that even if war occurred, the reformed army could be
 used to create a unified Germany, in which Prussia would occupy the chief
 position and Austria would be excluded by force.

- In 1866, debates between Austria and Prussia over the management of the Schleswig-Holstein duchies resulted in war. This war lasted for seven weeks and resulted in a Prussian victory over the Austrians. In defeating the Austrians on the battlefield, the Prussians assumed the position of the senior Germanic state.
- The Franco-Prussian war broke out in July 1870. The French forces were no match for Moltke's efficient and more numerous military machines.
- The most important result of the war was the completion of German unity. The South German states by separate agreement consented to Bismarck's proposal that they enter the North German Confederation. The enlarged German state was called the German Empire with the King of Prussia proclaiming himself the German Emperor.

4.9 KEY TERMS

- Carbonari: Also known as the charcoal burners, they were groups of secret revolutionary societies in Italy influenced by liberal ideas; played an important role in the 1820 Revolution, as well as subsequent events of Italian unification
- Carlsbad Decrees: A set of reactionary restrictions introduced in the states of the German Confederation by resolution of the Bundesversammlung in 1819
- · Duchies: Territories rules by dukes or duchesses
- Kingdom of the Two Sicilies: United kingdom of Naples and Sicily during the Bourbons' era, situated in the southern tip of Italy
- Realpolitik: Usually signifies politics or diplomacy based primarily on power and on practical and material factors and considerations
- Thirty Year War: Fought from 1618 to 1648, the War began as a war between
 the Protestants and the Catholics in the Holy Roman Empire; gradually, the
 war came to involve the great powers of the time and ended through the Peace
 of Westphalia (series of peace treaties signed between May and October 1648)
- Treaty of Olmutz: signed in 1850 by Frederick William IV and Schwarzenberg; according to it, Prussia was to abandon the Erfurt Union and accept the revival of the German Confederation under Austrian leadership

4.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

- (a) Austria; (b) Kingdom of the Two Sicilies; (c) Sardinia-Piedmont; (d) Count Camillo di Cavour.
- The Bourbons of France had their influence over the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, known as the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which was situated in the southern tip of Italy.
- Joseph Mazzini founded the political movement Young Italy (La Giovine Italia) in 1831, which successfully mobilized the Italian youth to the republican and nationalist cause.
- 4. (a) Crimean War; (b) Napoleon III; (c) Villafranca; (d) King Victor Emmanuel II; (e) Franco-Prussian War.

- At the Peace Congress at Paris in 1856, Napoleon III hesitated in helping Sardinia because of the following reasons:
 - An Austrian war could be risky because Austria was strong
 - A united Italy could be a rival to France in the Mediterranean
 - Many French Catholics were opposed to any attempts at Italian unity, which might decrease power of the papacy
- 6. As a result of the Conference in Villafranca in 1859, it was agreed that:
 - Lombardy would be given to Sardinia
 - · Venetia would remain with Austria
 - The princes in Central Italy would be restored to their thrones
 - The Pope would become President of an Italian federation
- 7. (a) Thirty Year War; (b) Austrian Emperor; (c) Carlsbad Decrees; (d) Blood and iron.
- 8. The Frankfurt Parliament proclaimed a national German Empire and selected a liberal Austrian prince named Archduke John of Austria as temporary head because it was assumed that the new German Empire would include the German parts of the Austrian Empire.
- 9. Treaty of Olmutz was signed in 1850 by Frederick William IV and Schwarzenberg, Metternich's successor. According to the treaty, Prussia would abandon the Erfurt Union and accept the revival of the German Confederation under Austrian leadership. The treaty was seen as a complete humiliation for Prussia, with the treaty being called the 'humiliation of Olmutz'.
- (a) William I; (b) Liberals; (c) Alvensleben convention; (d) Schleswig-Holstein;
 (e) National development of Germany.
- 11. (a) False; (b) True; (c) False; (d) False.
- 12. The most important result of the Franco-Prussian war was the completion of German unity. The South German states by separate agreement consented to Bismarck's proposal that they enter the North German Confederation. The enlarged German state was called the German Empire with the King of Prussia proclaiming himself the German Emperor.

4.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

- 1. Write a short note on the Peace Settlement of Vienna in 1815.
- 2. 'In 1840s, the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont emerged as the only modern liberal state in Italy.' What was the role played by Count Camillo di Cavour in it?
- 3. What were the terms presented at the Conference of Villafranca in 1859?
- 4. When and under what circumstances the Frankfurt Parliament of 1848 come into existence?
- Write a short note on the Austro-Prussian relationship in 1859. Also, explain
 the concept of Bismarck's Realpolitik.

6. In brief, list the important events that marked the completion of the German Unification.

Long-Answer Questions

- 1. Discuss the Revolutions of 1820, 1830 and 1848 in the context of Italian unification.
- 2. Discuss the role that Count Camillo di Cavour played in the unification of Central and Northern Italy.
- 3. Describe Garibaldi's role in unifying the southern regions of Italy in the Italian War of Independence.
- 4. Summarize the background of German unification before the arrival of Otto Von Bismarck.
- 5. What role did Otto von Bismarck play in unifying Germany?
- 6. Discuss the similarities and differences between the movements of Italian and German unification.

4.12 FURTHER READING

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The Eastern Question; Crimean War, Berlin Congress and Balkan War

NOTES

UNIT 5 THE EASTERN QUESTION: CRIMEAN WAR, BERLIN CONGRESS AND BALKAN WAR

Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Unit Objectives
- 5.2 Ottoman Empire in the Nineteenth Century
- 5.3 Greek War of Independence and British Ascendancy over the Turkish Sultan
 - 5.3.1 Greek War of Independence
 - 5.3.2 British Ascendancy over the Türkish Sultan
- 5.4 Relations between Russia and the Ottoman Empire
 - 5.4.1 The Crimean War
 - 5.4.2 Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 and the Treaty of San Stefano
- 5.5 Treaty of Berlin and the Berlin Congress
- 5.6 The Balkan War
- 5.7 Summary
- 5.8 Key Terms
- 5.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 5.10 Questions and Exercises
- 5.11 Further Reading

5.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you studied about the unification of two of the most important European nations—Italy and Germany. In this unit, you will study about the relationship that European nations had with one of the most important empires that transcended Europe and Asia—the Ottoman Empire.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, due to its proximity to the European continent, the Ottoman Empire could not remain unaffected. In addition, the events and political instability within the empire itself rendered it in the middle of the complex affairs. These causes prepared a fertile ground for the clashes between the Ottoman Empire and the European powers.

In this unit, you will read about the status of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Greek War of Independence, British ascendancy over Turkish Sultan, Russian suggestion for dismemberment of Turkey, Crimean War, Russo-Turkish War, the Treaty of Berlin, and Balkan War.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

fter going through this unit, you will be able to:

 Assess the status of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century

- Discuss events such as the Greek War of Independence
- · Explain the reasons for British ascendancy over the Turkish Sultan
- List the causes and consequences of the Crimean and Russo-Turkish wars
- · Discuss the highlights of the Treaty of Berlin
- · List the causes that led to the Balkan War

5.2 OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The modernization of the Ottoman Empire started during the worst days of European imperialism. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, all across the world, Europeans were capturing and colonizing the lands of other nations. The British, the French, the Germans, the Austrians and the Russians employed modern techniques of warfare to build great empires. Only a few lands in Asia or Africa could not be captured; these included Japan, Liberia, Thailand, Turkey and a few regions too remote for European powers to reach. However, Turkey's success in remaining its own master is not often cherished. The nation remained independent because it fought with and survived the pressure put forward by the European powers.

The Ottoman Empire was known as the 'Sick Man of Europe', because it gradually lost the majority of its territory. In contrast to Britain, France or Russia, the Ottomans were militarily inferior. The European Imperialist powers sensed a great opportunity to take away lands occupied by the Ottomans and making them their own colonies, and thus constantly plotted the downfall of the Ottoman Empire.

Against the powerful Western European imperialist armies, the Ottomans were at a great disadvantage since they lacked European education, European industry or powerful European armies. They were forced to struggle and lose wars while defending their empire. Even when they tried to imitate Europe and reform their system, the Ottomans were pushed back due to attacks from powerful neighbours, particularly Russia. As and when they tried to bring new changes in their social system, their resources and finances were directed towards the wars being fought and in the defence of the country, instead of modernization.

Russian armies took away Rumania and Bulgaria from the Ottomans; Britain captured Cyprus and Egypt; Austria got hold of Bosnia. Eventually Britain and France divided the lands of the Ottoman Arab lands between them. The worst calamity that occurred was the exodus of millions of Turks and other Muslims from the conquered lands into what remained the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman losses demanded massive expenses. Just as the Ottoman reform had started to rejuvenate their lands in Europe, those lands were captured by others. Great amount of money was spent in modernizing areas, and then more money was spent to protect them; however, all regions were lost. Millions of expatriates had to be housed which caused a massive strain on the Ottoman economy. The Ottomans were thus forced to take loans at ruinous rates both to modernize and to defend themselves, until even the interest could not be paid.

The Ottomans may have been sick, but they were not permitted to cure themselves. In its place, those around them did what they could to make sure that the illness led to death. Like other nations, the Ottoman Turks eventually could not stand

against the forces of European Imperialism. This is in no way surprising. The extraordinary fact is not that the Ottomans lost land to European imperialists (there were numerous non-European countries that lost land to these powers), but that the Ottomans held on for so long. Their losses to more dominant Europeans started at the end of the seventeenth century and went on for more than 200 years. In spite of their military weakness, the Ottomans survived European imperialism for more years than the United States has existed up to now. The Ottoman Empire finally did yield during the First World War. Yet even at its end, the empire held on astonishingly well. Combating against the English, the French and the Russians, the Ottomans lasted through almost four years of war. And at the end of those four years, the Turks regrouped to keep hold of their independence.

The astonishing fact of modern Turkey is that the Turks managed to forge a nation for themselves when numerous others were falling under the grasp of European Imperialism. In the history of the world, it was extremely unusual that the Turks could endure militarily against all odds. It is also extraordinary that the Turks could modernize their society and economy, under the able leadership of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, along European lines and were able to maintain their independence from the European powers. Despite the attempts of his neighbours, the 'Sick Man' of Europe recovered and lives on.

5.3 GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND BRITISH ASCENDANCY OVER THE TURKISH SULTAN

The events of the Greek War of Independence and the influence of the British on the Turkish sultan are one of the most significant events to have occurred in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. Let us discuss them one by one.

5.3.1 Greek War of Independence

In the previous section, you read that Cyprus was captured by Britain. This links our discussion to the brief history of Greece; especially, the Greek War of Independence. The land of Greece has been famous the world over for Alexander the Great. In ancient times, Greece was one of the most advanced civilizations in the world. Their influence was such that the ideas of Greek philosophers like Socrates, Aristotle and Plato shaped the enlightenment movement of the European Renaissance more than a millennium later. In fact, most Western intellectuals trace the history of 'Western Civilization' back to the days of Greek city states. In the middle ages, however, Greece came under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. In the early nineteenth century, the war fought for the establishment of the free Greece republic is known as the Greek War of Independence.

The Greek War of Independence, also known as the Greek Revolution, was a victorious war of independence waged by Greek revolutionaries between 1821 and 1832 against the Ottoman Empire. In this war, they took the help of several European powers such as Russia, United Kingdom and France. They fought against the Ottoman Empire, which was assisted by its vassals, the Eyalet of Egypt and partly the Vilayet of Tunisia

After the fall of the Byzantine Empire to the Ottoman Empire, a huge portion of Greece came under Ottoman rule. During that time, there were recurrent rebellions

The Eastern Question: Crimean War, Berlin Congress and Balkan War

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Check Your Progress

- Fill in the blanks using appropriate words.
- (a) The Ottoman Empire was known as the

because it gradually lost the majority of its territory.

(b) Even when they tried to imitate Europe and reform their system, the Ottomans were pushed back due to attacks from powerful neighbours, particularly

by Greeks attempting to gain independence. In 1814, a secret society called the *Filiki Eteria* was established with the objective of fighting for the freedom of Greece. The *Filiki Eteria* planned to start revolutions in the Peloponnese, the Danubian Principalities and Constantinople. The first of these revolts started on 6 March 1821 in the Danubian Principalities; however, it was soon subdued by the Ottomans.

Due to these events in the north, the Greeks in the Peloponnese sprung into action and on 17 March 1821, the Maniots declared war on the Ottomans. As the month ended, the Peloponnese was in open rebellion against the Ottomans and by October 1821, the Greeks, led by General Theodoros Kolokotronis, had captured Tripolitsa. The Peloponnesian revolt was rapidly followed by revolts in Crete, Macedonia and Central Greece, which was eventually curbed. In the meantime, the temporary Greek navy was attaining successes against the Ottoman navy in the Aegean Sea which helped them thwart the Ottomans from sending reinforcements by the sea.

Soon, different Greek factions developed tensions that led to two consecutive civil wars. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Sultan negotiated with Mehmet Ali of Egypt. The latter decided to send his son Ibrahim Pasha to Greece with an army to suppress the rebellion in return for territorial gains. In February 1825, Ibrahim landed in the Peloponnese and had instant success; by the end of 1825, most of Peloponnese had fallen to Egyptian forces. The city of Missolonghi, which was put under siege by the Ottomans since April 1825, fell in April 1826. Although Ibrahim was beaten in Mani, he succeeded in repressing most of the rebellion in Peloponnese and retaking Athens.

After long-lasting negotiation, three great European powers, i.e., Russia, the United Kingdom and France, agreed to interfere in the war and each nation sent a navy to Greece. The allied fleet intercepted the Ottoman–Egyptian fleet at Navarino once they came to know that the combined Ottoman–Egyptian fleet was going to attack the Greek island of Hydra. Following a standoff that lasted for a week, a battle started that resulted in the annihilation of the Ottoman–Egyptian fleet. With the aid of a French expeditionary force, the Greeks forced the Turks to leave the Peloponnese and proceeded to the captured part of Central Greece by 1828. After years of negotiation, Greece was at last recognized as an independent nation in May 1832.

5.3.2 British Ascendancy over the Turkish Sultan

The year 1842 witnessed the ascendancy of the British over the young Turkish Sultan Abdülmecid I. Abdülmecid I ascended the throne in 1839 after the death of Sultan Mahmud II. British ascendancy in the Ottoman court was made possible because of the efforts of Stratford Canning, who was posted as Great Britain's ambassador to Constantinople, the Ottoman Empire's capital, in December 1841. A man of commanding personality, majestic bearing, and haughty address, Canning soon obtained a complete moral ascendency over the weak and well-meaning young Sultan.

Immediately after becoming ambassador, Canning sought to check the growth of Russian influence and prevented Czar Nicholas I from crowning his triumph in the Russian-Turkish war through the treaties of Adrianoplee and Hünkâr Ýskelesi by further oppressive treaties in 1848 and 1853.

In 1848, the revolution in France caused waves of revolutions in Lombardy. Hungary and Danubian principalities. Czar Nicholas I was determined to curb democratic revolutions on his own border. He had long cherished the role of being the 'policeman of Europe' maintaining the balance of power that had been established through the Treaty of Vienna in 1815 and suppressing all revolutionary uprisings in

Europe. Therefore, Nicholas I sent his army to Moldavia under the terms of Treaty of Adrianoplee and asked the Turks to repress the movement at Bukharest. He then proceeded to use Moldavia as a base for operations against the Hungarian rebels. When the Ottoman Empire protested, the Czar adopted a dictatorial attitude. Canning encouraged the Turkish sultan to resist the Czar's demand. Things assumed serious dimensions after certain Hungarian leaders took refuge on Turkish soil.

Austria and Russia demanded the extradition of leaders who were given asylum by the Ottomans at the instigation of Canning. Thereupon, Russia and Austria broke off its relations with Turkey. The Czar ordered his troops to proceed to Bersarbia, but was greatly surprised to find English and French fleets at the entrance of Hellespont. This convinced Nicholas I that the Ottomans were not alone and Russia would have to encounter resistance from the English and French fleets. Therefore, on 7 November 1849, he withdrew the demand for extradition. This was seen at the time as being a great rebuff for the Russian Empire.

Canning's term in Constantinople lasted from 1842 to 1852, and during this period, he emerged as one of the most important figures in Constantinople. Using his guile, Canning was able to use the Turkish Sultan to stop Russian designs. As British influence over the Ottoman Court increased, the Turks came to be seen increasingly as British clients. When Canning's old friend Edward Stanley, now Earl of Derby, formed the government in 1852, Canning hoped to accept position of Foreign Secretary, or at least the position of ambassador in the Paris embassy. However, Canning was raised to peerage as the Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, in the County of Somerset. Canning came back home in 1852, but when Aberdeen's coalition government was established, he was sent back to Constantinople once again.

Canning came back to Constantinople in the midst of a disaster caused due to the dispute between Napoleon III and Nicholas I over the safety of the holy places. Nicholas I wanted to renew a Russo-Turkish Alliance on the pattern of the Treaty of Hünkâr Ýskelesi. With this object he had sent as ambassador to Constantinople, General Prince Menshikov with a proposal to support Turkey with an army of 400,000 men against any Western Power, in return for an extension of the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainadji, by the recognition of a further Russian Protectorate over the Orthodox Christians. Stratford cleverly undermined the position of the Russian ambassador by arguing that any Russian treaty would result in the Ottoman Empire becoming a protectorate under Czar Nicholas I. Canning thus successfully convinced the Sultan to reject the Russian offer. The result of the Sultan's rejection would lead to the Crimean War. After the Crimean War ended in 1856 with the Russian Empire being defeated, Canning left Constantinople for the last time in 1857 and resigned from his post early next year.

5.4 RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Throughout their existence, relations between the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire were extremely tense. In a space of about 300 years, they fought a total of 12 wars. As you have studied, in the middle of the nineteenth century, after the Turkish Sultan rejected Menshikov's proposal based on British advice, the Ottomans and the Russians were to fight another war in Crimea, but this time, the war would also involve other great European powers.

The Eastern Question; Crimean War, Berlin Congress and Balkan War

NOTES

Check Your Progress

- Fill in the blanks using appropriate words.
 - (a) Most western intellectuals trace the history of _____ back to the days of the Greek city states.
 - (b) The Greek War of Independence, also known as the Greek Revolution, was a victorious war of independence waged by Greek revolutionaries between 1821 and 1832 against the
 - (c) The allied fleet consisting of Russia, France and Great Britain annihilated the Ottoman-Egyptian fleet at
 - (d) British
 ascendancy in
 the Ottoman
 court was made
 possible because
 of the efforts of
 ______, who
 was posted as
 Great Britain's
 ambassador to
 Constantinople
 in December
 1841.
- (e) Czar Nicholas I cherished the role of being the 'policeman of Europe' maintaining the balance of power that had been established through the _____ in 1815.

5.4.1 The Crimean War

In July 1853, Russia occupied territories in Crimea. These territories had formerly been under Ottoman control. Alarmed by the Russian expansion, Britain and France made efforts to achieve a negotiated withdrawal of Russian troops. They feared that the Russians were about to encroach upon the Balkan States as the Ottoman Empire was too weak to stop Russian advances. Britain and France also feared the possibility of Russia gaining access to the Mediterranean by occupying the port city of Istanbul. However, the attempts at a peaceful settlement failed as the Turkish Sultan was reluctant to grant concessions to the Czar. Turkey formally declared war on Russia on 23 October 1853. When the Russians annihilated the Turkish fleet at Sinope in the Black Sea in November 1853, Britain and France entered the war against Russia.

The major part of the Crimean War took place in the Crimean region. On 20 September 1854, the Allied army defeated the Russian Imperial Army at the Battle of the Alma; however, the Battle of Balaklava in October 1854 proved to be indecisive. Perhaps the most important battle of the war was the Siege of Sevastopol. Sevastopol was the home of the Czar's Black Sea fleet which threatened British and French interests in the Mediterranean. The siege of Sevastopol by allied troops lasted for over a year and resulted in the Russians being defeated. However, the siege proved costly for both sides with over 250,000 soldiers killed during the siege. The costs of the siege forced both sides to start peace negotiations which culminated in the Treaty of Paris. As a result of Treaty of Paris, Russia had to give up some territories on the Danube River. Moreover, the treaty made the Black Sea neutral territory which was a huge setback for Russian influence in the region.

The Crimean War was one of the bloodiest wars fought in the nineteenth century. Many of the dead in the war were not because of battle wounds, but because of diseases that broke out in filthy field hospitals. The war also shattered the idea of great powers working in a united manner. The Treaty of Vienna which had governed the balance of power in the region was broken. The war also was one of the major reasons for the formation of centralized states in Italy and Germany.

5.4.2 Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 and the Treaty of San Stefano

Despite the Treaty of Paris, tensions remained between the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire, primarily because of British influence in the Turkish Court. In 1877, the Russian Czar used the excuse of constant outrages against the Christians in Turkey, to declare war on the Ottoman Empire. Although the Turkish armies fought valiantly, the Russians advanced within few miles of the Turkish capital Constantinople. In January 1878, the Russians crossed the Balkans and occupied Sophia after some fierce fighting. On 20 January 1878, the Russians entered Adrinople. Alarmed by the Russian advances, the British in early 1878 moved its fleet to Besika Bay. However, by the time it reached the Dardanelles, the Russians had captured San Stefano. Facing disaster, the Turkish Sultan appealed to European powers for mediation in the conflict. Germany's refusal to take part in mediation between the two made the British apprehensive that Russia, supported by Germany, would try to force its own terms on Turkey. In early January, the British ambassador to Russia made it clear to the Russians that any treaty between Russia and Turkey affecting the treaties made in 1856 and 1871 must be a European treaty in order to be valid.

The Eastern Question: Crimean War, Berlin Congress and Balkan War

However, the Turkish Sultan wanted peace with Russia at any cost, and on 3 March 1878 agreed to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. According to this treaty, the Sultan agreed to recognize complete independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania; moreover, through the treaty, a new state, 'Greater Bulgaria,' consisting of Bulgaria, Rumelia and Macedonia, came into existence. Of all his European territories, the Sultan was allowed to keep Constantinople and its vicinity and Albania. Had the treaty been carried out, Turkish rule would practically have ceased in Europe. But great objections were raised to this settlement by the Greeks and Serbians, who opposed the creation of a 'Greater Bulgaria' because they wanted parts of Macedonia for themselves.

Far more serious was the opposition that came from Britain and Austria. The former did not wish to sit tamely and see Turkey dismembered to the advantage of Russia, who would, in all likelihood, dominate the new states. Austria, on her part, was ambitious to get a port on the Aegean, perhaps Saloniki, which the Treaty of San Stefano, if carried out, would put out of its reach. The Czar was clearly told that the Balkan situation was a matter for all of Europe to settle, and that war would be declared against Russia unless it submitted the whole matter to the judgment of an international conference.

5.5 TREATY OF BERLIN AND THE BERLIN CONGRESS

As you have read, the Treaty of San Stefano was not accepted by other European powers. Facing threats by Britain and Austria, Russia was forced to agree to another treaty. In 1878, the representatives of England, Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Italy and Turkey met in Berlin in what came to be known as the Congress of Berlin. The task of the Congress was to settle the Eastern Question that had led to numerous wars on the European continent.

The Congress of Berlin was attended by the most famous statesmen of the day including Otto von Bismarck, who was the President of the Congress, Benjamin Disraeli, who scored diplomatic triumphs as England's envoy, and Prince Alexander Gorchakov, who came as the champion of Russia. The Congress of Berlin disregarded the Treaty of San Stefano and proceeded to make another treaty, which came to be known as the Treaty of Berlin.

The main provisions of the Treaty of Berlin were as follows:

- Montenegro, Serbia and Romania were declared entirely independent of Turkey.
- Greater Bulgaria was split into three parts: Bulgaria proper was made an
 autonomous state with the Sultan as her suzerain; Eastern Rumelia was given
 'administrative autonomy' under a Christian governor and Macedonia was
 allowed to remain a part of the Ottoman Empire.
- Austria-Hungary was given the right to occupy and to administer the provinces
 of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but with the understanding that they were legally
 to remain a part of the Ottoman Empire.
- Turkey also received special commercial and military privileges in the Sanjak, or County, of Novi Bazaar.

NOTES

Check Your Progress

- 3. Fill in the blanks using appropriate words.(a) In July 1853,
 - Russia
 occupied
 territories in
 the
 _____.
 These
 territories had
 formerly been
 under Ottoman
 control.
- (b) When the Russians annihilated the Turkish fleet at in the Black Sea in November 1853, Britain and France entered the war against Russia.
- (c) Perhaps the most important battle of the Crimean War was the Siege of _____.
- (d) As a result of Treaty of

Russia had to give up some territories on the Danube river. Moreover, the treaty made the Black Sea neutral territory which was a huge setback for Russian influence in the region.

(e) The Turkish Sultan wanted peace with Russia at any cost, and on March 3, 1878 agreed to sign the Treaty of The Eastern Question: Crimean War, Berlin Congress and Balkan War

NOTES

Check Your Progress

- Fill in the blanks using appropriate words.
 - (a) In 1878, the representatives of England, Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Italy and Turkish met in Berlin in what came to be known as the
- (b) The Congress of Berlin was attended by the most famous statesmen of the day _____, who was also the President of the Congress.
- (c) The Congress of Berlin totally disregarded the Treaty of San Stefano and proceeded to make another treaty, which came to be known as the
- (d) According to the treaty signed in Berlin in 1878,
 - was split into three parts.
- (e) The task of the meeting in Berlin was to settle the that

had led to numerous wars on the European continent.

- England was given the right to occupy the Island of Cyprus while Greece got the provinces of Thersalay and Epyms.
- The Russian Empire, who alone had defeated Turkey, got almost nothing. It
 was allowed to exchange with Rumania the Dobrudja district for the strip of
 Bessarabia on the northern bank of the Danube.
- Russia also received Batum, Ardahan and Kars in the Caucasus. After partitioning most of the dominions of the Sultan, the European powers again solemnly guaranteed the 'integrity' of Turkey.

According to Stanley Lane Poole, a British orientalist and archaeologist, 'rightly or wrongly, in supporting the Christian provinces against their sovereign, the powers at Berlin sounded the knell of Turkish domination in Europe.' Another expert on the matter, Allen, is highly critical of the Treaty of Berlin. He says, 'It was concluded in a spirit of shameless bargain with a sublime disregard of elementary ethics, and in open contempt of the rights of civilized people to determine their own future. It was essentially a temporary arrangement concluded between rival Imperialist States. And it sowed the seed of the crop of 'nationalist' wars and risings in which the Balkans were to be embroiled for the next half century.' Thus, it can be stated that the Treaty of Berlin led to the partial dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire with the consent of European Powers. It also proved to be a temporary settlement because disorder grew at a rapid speed in the Ottoman Empire and created an atmosphere of general unrest, which ultimately culminated in the disastrous events of 1912–18.

5.6 THE BALKAN WAR

The new chancellor of the German Empire, Otto von Bismarck, undertook various foreign policy initiatives in the first 20 years of his service, and aimed at making France isolated and powerless. Bismarck entered into an alliance and understanding with Austria and Hungary which was fast becoming an eastern power itself and was trying to find an outlet in the Balkan Peninsula. For this purpose, Austria–Hungary needed German support against the Slavs races. Alongside this, Bismarck was also able to carve a better understanding with the Russian Empire. This assimilation of understanding led to an alliance between the three.

In 1872, the three emperors, i.e., William I of Germany, Francis Joseph of the Austria–Hungary, and Czar Alexander II of Russia, met at Berlin and entered into a political understanding that led to the formation of the League of The Three Emperors (*Dreikaiserbund*). These three emperors did not enter into any formal treaty, but decided upon an understanding of maintenance of the boundaries 'recently' laid down. Bismarck remarked upon the alliance, 'I have thrown a bridge across Vienna without breaking down that older one to St. Petersburg'. This understanding between the three collapsed in 1875 over territorial disputes in the Balkans as Austria–Hungary feared that Russian support for Serbia might ultimately ignite the Slav populations of Austria–Hungary. On the other hand, Russia likewise feared an insurrection in its empire, should a Pan-Slavism movement gain too much clout.

Austro-German Dual Alliance

Bismarck decided to enter into a more concrete alliance with Austria as part of a system of alliances to prevent war. This system first led to the formation of the Austro-German Dual Alliance in 1879. The terms of the alliance were as follows:

- The Eastern Question: Crimean War, Berlin Congress and Balkan War
 - NOTES
- If any of the contracting parties were attacked by Russia, or by any other power supported by Russia, its ally will come to its assistance with all forces.
- If either party was to attack by a power other than Russia its ally was to observe benevolent neutrality.
- The treaty was to be effective for five years and renewable.

Bismarck kept these terms of the treaty secret up until 1887.

The Triple Alliance

Bismarck also decided to use the rivalry between Italy and France over the desirable Tunis region in northern Africa. He indirectly prompted France to seize Tunis and thus created another enemy for France. The French occupation of Tunis in 1888 alienated Italy and forced her to join the Austro–German Dual Alliance, which led to the formation of the triple alliance.

To make sure that France and Russia do not come closer to each other, Bismarck succeeded in concluding the *Reinsurance Treaty* between Germany and Russia which was to be renewed periodically. However, after Bismarck retired from the German Chancellery in 1890, the course of German foreign policy saw a dramatic change. The new German Emperor Kaiser William II refused to renew the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia on the grounds that henceforth Germany would not be a party to secret agreements. The first big event after the retirement of Bismarck was the establishment of the Franco-Russian Dual Alliance. By the terms of the alliance, either country would support the other with arms if it was attacked by Germany with or without the other members of the triple Alliance. Thus, Europe came to be divided into two armed camps.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance

The mutual rivalry against Russian schemes in the Far East brought about the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902. Through this alliance, Great Britain and Japan undertook to come to each other's assistance if either was attacked by two European powers. This Anglo-Japanese alliance emboldened Japan to have a showdown with Russia resulting in the Russo-Japanese war in 1904–05. In the war, Russia faced a humiliating defeat. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 also gave a spurt to Asian nationalism and had long-standing impact on the future political scenario of the region.

The Anglo-French Entente

In April 1904, a series of conventions were signed between France and Great Britain to settle the problems of Anglo-French colonies. As per one of these conventions, in return for French recognition of the British position in Egypt, Great Britain recognized the French position in Morocco. Similar compromises were made in other parts of the world, for example, West Africa, Siam and Newfoundland. Altogether these conventions amounted to the *entente cordiale* or a friendly understanding, and not an alliance. Neither party was placed under definite obligation to do anything particular in any future contingency. However these conventions helped to strengthen the position of France in Europe.

The Triple Entente

Since France and Russia were allies, it became an unwritten code to have an entente with Russia following the Anglo-French Entente. Thus, a treaty similar to the French

treaty was signed in 1907 under the guidance of Sir Edward Grey. The agreement respected the independence of Afghanistan and of Tibet and they allocated spheres of British and Russian influence in Persia.

It was clear that by 1907, the great powers of Europe came to be divided into two rival armed camps; the Triple Alliance comprising Germany, Austro-Hungarian Empire and Italy; and the Triple Entente comprising Great Britain, France and Russia. The Triple Alliance countries came to be known as the Central Powers, and the Triple Entente countries came to be known as the Allied Powers. As the First World War took place, other nations also joined these alliances.

The Balkan Peninsula in southern Europe was also known as the 'powder keg of Europe' as everyone recognized that tensions in this region could ignite a major war. Indeed, it was the rivalry for control over the Balkan region that led to the eruption of the First World War. Serbia led a movement to unite the Slavs of the region with Russia, the most powerful Slavic country, supporting the Serbian venture. On the other hand, Austrian-Hungary feared Slavic nationalism as millions of its subjects were Slavs. In 1908, the Austria-Hungary Empire greatly angered Serbia by annexing the Balkan territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbia wanted control of those lands as many Serbs inhabited those territories.

The Morocco crisis of 1905, the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria in 1908, and the Agadir Crisis in 1911 added fuel to the suspicion that had taken over Europe by the beginning of the twentieth century. Perhaps the most serious international crisis before the outbreak of the First World War was the two Balkan Wars fought in 1912–13. During the Balkan Wars, the rulers of Germany, France, Russia, Austria–Hungary, and the United Kingdom attempted to keep the lid on the simmering cauldron of imperialist and nationalist tensions in the Balkans to prevent a general European war. They were successful in preventing the two Balkan Wars from becoming a wider war; however, the effects of the Balkan Wars precipitated the July Crisis of 1914 which eventually led to the First World War.

ACTIVITY

- Using the Internet as your resource, read about the Russian-Turkish War of 1828–1829 that resulted in the Russian Empire defeating the Ottomans. Write a note on the significance of the Treaty of Adrianople.
- Using the Internet or the local library as your resource, read the poem *The Charge of the Light Brigade* by Alfred Tennyson, which is about the Battle of Balaclava in the Crimean War. Find out other similar writings based on the Crimean War.

DID YOU KNOW?

Bulgaria was militarily the most powerful of the four Balkan states, with a large, well-trained and well-equipped army. The Bulgarian field army counted for nine infantry divisions, one cavalry division and 1,116 artillery units.

5.7 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The Ottoman Empire was known as the 'Sick Man of Europe', because it gradually lost the majority of its territory. In contrast to Britain, France or Russia, the Ottomans were militarily inferior.
- The Greek War of Independence, also known as the Greek Revolution, was a
 victorious war of independence waged by Greek revolutionaries between 1821
 and 1832 against the Ottoman Empire. In this war, they took the help of several
 European powers such as Russia, United Kingdom and France.
- An allied fleet consisting of Britain, France and Russia annihilated the Ottoman– Egyptian fleet at Navarino. Moreover, with the aid of a French expeditionary force, the Greeks forced the Turks to leave the Peloponnese and proceeded to the captured part of Central Greece by 1828. After years of negotiation, Greece was at last recognized as an independent nation in May 1832.
- The year 1842 witnessed the ascendancy of the British over the young Turkish Sultan Abdülmecid I. Abdülmecid I ascended the throne in 1839 after the death of Sultan Mahmud II. British ascendancy in the Ottoman court was made possible because of the efforts of Stratford Canning, who was posted as Great Britain's ambassador to Constantinople, Ottoman Empire's capital, in December 1841.
- In July 1853, Russia occupied territories in the Crimea. These territories had formerly been under Ottoman control.
- Alarmed by the Russian expansion, Britain and France made efforts to achieve a negotiated withdrawal of Russian troops. They feared that the Russians were about to encroach upon the Balkan States as the Ottoman Empire was too weak to stop Russian advances. Britain and France also feared the possibility of Russia gaining access to the Mediterranean by occupying the port city of Istanbul. However, the attempts at a peaceful settlement failed as the Turkish Sultan was reluctant to grant concessions to the Czar.
- Turkey formally declared war on Russia on 23 October 1853. When the Russians annihilated the Turkish fleet at Sinope in the Black Sea in November 1853, Britain and France entered the war against Russia.
- The most important battle of the war was the Siege of Sevastopol. Sevastopol
 was the home of the Czar's Black Sea fleet which threatened British and French
 interests in the Mediterranean.
- The siege of Sevastopol by allied troops lasted for over a year and resulted in the Russians being defeated. However, the siege proved costly for both sides with over 250,000 soldiers killed during the siege. The costs of the siege forced both sides to start peace negotiations which culminated in the Treaty of Paris.
- Despite the Treaty of Paris, tensions remained between the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire, primarily because of British influence in the Turkish Court. In 1877, the Russian Czar used the excuse of constant outrages against the Christians in Turkey, to declare war on the Ottoman Empire.

- Although the Turkish armies fought valiantly, the Russians advanced within few miles of the Turkish capital Constantinople. In January 1878, the Russians crossed the Balkans and occupied Sophia after some fierce fighting. On 20 January 1878, the Russians entered Adrinople.
- Facing disaster, the Turkish Sultan wanted peace with Russia at any cost, and on 3 March 1878 agreed to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. According to this treaty, the Sultan agreed to recognize the complete independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania; moreover, through the treaty, a new state, 'Greater Bulgaria,' consisting of Bulgaria, Rumelia and Macedonia, came into existence. Of all his European territories, the Sultan was allowed to keep Constantinople and its vicinity and Albania. Had the treaty been carried out, Turkish rule would practically have ceased in Europe.
- The Treaty of San Stefano was not accepted by other European powers. Facing
 threats by Britain and Austria, Russia was forced to agree to another treaty. In
 1878, the representatives of England, Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Italy
 and Turkish met in Berlin in what came to be known as the Congress of Berlin.
- The Congress of Berlin totally disregarded the Treaty of San Stefano and proceeded to make another treaty, which came to be known as the Treaty of Berlin.
- The Treaty of Berlin led to the partial dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire
 with the consent of European Powers. It also proved to be a temporary settlement
 because disorder grew at a very rapid speed in the Ottoman Empire and created
 an atmosphere of general unrest, which ultimately culminated in the disastrous
 events of 1912–18.
- The most serious international crisis before the outbreak of the First World War was the two Balkan Wars fought in 1912–13. During the Balkan Wars, the rulers of Germany, France, Russia, Austria–Hungary, and the United Kingdom attempted to keep the lid on the simmering cauldron of imperialist and nationalist tensions in the Balkans to prevent a general European war.

5.8 KEY TERMS

- Triple entente: It was the association between Great Britain, France and Russia during World War I.
- Slaws: They are members of the most numerous ethnic and linguistic group of people in Europe who live in the eastern and south-eastern Europe and also extend across northern Asia to the Pacific Ocean.
- The Eastern Question: In European History, it refers to the problems that
 occurred in Europe due to the decay of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth
 century

5.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

- 1. (a) Sick Man of Europe; (b) Russia
- 2. (a) Western civilization: (b) Ottoman Empire; (c) Navarino
 - (d) Stratford Canning; (e) Treaty of Vienna

- 3. (a) Crimea; (b) Sinope; (c) Sevastopol; (d) Paris; (e) San Stefano
- 4. (a) Congress of Berlin; (b) Otto von Bismarck; (c) Treaty of Berlin
 - (d) Greater Bulgaria; (e) Eastern Question

5.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

- 1. Why was the Ottoman Empire known as the 'sick man of Europe'?
- 2. Write a short note on the Greek War of Independence.
- 3. Explain the events that led to the British ascendancy over the Turkish Sultan.
- 4. Give a detailed account on the Crimean War of 1853.
- 5. What were the main provisions of the Treaty of Berlin (1878)?
- 6. What was the main cause that led to the Second Balkan War?

Long-Answer Questions

- 1. Describe the status of the Ottoman Empire in the beginning of the ninetieth century.
- 2. Discuss the causes and outcomes of the Greek War of Independence.
- 3. Explain how the British managed to hold 'influence' over the Turkish Sultan.
- 4. Discuss the Crimean War and Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78. How did these wars shape the history of the Ottoman Empire on one hand, and of the European powers on the other?
- 5. Why was the Treaty of San Stefano not accepted by other European powers?
- 6. Discuss the main features of the treaty of Berlin of 1878. Why did it fail to resolve the 'Eastern Question'?

5.11 FURTHER READING

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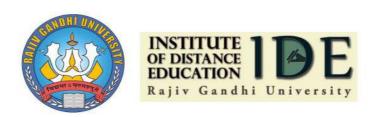
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