NATIONALISM IN THE LATE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY
Nationalism became a dominant force in Western society beginning in the late 19th century

FRANCE:
Second French Republic
● Constitution: Unicameral legislature (National Assembly); strong executive power; popularly-elected president of the Republic
● President Louis Napoleon: seen by voters as a symbol of stability and greatness
  ● Dedicated to law and order, opposed to socialism and radicalism, and favored the conservative classes—the Church, army, property-owners, and business.
  ● Universal suffrage
● Falloux Law: Napoleon returned control of education to the Church (in return for support)
● The Assembly did not grant Louis Napoleon either payment of personal debt or allowance for a 2nd presidential term resulting in his plotting a coup
The Second Empire (or Liberal Empire)
● Emperor Napoleon III, 1851: took control of gov’t in coup d’etat (December 1851) and became emperor the following year
  ● 1851-1860: Napoleon III’s control was direct and authoritarian.
  ● 1860-1870: Regime liberalized by a series of reforms.
● Economic reforms resulted in a healthy economy
  ● Infrastructure: canals, roads; Baron Haussmann redevelops Paris
  ● Movement towards free trade
  ● Banking: Credit Mobilier funded industrial and infrastructure growth
● Foreign policy struggles resulted in strong criticism of Napoleon III
  ● Algeria, Crimean War, Italian unification struggles, colonial possessions in Africa
● Liberal reforms (done in part to divert attention from unsuccessful foreign policy)
  ● Extended power of the Legislative Assembly
  ● Returned control of secondary education to the government (instead of Catholic Church)
    ● In response, Pope Pius IX issued Syllabus of Errors, condemning liberalism.
  ● Permitted trade unions and right to strike
  ● Eased censorship and granted amnesty to political prisoners
● Franco-Prussian war and capture of Napoleon III results in collapse of 2nd Empire
● Napoleon III’s rule provided a model for other political leaders in Europe.
  ● Demonstrated how gov’t could reconcile popular and conservative forces in an authoritarian nationalism.

ITALY – Italian Unification
● After collapse of revolutions of 1848, unification movement in Italy shifted to Sardinia-Piedmont under King Victor Emmanuel II, Cavour and Garibaldi
  ● Replaced earlier leaders Mazzini, the once liberal Pius IX, and Gioberti .
  ● Realpolitik instead of romanticism: Machiavellian view of practical politics
● Count Cavour (1810-1861) of Sardinia-Piedmont led the struggle for Italian unification
  ● King’s prime minister between 1852 and 1861
  ● Editor of Il Risorgimento, a newspaper arguing Sardinia should be the basis of a new Italy.
  ● Built Sardinia into a liberal and economically sound state
    ● Modeled on French system: some civil liberties, parliamentary gov’t with elections and parliamentary control of taxes.
    ● Built up infrastructure (roads, canals)
  ● The Law on Convents and Siccardi Law sought to curtail influence of the Catholic Church.
    ● 1864, Pope Pius IX’s Syllabus of Errors warned Catholics against liberalism, rationalism, socialism, separation of church and state, and religious liberty.
● Cavour sought unity for the northern and central areas of Italy
  ● 1855, joined Britain and France in the Crimean War against Russia (gained an ally in France)
  ● Plombières (1859): gained promise from Napoleon III that France would support a Sardinian war with Austria for the creation of a northern Italian kingdom (controlled by Sardinia)
    ● In return, France would get Savoy and Nice
● Austria declared war on Sardinia in 1859 after being provoked
France backed away from Plombières agreement: fear of war with Prussia, surprising Austrian military power, revolutionary unrest in northern Italy, and French public's consternation over a war with Catholic Austria.

- Sardinia gained Lombardy but not Venetia
- 1860, Cavour arranged the annexation of Parma, Modena, Romagna, and Tuscany into Sardinia
- Nice and Savoy transferred to France
- Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) liberated southern Italy and Sicily.
  - May 1860 Garibaldi and thousand Red Shirts landed in Sicily & extended the nationalist activity to the south
  - By September, took control of Naples and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies
  - Garibaldi allowed his conquests to be absorbed into Sardinia-Piedmont
- February 1861, Victor Emmanuel declared King of Italy and presided over an Italian Parliament which represented the entire Italian peninsula except for Rome and Venice.
- 1866, Venetia incorporated into Italian Kingdom as a result of an alliance with Bismarck
- 1871, Rome captured by Italian troops in 1871 and became capital of Kingdom of Italy
- Though politically unified, a great social and cultural gap separated the progressive, industrializing north from the stagnant, agrarian south

GERMANY – German Unification under the Hohenzollerns
- During period after 1815 Prussia emerged as an alternative to a Habsburg-based Germany
  - Austria had blocked the attempt of Frederick William IV of Prussia to unify Germany “from above” – “Humiliation of Olmutz”
    - "grossdeutsch plan": failed plan for unified Germany including Prussia and Austria.
    - Zollverein (German customs union): biggest source of tension between Prussia and Austria.
    - "Kleindeutsch plan": a unified Germany without Austria.
- Otto von Bismarck (1810-1898) led the drive for Prussian-based Hohenzollern Germany
  - Came from Junker heritage; obsessed with power
  - "gap theory" gained Bismarck's favor with the king
    - Army Bill Crisis created stalemate between king & legislature over reforms of the army.
    - Bismarck insisted Prussian constitution contained a “gap”: did not mention what was to be done if stalemate developed. Since king had granted the constitution, Bismarck insisted monarch ignore liberals (middle class) in the legislature and follow his own judgement.
    - “The great questions of the day will not be decided by speeches and resolutions—that was the blunder of 1848 and 1849—but by blood and iron.”
- Prussian-Danish War, 1863: Germany defeated Denmark and took Schleswig-Holstein
  - Jointly administered by Prussia and Austria but conflicts over jurisdiction resulted
- Austro-Prussian War (7 Weeks’ War) or (German Civil War), 1866
  - Bismarck made diplomatic preparations for war with Austria by negotiating with France, Italy, and Russia for noninterference
  - Prussia defeated Austria and unified much of Germany without Austria
  - 1867, the North German Confederation established by Bismarck with king as president.
    - Included all German states except Baden, Wurttemberg, Bavaria, and Saxony
- Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871)
  - Ems Dispatch: To provoke a war with France, Bismarck boasted that a French diplomat had been kicked out of Germany after asking William I not to interfere with the succession to the Spanish throne
  - Bismarck used the war with France to bring southern Germany into the North German Confederation
  - Treaty of Frankfurt (May, 1871): Alsace and Lorraine ceded to Germany
- The German Empire proclaimed on January 18, 1871 (most powerful nation in Europe)
  - William I became Emperor of Germany (Kaiser Wilhelm)
  - Bismarck became the Imperial Chancellor.
  - Bavaria, Baden, Wurttemberg, and Saxony incorporated

CRIMEA – Crimean War (1855-56)
- Failure of the Concert of Europe
  - Credibility undermined by failure of the powers to cooperate during revolutions of 1848-49.
  - Between 1848 and 1878, peace in Europe interrupted by the Crimean War and the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78.
- Causes of Crimean War
Dispute between two groups of Christians over privileges in the Holy Land (Palestine)
- 1852, Turks (who controlled the region) negotiated an agreement with France to provide enclaves in the Holy Land to Roman Catholic religious orders.
- This arrangement seemed to jeopardize existing agreements which provided access to Greek Orthodox religious orders (that Russia favored)
- Czar Nicholas I ordered Russian troops to occupy several provinces on the Danube
  - Russia would withdraw once Turks had guaranteed rights for Orthodox Christians
- Turks declared war on Russia in 1853, when Nicholas refused to withdraw
- 1854, Britain & France declared war against Russia (surprise! Turks were not Christians)
- 1855, Piedmont joined in the war against Russia

Most of the war fought on the Crimean peninsula in the Black Sea
- Florence Nightengale: famous for superb nursing (more men died of disease than combat)

Peace of Paris: Russia emerged as the big loser in the conflict
- Russia no longer had control of maritime trade on the Danube, had to recognize Turkish control of the mouth of the Danube, and renounced claims to Moldavia and Wallachia
- Russia renounced role of protector of the Greek Orthodox residents of the Ottoman Empire.
- Agreed to return all occupied territories to the Ottoman Empire.

THE NATIONAL STATE: 1871-1914
- Ordinary people felt increasing loyalty to their governments
- By 1914 universal male suffrage was the rule (female suffrage emerged after WWI)
- Politicians and parties in national parliaments represented the people more responsibly as increased suffrage spread
  - Welfare state emerged, first in Germany, then in Britain, France and other countries
  - Governments came to believe public education important to provide society with well-informed and responsible citizens.
- Governments often led by conservatives who manipulated nationalism to create a sense of unity and divert attention away from underlying class conflicts
- Frequently channeled national sentiment in an anti-liberal and militaristic direction after 1871

GERMANY – The German Empire: 1871-1914
- Kaiser Wilhelm I (r. 1871-1888) had the ultimate power
- A bicameral legislature was established.
  - Reichstag was the lower body which represented the nation (the Volk).
  - Bundesrat was the upper body which represented the various German states (conservative)
- Between 1871 and 1890 Chancellor Bismarck established an integrated political and economic structure for Germany (while dominating European diplomacy)
- Unified monetary system, established Imperial Bank and strengthened existing banks, developed universal German civil & criminal codes; established compulsory military service.
- German political system was multi-party
  - Conservatives represented Junkers of Prussia
  - German middle class identified with German nationalism and provided support for Bismarck’s policies after 1866 until 1878 (later opposed Bismarck)
  - Center Party (Catholic Party) approved Bismarck’s policy of centralization and promoted the political concept of Particularism which advocated regional priorities
    - Kulturkampf: Bismarck sought to limit influence of Catholic Party in light of Pope Pius IX’s declaration in 1870 of papal infallibility; Bismarck ultimately failed
  - Social Democratic Party (S.P.D.): Marxist; advocated sweeping social legislation, the realization of genuine democracy, and the demilitarization of the German gov’t.
    - Bismarck unsuccessful in limiting its growth (despite its being driven underground)
- Bismarck instituted a set of sweeping reforms in order to minimize the threat from the left
  - 1879, a protective tariff instituted to maintained domestic production
  - Modern social security laws established
    - National sickness and accident insurance laws passed in 1883 & 1884.
    - Old-age pensions and retirement benefits established in 1889
- Regulated child labor
- Improved working conditions
Despite better standard of living, workers did not leave the S.P.D.

By gaining support from the workers, Bismarck successfully bypassed the middle class

William II (r. 1888-1918)

Opposed Bismarck's move to renew to outlaw S.P.D.

To gain support of workers, he forced Bismarck to resign.

By 1912, the S.P.D. became the largest party in the Reichstag

FRANCE – Third French Republic

In 1870, Napoleon III’s Second Empire collapsed when it was defeated by the Prussian armies

National Assembly (1871-75) created with Adolphe Thiers as chief executive

Meanwhile, radical Paris Commune (1870-71) gained much power and lay siege to Paris

After the siege and peace agreement with Prussia, the Paris Commune refused to recognize the authority of the National Assembly

From March to May 1871, the Paris Commune fought a bloody struggle with the troops of the National Assembly; thousands died and 20,000 subsequently executed

Thiers’s defeat of Paris Commune and other firm measures led France on road to recovery

Third French Republic established in 1875 (dominated by bourgeoisie)

Constitution provided for a republic: Chamber of Deputies had most power (elected by universal suffrage; president was weak; Senate was indirectly elected

Leon Gambetta: led the republicans during the early years of the Republic, establishing parliamentary supremacy (while preaching equality of opportunity)

Reforms

Trade unions fully legalized (had been suppressed by Napoleon III)

Jules Ferry established secular education and reform: expanded tax-supported public schools and compulsory education

During the Third Republic the French government fell dozens of times

Multi-party system resulted in ever-shifting political coalitions

Challenge to republicanism came from the right (conservatives)

Action Francaise led by Charles Maurras advocated an authoritarian gov’t with a strengthened military

Boulanger Crisis (1887-89): Georges Boulanger gained support of military

Plot a coup to overthrow the republic

Republic summoned Boulanger to trial but he fled to Belgium & committed suicide

Boulanger's fall resulted in increased public confidence in the Republic

Panama scandal (1892): Ferdinand de Lesseps failed in his attempt to build a canal in Panama while it cost French taxpayers millions of dollars.

Public saw gov't as corrupt; reversed popular gains republicans made after Boulanger crisis

Dreyfus Affair (1894): Most serious threat to the republic

Military falsely charged Dreyfus, a Jew, with supplying secrets to the Germans

Monarchists (with support of Catholic church) used incident to discredit republicans

Emile Zola (the realist author) took up Dreyfus' case and condemned the military

Leftists supported the Republic and in 1906 the case was closed when Dreyfus was declared innocent and returned to the ranks

1905-Republicans launched anti-clerical campaign increasing separation of church & state

Socialists led by Jean Juarés gained seats in Chamber of Deputies from 1905 to 1914

By 1914, Third Republic enjoyed vast support of the French people.

GREAT BRITAIN in the late 19th and early 20th century

Like France, experienced economic prosperity, periods of jingoism, and expanded democracy

Lord Palmerston: dominant power in England between 1850 and 1865

Period saw realignment of political parties:

The Tory Party was transformed into the Conservative Party under Disraeli

Whig Party transformed into Liberal Party under Gladstone

John Bright, a manufacturer, anti-corn law advocate, and leader of the Manchester School, contributed significantly to the development of the Liberal Party

After 1865 Britain saw expanded democracy under Disraeli and Gladstone (political opponents)

John Stuart Mill: On Liberty (1859) – influential work on necessity to increase democracy
• Disraeli argued for aggressive foreign policy, expansion of British Empire, and reluctantly supported democratic reforms.
  • *Sybil* (1845): Disraeli's novel surprised many by expressing sympathy for working class
  • *Reform Bill of 1867*: Disraeli's "*leap in the dark*" in order to appeal to working people
    • Expanded Reform Bill of 1832
    • Redistributed seats to provide more equitable representation in House of Commons
      • The industrial cities & boroughs gained seats at expense of some depopulated areas in the north and west ("rotten boroughs")
    • Almost all men over 21 who resided in urban centers were granted the right to vote
  • Reduced regulation of trade unions in 1875
  • Created gov't regulations for improved sanitation
• Gladstone supported Irish Home Rule, fiscal policy, free trade, and extension of democratic principles while opposing imperialism
  • Abolished compulsory taxes to support the Church of England
  • Australian Ballot Act (1872) provided for the *secret ballot* (earlier Chartist demand)
  • Civil service reform introduced in 1870: open competitive examination for gov't positions
  • *Reform Act of 1884* or *Representation of the People Act of 1884*
    • Granted suffrage to adult males in the counties on the same basis as in the boroughs
    • Two million agricultural voters added to the franchise
• During the 1880s and 1890s, new groups emerged seeking to further extend democracy
  • Included women's suffrage advocates, anti-imperialists, socialists, and anti-nationalists
  • *Fabian Society* (1883) among the most significant: advanced a form of revisionist Marxism
    • Sought political democracy and economic socialism
  • 1893, *Keir Hardie's* *Independent Labor Party* rapidly became a vocal 3rd party.
    • Attracted trade unionists, socialists, and those who thought that Conservative and Liberal Parties had no genuine interests in the needs of the general public
• Between 1905 & early 1920s, Liberal party advanced aggressive social & economic programs
  • *Parliament Act of 1911*: most significant political reform during Liberal party rule.
    • Eliminated powers of House of Lords; House of Commons now center of national power.
    • Life-span of Parliament was reduced from 7 to 5 years.
  • Foundations for social welfare state created in decade before WWI (meant to guarantee each citizen with a decent standard of living)
    • Right of unions to strike was put into law.
    • Gov't insurance was provided for those injured on the job
    • unemployment insurance & old-age pensions enacted.
    • Compulsory school attendance law went into effect.
  • Taxes increased on the wealthy (to help fund the welfare state)
• *Representation of the People Act* (1918): women over 30 gained suffrage
  • All men gained suffrage (property qualifications completely eliminated)
  • Women's suffragettes led by militant Emmeline Pankhurst
• *Reform Act of 1928*: Women over age 21 gained suffrage
• The Irish Question
  • *Young Ireland* movement (1848) echoed nationalistic movements on the Continent
  • Irish Question was the most recurring & serious problem Britain faced from 1890 to 1914.
  • Gladstone had pushed unsuccessfully for *Irish Home Rule*.
  • Ulster (Protestant counties in northern Ireland) opposed Irish Home Rule as they started to enjoy remarkable economic growth from the mid-1890s.
    • Ulsterites raised 100,000 armed volunteers by 1913; supported by British public opinion
  • 1914, Irish Home Rule Act passed by Commons and Lords but Protestants did not accept it.
    • Implementation deferred until after World War I.
  • *Easter Rebellion* (1916) for independence was crushed by British troops
  • 1922, Ireland gained independence; Northern Ireland remained part of British Empire

**AUSTRIA-HUNGARY**
• Austria's defeat by Germany in 1866 weakened its grip on power and forced it to make a compromise with Hungarians and establish the so-called dual monarchy.
• **Ausgleich, 1867** (the "Compromise")
  - Transformed Austria into the Austro-Hungarian Empire.
    - Hungarians would have their own assembly, cabinet, and administrative system, and would support and participate in the Imperial army and in the Imperial govt.
    - Magyar nobility in 1867 restored the constitution of 1848 and used it to dominate both the Magyar peasantry and the minority populations until 1914.
  - Results of Ausgleich:
    - Assimilated the Hungarians (Magyars) and nullified them as a primary opposition group.
    - Also led to more efficient govt.
  - Management of the empire not integrated because of historic tradition and cultural diversification.
    - The language used in government and school was a particularly divisive issue (esp. Hungary)
    - Anti-Semitism grew (e.g. Vienna mayor Karl Lueger) due to increased numbers of Jews, many of whom were successful. (Hitler later idolized Lueger)
  - After 1871, Hapsburg leadership gave up on integrating its empire resulting in its ultimate demise
  - Universal suffrage introduced in 1907

**The “Eastern Question”: 1870s--constant crisis in the Balkans (who would control region?)**
- Russia's dream since reign of Catherine the Great was to retake the Balkans and ultimately Constantinople (the old capital of Byzantine Empire and the cradle of Orthodox Christianity)
  - **Pan-Slavism**: Idea of uniting all Slavs in Europe under one govt (Russia)
- Russia defeated the Ottoman Empire by 1878 and seemed poised to dominate the Balkans
  - Britain refused to accept Russian hegemony in Balkans and sent navy to help Turks
    - Nationalistic spirit in Britain came to be known as **"jingoism"** (after a popular poem)
    - Bismarck offered to mediate the crisis (came to be the Congress of Berlin)
- **Congress of Berlin** (1878): Russia left the conference with little despite defeating the Turks
  - Recognition of Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro as independent states.
  - Establishment of the autonomous principality of Bulgaria (still within Ottoman Empire)
  - Austrian acquisition of Bosnia and Herzegovina
  - Transfer of Cyprus to Great Britain, not far from the Suez Canal.
  - Though Disraeli was most responsible for the agreements, Russia blamed Bismarck
  - (Note: Congress of Berlin is NOT Berlin Conference which carved up Africa)
- Russian hostility toward Germany led Bismarck (1789) to embark upon a new system of alliances which transformed European diplomacy and effectively killed remnants of Concert of Europe

**SOCIALIST MOVEMENTS:** response to nationalism and industrialism
- Marxism led the negative response to industrialization
  - Socialists united in 1864 to form the First International (Marx one of the principal organizers)
  - Growth of socialist parties after 1871 was phenomenal (esp. Germany--S.P.D.; also France, Belgium, Austria-Hungary)
  - 1883, Socialists exiled from Russia formed Russian Social Democratic party in Switzerland and it grew rapidly after 1890.
- **Revisionism:**
  - As workers gained right to vote and to participate politically in the nation-state, their attention focused more on elections than on revolutions
  - Workers’ standard of living rose gradually but substantially after 1850 (no need to revolt)
  - Growth of labor unions reinforced trend toward modernization
    - Increasingly, unions focused on bread-and-butter issues--wages, hours, working conditions—rather than pure socialist doctrine.
    - Genuine collective bargaining, long opposed by socialist intellectuals as a “sell-out” was officially recognized as desirable by the German Trade Union Congress in 1899.
  - A series of strikes proved effective in gaining concessions from employers.
- **Edward Bernstein:** *Evolutionary Socialism* (1899) argued Marx’s predictions of ever-greater poverty for workers & ever-greater concentration of wealth in fewer hands had been proved false.
- France: Jean Jaurés formally repudiated revisionist doctrines in order to establish a unified socialist party, though he remained at heart a gradualist