political and traditional foundations of state and society in Europe by appealing to the intellectual capacity of human being. The Enlightenment greatly valued rationalism and empiricism. Many Enlightenment thinkers were associated with scientific advancement and the overthrow of religious superstitions in favour of development of free speech and liberty.

1.3 CONCEPT AND MEANING

Scholars and philosophers have given different opinions about the Age of Enlightenment. However, in the broader sense, it was a philosophical, cultural and intellectual movement of the 18th century in Europe. It emphasized reason, logic, criticism, freedom of thought and equality over superstition, dogma, and blind faith. Undoubtedly, logic was not a new innovation of Europe during the modern period. It had been used by the scholars of Ancient Greece. However, there is no definite and clear-cut beginning or ending point for the Age of Enlightenment. Many historians simply say that the term, "Enlightenment" came into use in England during the mid-eighteenth century. In fact, it was a seventeenth and eighteenth century intellectual, social, political and cultural phenomenon. It is found that the scientific revolution removed the old system of thinking during the seventeenth century and allowed a new thinking to emerge. The mysticism and imperial concept of the Middle Age had been replaced by the scientific revolution. This idea created a new horizon and now people were free to pursue individual freedom. Then, some historians point to the beginning of the eighteenth century (1701) and the middle of the seventeenth century (1651) as an approximate starting period of the Enlightenment age. Many scholars defined that the Enlightenment traced its origin to Decarte's "Discourse on Method"(1637). Other scholars argued that the Age of Enlightenment began with the Glorious Revolution (1688) in England or with publication of Newton's book, "Principia Mathematica" (1687). However many scholars agreed that the Age of Enlightenment ended with the French Revolution of 1789 or the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars (1804-15).

- **Meaning of Enlightenment:**

UG HT S3 - 01
(DSC)

FOUR YEAR BACHELOR'S DEGREE COURSE

(CBCS in Accordance with NEP 2020)

SEMESTER - III

HISTORY

HISTORY OF EUROPE (1789-1878)

Surya Kumar Bhuyan School of Social Sciences
KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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UNIT 1 : AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives
1.2 Introduction
1.3 Concept and Meaning
1.4 Contribution of the Enlightenment Era
1.5 Impact
- The Age of Enlightenment and European Nation

1.6 Let Us Sum Up
1.7 Further Readings
1.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
1.9 Model Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the meaning of Enlightenment
- discuss about the Enlightenment and it's basic ideas from a historical perspective
- discuss the contribution of the enlightened philosophers and
- analyse the impact of the Enlightenment Age in Europe.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

In this Unit, we will discuss at length about the Enlightenment period. The Enlightenment was a philosophical and elite cultural movement of intellectuals in Europe during the eighteenth century. It sought to mobilize the power of reason in order to reform society and advance knowledge. The Enlightenment was also known as the "Age of Reason". During the 17th century, many writers and thinkers began to question the established beliefs, e.g. the authority of king, or of the Christian church, in favour of scientific knowledge and reason. These new developments gave rise to the idea of equal rights. The Enlightenment slowly promoted the cultural, religious,

in Europe.

While going through this paper, you will notice that some boxes are put in the left hand or right hand side of the text. These boxes are meant to serve the purpose of in-text glossary for you. Again, you may find some boxes marked with: “LET US KNOW”. These boxes will provide you with some additional interesting and relevant information. The boxes marked with “ACTIVITY” will help you in making your learning more active and efficient. And, at the end of each section, you will get “CHECK YOUR PROGRESS” questions. These have been designed to self-check your progress of study. It will be better if you solve the problems put in these boxes immediately after you go through the sections of the units and then match your answers with “ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS” given at the end of each unit.

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UNIT 1 :	**Age of Enlightenment** Concept and Meaning, Contribution, Its impact.	**7-19**
UNIT 2 :	**Europe and French Revolution** Europe on the eve of French Revolution, French Revolution; Causes: Nature, Contribution, Response and Reactions to the French Revolution.	**20-34**
UNIT 3 :	**France: From Republican Rule to Dictatorship** Responses to the Constitutional Monarchy, Anarchy in France, National Convention, Reign of Terror, The Directory.	**35-46**
UNIT 4 :	**Era of Napoleon** Coup d’etat of 1799, Reforms of Napoleon as the first Consul, Territorial Expansion, Continental System, Fall of Napoleon.	**47-61**
UNIT 5 :	**Concert of Europe and Congress of Vienna** The European Confederation, The Holy Alliance, The Quadruple Alliance, Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, Congress of Vienna; Provisions: Signifiicance.	**62-74**
UNIT 6 :	**Unification of Germany and Italy** Metternich and his policies, the Germanic Confederation, The Frankfort Assembly of 1848, Bismarck and modern Germany, Vienna Congress and Italy, Carbonari, Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi.	**75-93**
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UNIT 14 : The Spanish Revolution **175-188**

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UNIT 15 : Liberalism in Europe **189-200**

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COURSE INTRODUCTION

This Course is meant for the Third semester students of History of BA programme under the NEP system of Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University. The course is titled *History of Europe (1789-1878).* This paper will discuss the history of Modern Europe since the Enlightenment era till the rise of Liberalism. The course consists of fifteen units.

The first Unit *Age of Enlightenment* introduces the concept of Enlightment. The Unit also throws light on the impact of Enlightenment in Europe and the rest of the world.

The second Unit *Europe and French Revolution* discusses the French Revolution in detail along with the reactions and responses it garnered within France and worldwide.

The third Unit *France: From Republican Rule to Dictatorship* discusses the aftermath of the French Revolution. The Unit highlights the political turmoil in France.

The fourth unit *Era of Napoleon* throws light on Napoleon, his rise to power and his downfall.

The fifth unit *Concert of Europe and Congress of Vienna* emphasises on the peace settlements that was negotiated among the European powers after the defeat of Napoleon.

The sixth unit titled *Unification of Germany and Italy* discusses the unification movement that had begun in Germany and Italy under their respective leaders.

The seventh unit *Russian Reform Movement* (1815) deals with the reform movement in Russia that took place during the reign of Alexander II.

The eighth Unit *Austro-Hungarian Problem* throws light on the growing nationalistic feeling that led to the Austo-Hungarian crisis.

The ninth Unit *The July Revolution of 1830* discusses causes and consequences of the Revolution that took place in Fracnce.

The tenth Unit *February Revolution of 1848* discusses the factors leading to the February Revolution and its impact on France.

The eleventh Unit *The Second Napolenic Empire* throws light on the establishment of the Second French Republic and the reign of Napoleon III.

The twelfth Unit *Austrian Hegemony in Europe* emphasises on Metternich and his contribution towards establishing the power of Austria.

The thirteenth Unit titled *The Eastern Question* discusses the Balkan problem and the consequent events arising out of the conflicting interest of the European powers.

The fourteenth Unit *The Spanish Revolution* deals with the journey of Spain in its attempt to become a modern state.

The fifteenth Unit *Liberalism in Europe* highlights the various aspects of Liberalism and its impact

Europe to a greater degree than any other cultural innovation."

- **The Age of Enlightenment and European Nation**

The enlightenment movement gradually operated in different nations of Europe. The enlightenment reached deep into the middle class of European soul and made its influence on France, England, Germany, Russia, Spain, Poland and most nations of Europe.

France

France was influenced by the Enlightenment philosophy. French Enlightenment philosophers had learned and developed their own ideas and thoughts .The belief of natural law and religious tolerance can be seen as Enlightenment ideas which led to opposition to established authority. In the later 16th century and the early part of 17th century, France was dominated by a hereditary monarchy and dogmatic church. The enlightened philosophers attempted to use natural law and reason as a way to weapon against the established authority of France. Many philosophers like Voltaire, Rousseau contributed a lot to the rise of the Enlightenment in France. The new ideas of the Enlightenment shaped the policies of the French Revolution from 1789 to 1799.As a result of the revolution, new idea of secularism began.

Germany

By the mid 18th century, Germany was influenced by the enlightenment movement. In fact, the German enlightenment in philosophy, Science and culture emerged as an intellectual force independent of France because the upper as well as middle class of Germany were influenced by the intellectual development of France. Frederick the Great (1712-86), the king of Prussia patronized philosophers and scientists at his court of Berlin. Moreover, Voltaire, the greatest figure of the age of enlightenment was eager to accept Frederick's invitation to live at his place. On the other hand, Christian Wolff (1676-1754), who was a writer, expounded the enlightenment idas to German as a philosophical language. Johann Gottfried von Herder contributed a lot to the enlightenment. According to him, every folk had its own identity which expressed in its language and culture. It is found that the royal family, aristocrats and the middle class gave full support to the German

Scholars and philosophers have given different views about the term 'Enlightenment'. There are two basic definitions. One is the general meaning of the "Enlightenment" that is related with Buddhism and the other is related with the reason. However, we are generally concerned with the latter meaning of the "Enlightenment". In fact, the 'Enlightenment' as a European intellectual and philosophical movement emphasizes on reason and individual freedom rather than dogma and tradition.

Emmanuel Kant, one of the great philosophers in the Age of Enlightenment, defines that "Enlightenment is the human being's emergence from his self-incurred minority." Historian Roy Porter argues that "the thesis of the liberation of human mind from the dogmatic state of ignorance was prevalent at the time is the epitome of what the age of enlightenment was trying to capture." In the view of Bertrand Russell, the Enlightenment phase was marked by the ideals of reason from long antiquity.

Chartier defines that the Enlightenment was only invented after the French Revolution for a political goal. The leaders of the French Revolution created an Enlightenment canon of the basic text by certain writers in order to legitimize their republican political goal. According to Jonathan Israel "it was the ideas themselves which caused the change that eventually led to the revolutions of the later half of the 18th century and the 19th centuries". According to Peter Gray, "The Enlightenment, the Age that extends from Locke to Condorcet –was one of the most creative ages in the history of political theory."

According to Zafirovski, "the Enlightenment is the source of critical ideas such as democracy, reason and freedom as value of society which opposed to the divine right of kings or traditions as the ruling hegemony."

1.4 CONTRIBUTION OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT ERA

The followings are the major ideas that emerged in this era–

Reason:

Reason was the most important idea of the Age of Enlightenment. It may be noted that for last seventeen hundred years, the Pope and concept of the Bible were the sources of ultimate truth for man and the only way to

communicate with God. But in the Age of Enlightenment, this was not the truth and man felt obligated to follow his own intellect or knowledge of reason. It was defined as the ability to operate upon concepts in abstraction without emotion. Reason could help man to become free from ignorance.

Rationalism:

Rationalism was the basic idea of the age of Enlightenment. It sought to apply reason and science in acquiring knowledge about the nature of humanity. The Enlightenment thinkers believed that society should be organized on rationalistic grounds.

Reformist:

It was another basic idea of the Enlightenment philosophers. It fact, they tended to be anti-clerical and opposed to church officials .The Enlightenment thinkers were also against monarchy and aristocracy. Moreover, it promoted constitutional forms of government which was based on Locke's idea of Social Contract. The Enlightenment philosophers also argued for the government should be balanced and division of power into the executive, legislative and judiciary.

Religious Tolerance:

The Enlightenment was characterized by an idea of religious tolerance. The Enlightened philosophers believed that man should be free to worship as they wished. The concept of religious tolerance holds that God gave equal rights and equal liberty to all human being. So, human's should be free from all kind of oppression.

- **Major Figures of the Enlightenment Age:**

The era of the Enlightenment represents a phase in the intellectual history in Europe. The following philosophers and thinkers made significant contribution to the Age of Enlightenment.

Hugo Grotius (1583-1645)

Hugo Grotius was a prodigious intellectual and humanist of Netherland. He laid the foundation for international law based on the concept of natural law. His philosophy of natural law had a major impact on the development of political thought during the later seventeenth century. It is to be noted that he was deeply influenced by the classical philosophy of

through which humanity could change the world and rectify any kind of mistake of the past. Life style of people began to change. The Enlightened thinkers believed that reason alone is sufficient to reform societies. The French Revolution was inspired by the Enlightenment ideas of religious tolerance, liberty and equality.

Religious liberty was generated in democracy. So, they raised their voice for the doctrine of the separation of church and state. Then, the enlightened thinkers were challenging traditional faith based ideals. Many European countries wished to establish a national religion. The idea of Enlightenment stressed reason and religious tolerance over dogma, blind beliefs and evils. Although, many thinkers of the enlightenment age were believers in one God, they denounced religious dogma, miracles and prophesy. Some thinkers of the enlightenment period took more extreme approach and denied the existence of God. The philosophers of the eighteenth century gave more importance to the practical knowledge. They denounced the slave system and believed in the fundamental principle of equality. The Enlightenment promoted religious pluralism.

Impact on Science:

The Age of Enlightenment grew out of the sense that science was becoming an important part of people's life. Science contributed a lot in Enlightenment thought. Scientific progress began as a result of the Enlightenment .Scientific progress included the invention of the steam engine by James Watt and other significant discoveries. Scientific progress during the Enlightenment age was dominated by the academies. It is found that the academies were also the backbone of the maturation of Science. After 1700 A.D., a large number of academies were established in Europe. Now, scholars of the Enlightenment era used science to question and probe the universe. The influence of science also appeared more commonly in literature during the Age of Enlightenment. Some literature was directly influenced by scientific topics. James Thomson's "Poem to the Memory of Newton" praised Newton's science and legacy. Many scientific and literary journals were published during the Enlightenment era. In fact, according to Jonathan Israel, "The learned journals influenced the intellectual culture of

Rousseau, John Locke, Jeremy Bentham produced a body of work which were linked with political thought, civil liberty, freedom of thought and ideas of democracy. However “the will of the people” or sovereignty is an enlightenment philosophy which was popularly advocated by Rousseau. However, the idea of democracy and social contract was also of great importance in France both before and after the France Revolution. As an impact of Enlightenment idea, democratic institutions were in existence in some degree in England, Switzerland. The thinkers of the enlightenment age believed that the government and its supporting laws headed to reflect the “general will of the people”. Then, the idea of the separation of government powers into a legislature, an executive and judiciary was shaped by the Enlightened philosopher, Montesquieu in his book, “The Spirit of Laws”.

However, many thinkers during the enlightenment age argued that “enlightened despotism” was the best way to rule the people. Moreover, this kind of rule becomes popular in many European countries during the eighteenth century. Joseph of Austria (1780-90) was one of the greatest examples of “Enlightened Despotism”.

Impact on Economics:

The philosopher as well as thinkers espoused a new economic system which we call as “Laisser-Faire” or free economy system. The physiocrats were the most famous thinkers of the Laissez- Faire school in France. Then in 1776, Adam Smith’s work “The Wealth of Nation” in which he argued that labour and the market were the prime creators of wealth. Thus, ideas of the free trade or Laisser-faire moved the people from rural areas to urban area. It also shifted the economic reliance from agriculture to non-agriculture products. The transformation of economic system during the enlightenment age led to economic globalization of Europe.

Impact on Society and Religion:

The enlightenment made its impact on social and religious structure of European society. The basic goal of the enlightened philosophers was social reform. They provided first real challenge to the established authority and theocracy. The age of Enlightenment was characterized by optimism

Aristotle and Stoics. Hugo Grotius espoused the idea of religious tolerance.

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679)

Thomas Hobbes was a great philosopher, scientist and historian. He played a notable role in the development of the idea of the Enlightenment. His most significant works are such as “The Leviathan” (1631), “ The Behemoth” (1668) and “The Elements Compromising” (1650). Hobbes’s famous work, “The Leviathan” was a book in which he wrote about the structure of society and legitimate government. He felt that the old political system had led to the civil war and revolution in society. Therefore, he searched for a new model of government. It may be noted that his philosophy and idea could be described as the rough draft of the Enlightenment.

Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727)

He was a great scientist, mathematician and philosopher of England. Newton contributed a lot to development of Enlightenment ideas. His laws of motion and universal gravitation led to a tremendous progress of society. Newton brought rational knowledge together into a grand synthesis. His scientific theory formulated a new truth and people now began to question on religion and existence of God. His idea of scientific innovations helped to produce a fundamental intellectual change.

John Locke (1632-1704)

John Locke was a famous English philosopher and political theorists. He laid much of the ground work for the Enlightenment and made significant contribution to the ideas of liberalism. It is found that Locke’s contribution to the era of Enlightenment came from his ability to provide theories and sophisticated thoughts of how individuals developed from a mental standpoint. During the period between 1675-1689, he wrote the famous work, “Essay on Toleration” (1689). In his book, he popularized the idea that the people should get their equal right and all governments should secure the rights of all citizen. He also wrote other works such as, “Second Treatise of Civil Government” (1690) and “Essay Concerning Human Understanding” (1690). John Locke assumed a sole theoretical justification for a contractual monarchy which was based on the agreement between ruler and ruled. His philosophy had enormous influence on the political thought during the Age

of Enlightenment.

Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755)

He was a significant political philosopher of the Enlightenment era. He wrote two important works –"The Persian Letters"(1721) and "The Spirit of Laws"(1748). His idea remained a powerful influence on the Enlightenment philosophy. His work "The Spirit of Laws" was "the first attempt to survey the varieties of human society, to classify and compare them and to study the intra-functioning institution.

Voltaire (1694-1778)

Francois Marie Arouet, popularly known as Voltaire was the most famous and undisputed prince of philosophical thought. He was twice sent to prison. He exiled in England from 1726 to 1729.There, he was influenced by political system of England. Like Montesquieu, he also admired the British institution. He greatly admired the tolerance Act of 1689. Voltaire claimed that England lived as a happy land where the spirit of ancient Greece lived on. He was also deeply influenced by enlightenment ideas of Newton and John Locke. Despite of his beliefs in tolerance, he criticized the Roman Catholic Church. Then, he welcomed a new scientific view of enlightenment. He revealed a human rage towards intolerance and injustice. He argued that the Christian Church was responsible for the ignorance. Voltaire gave a new Enlightenment in shifting the attention of cultivated public away from established authority.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)

Jean Jacques Rousseau was one of the greatest philosophers of France during the Age of Enlightenment. He exerted a profound influence on the revolutionaries of France. In fact, his political ideal influenced the Enlightenment in France and across Europe. Rousseau criticized the eighteenth century civilization which he thought as artificial. In his work, "The Discourse on the Art and Science", he argued that the art and science have not been beneficial to humankind. Rousseau devoted his writings to interpreting the possible ways of reforming human civilization where man could be free to be themselves. According to Rousseau, "Man is born free. But later on society help him to realize his full capacity for self-determination."

This philosophy of Rousseau was a major contribution to the Enlightenment. In his major work, "Social Contract" (1762), he argued that "sovereignty power should be in the hands of the people. The sovereignty power is not the master of the people. The people may establish or remove them as it pleases."

Denis Diderot

Denis Diderot was a great French philosopher and writer during the eighteenth century. He was also a prominent figure of the Enlightenment era. He wrote several works such as "The Philosophical Thoughts" (1746). He also edited the collective 17 volume of "The Encyclopedia". His philosophy expounded on his view about nature, materialism, evolution and experimental science. However, "The Encyclopedia" as a vehicle for spreading the Enlightenment ideas, carried faith in empiricism.

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804)

He was one of the greatest German philosophers central to the Enlightenment. He emphasized rationalism and empiricism .He was a strong advocate for social reform of all kinds. According to Immanuel Kant, "the term 'Enlightenment' means "dare to know" which implied to overthrow the stigma of ignorance. He tried to reconcile rationalism and individual liberty. In his work, "Critique of Pure Reason" (1781), he continued to shape German thought. According to Kant, "human becomes enlightened when he has the courage to act without the guidance of another." In fact, Emmanuel Kant's ideas are clear and if a human being were to reach to the enlightenment, there would be no any kind of oppression and domination in society.

1.5 IMPACT

The age of enlightenment played a vital role in changing political, social, religious and economic life in Europe. The age of enlightenment made its deep in impact in transforming of the European society. Therefore we must be careful to analyze the impact of the enlightenment age.

Impact on Politics:

The political impact of the enlightenment related to democracy and will of power is difficult to summarize. Thinkers like Voltaire, Denis Diderot,



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 1: What is meant by the “Divine Right Theory” of rule?

.....

Q 2: Why was serfdom declining in Western Europe?

.....

Q 3: Given reasons that obstructed the growth of trade.

.....

Q 4: Who formed the “Third Estate”?

.....

Q 5: Who were the “Sansculottes”?

.....

2.4 FRENCH REVOLUTION

- **Causes of the French Revolution**

One of the potent reasons for the outbreak of the French Revolution was the nature of the old regime. The old regime here includes the regime in Europe and particularly in France. Most of the countries in Europe were ruled by absolute monarchs, who were oppressive. The nations were too suspicious of the neighbouring nations. The intention of the stronger states was to occupy the weaker ones and plunder their resources. The social scenario in Europe was in a sorry state. Feudalism was still prevalent in the European nations. Taxation policies were unjust and unfair. The commoners who were heavily taxed were the ones who were least able to pay, while the privileged ones were exempted from paying all sorts of taxes. The feudal lords committed many atrocities on the serfs and the latter were born to suffer at their hands.

Politically, France before the revolution was under the arbitrary rule of the old regime. A highly centralized monarch ruled at the top, surrounded by corrupt officials at a lower level, a degenerated administration and the absence of the people’s representative institutions characterized the political

enlightenment.

Russia

The Russian enlightenment in the eighteenth century encouraged the proliferation of arts and science. The age of enlightenment in Russia produced the Russian university, library and independent press. Catherine, the Great who was one of the enlightenment despots of Russia contributed a lot to fostering of science and education. However, many enlightenment scholars such as Leonhard Euler, Anders Lexell played a notable role in the development of the enlightenment in Russia.

Spain

It is found that the enlightenment made its influence on Spain in the mid eighteenth century. Charles III, King of Spain tried to rescue his empire from the influence of the dogmas and evils of Middle age.

Scotland

The enlightenment made its influence in Scotland. It is found that the Scottish Enlightenment thinkers like Adam Smith, Hutchison, and David Hume contributed a lot for the modernization of Scotland during the 18th century. Adam Smith’s great work “Wealth of Nation” advocated liberty in the context of global economy. James Hutton and William Thomson led to the scientific progress in Scotland.

Poland

The age of enlightenment reached Poland and changed the way of life. It began here in the 1730s-40s. It led to development of cultural and education progress.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 1: When did the Glorious Revolution begin?

.....

Q 2: Who wrote the book, ‘Principia Mathematica’?

.....

Q 3: Who was Hugo Grotius?

.....

Q 4: Who was the author of the book, “The Leviathan”?

.....

Q 5: In which year was Voltaire born?

.....



1.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that-

- Many writers and thinkers of the eighteenth century, especially in France attempted to develop a new idea and thought popularly known as the Enlightenment. It was based on a rational approach to man’s relationship with the society.
- The Enlightenment ideas had rapidly transformed the socio-political, cultural and religious arena. It laid focus on new thought and ideas that was shifting from theological to secular concerns.



1.7 FURTHER READING

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2) Sen, S.N. (2013). *Europe and the World –From Renaissance to the Second World War.* London : NCBA.

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merchants, peasants, serf, workers etc were also included in the third estate. The serfs had no political and civil rights. The serfs had to offer ***corvee*** (manual service) or compulsory labour without any wage in their master’s land. He had to pay various taxes to the state, the lords and the church. Other peasants like free peasants, meteors, renters were in no way in better condition than the serfs. The peasants were denied any civil and political status in the society. Another poor and depressed class belonging to the third estate was the sansculottes. They comprised the loading carriers, daily workers, beggars, pavement dwellers of Paris and other cities. At the top of the third estate was the bourgeois class. They were more affluent than other members of the third estate. England and France had the highest number of bourgeois. They were a socially unhappy class because while they considered themselves as being the most elite and active part of the society, they were treated as inferior by the nobility.

The members of the nobility class were a privileged class in the society and held vast estates. The nobility as a class were roughly sub-divided into sub classes - court nobility. They were high born nobles and acted as ministers, courtiers, councillors and intendment etc. They enjoyed vast amounts of income from the landed estates and salary. The rural nobility lived in their village estates. They had neither power nor wealth, yet they took pride in their status owing to their birth. Land owning was considered as the most honourable job. The third category of nobility was the service nobles, those who entered the rank of nobility by the virtue of holding high offices.

The clergy formed a part of the first estate. Monasteries and bishoprics had vast landed estates wherefrom they derived large income. Besides, the church collected religious tax called ***tithes***, which amounted to 1/10th of the produce of the land. The lower clergy or parish clergy were relatively poor and lived a chaste and sedate life. The clergy exercised a great influence on the society. The clergy men were free from all taxation along with several other privileges, in the European society, in the eighteenth century

and food products was strictly prohibited. This resulted in the low prices of the food stuff. Thus, the farmers made no profit by selling their produce and hence there were no incentives for scientific farming. This apathetical attitude left the rural population in poverty.

Feudal exploitation and manorial system also stunted the growth of agriculture. Most of the peasants were serfs who were tied to master's land and were denied political and civil rights. They were subjected to various types of taxes imposed on them by the state, the lord and the church.

The condition of trade was better than agriculture. European economy was guided by the doctrine of mercantilism in this period. Mercantile economy sought to boost up export and reduce imports. High tariff was imposed on foreign goods imported, which raised its cost to a prohibited level. It prevented the growth of international trade. Side by side with mercantilism there was paternalism policy or state intervention in industry and trade. Every aspects of national life in the eighteenth century including trade and industry were subjected to state regulations.

In the eighteenth century Europe, there also flourished a new economic ideal, called physiocratism or rule of nature. This school of economic thought preached the doctrine of free trade. Under the existing state control and mercantilism industry is stifled. Therefore, physiocrats demanded the end of state control and intervention in industry and abolition of protection.

Colonial trade and the influx of Mexican gold in the European market led to capital accumulation in the hand of the bourgeois class. Number of towns and factories began to multiply, along with the bourgeois class who battered against the feudal order of society. They were the messengers of the coming of revolution.

- **Social Condition**

Eighteenth century Europe nourished the legacies of medieval European society. People were divided into three estates namely – the clergy, the nobility and the commoners. The commoners were the peasants, the workers, etc who had no qualification of high birth, formed the third estate. Professionals like the lawyers, physicians, teachers, rich and ordinary

1.8 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: 1688.

Ans to Q No 2: Sir Isaac Newton.

Ans to Q No 3: Hugo Grotius was a prodigious intellectual and humanist of Netherland.

Ans to Q No 4: Thomas Hobbes.

Ans to Q No 5: 1694.

1.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: What is meant by "The Age of Enlightenment"?

Q 2: Who was John Locke?

Q 3: In which year was the book, "Social Contract" published?

Q 4: Who was the author of the book, "Essay on Toleration"?

Q 5: Who was Immanuel Kant?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Briefly write a short note on Rousseau.

Q 2: How did the Enlightenment ideals influence Germany?

Q 3: In what ways did the Enlightenment help in the progress of democratic ideas?

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q 1: Describe the variations of the Enlightenment movement in Europe.

Q 2: Critically estimate the contribution of the philosophers and thinkers to the Age of Enlightenment.

Q 3: Discuss the impact of the Enlightenment in science and politics in Europe.

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UNIT 2: EUROPE AND FRENCH REVOLUTION

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Europe on the Eve of the French Revolution

2.4 French Revolution

- Causes
- Nature and Contributions

2.5 Response and Reaction to the French Revolution

2.6 Let Us Sum Up

2.7 Further Reading

2.8 Answer to Check Your Progress

2.9 Model Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- describe the condition of Europe prior to the outbreak of the French Revolution.
- discuss the causes that led to the French Revolution and the nature of the Revolution and
- discuss the responses that evoked on the backdrop of the French Revolution.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous Unit, we discussed the idea of Enlightenment and its emergence in the European scene. The impact of Enlightenment was felt in all the spheres- politics, art, literature, music, and religion etc of Europe, which made for an interesting study. The era of Enlightenment was marked by the rise in the belief of human dignity, power of reasoning, individual freedom etc. It is therefore interesting in this context, to study the outbreak of the French Revolution which laid the foundation for the rise of modern

nationalism. It is said, “The French revolution was the most prepared event of history”.

In order to understand the French Revolution better, it’s important to understand the political and socio-economic conditions of Europe on the eve of the French Revolution. And this Unit will enable you in understanding the developments that took place in pre and post Revolution France.

2.3 EUROPE ON THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

In this section, we will be discussing the condition of Europe right before the breakout of the French Revolution.

- **Political Condition**

Autocratic monarchy was the prevailing fashion of government of 18th century Europe. But in the 18th century it became more centralized than before. The kings claimed Divine right to rule the subjects. Kings in the eighteenth century of Europe, ruled according to hereditary dynastic right. The leading royal houses of Europe in eighteenth century were; The Bourbons of France, the Hapsburgs of Austria, Hohenzollerns of Prussia, the Hanoverians of England and the Romanovs of Russia. The kings were omnipotent.

The kings covered their despotism by the cloak of enlightenment. Though, in the 18th century the concept of autocratic monarchy was tempered by the enlightenment the kings were intelligent enough to cover their selfishness by enlightened doctrines. Enlightened despotism was, however, a clever attempt to perpetuate the despotism. Even if other European monarchs advocated enlightened reforms, the Bourbon monarchy of France was uninfluenced by enlightenment Idea.

- **Economic Condition**

In the eighteenth century, agriculture was the main source of European economy. Possession of landed estates was a passport to acquire social status and prestige in the eighteenth century in European economy. Among the few impediments faced in agricultural sector were- lack of scientific farming, feudalistic oppression and serfdom, etc. Export of grain



2.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, you have learnt about –

- The evolution of political system in Europe and the rule of monarchical administration in Europe and the social structure, the condition of trade and agriculture, different categories of peasants and the evolution of colonial markets by European traders.
- The French Revolution was a reaction against the autocratic monarchical rule that prevailed in France. The wide participation of the French people from all walks of life gave a significant boost to the Revolution.
- The French Revolution of 1789 resulted in breaking the prevailing political norms, ideals and regimes of Europe. The revolution brought sweeping changes in every aspect of life in France,
- As a result, there was an ideological and armed reaction to prevent the dissemination of revolutionary ideals throughout Europe. The ideals were seen as a threat in many European countries which resulted in the formation of many coalitions to combat against the forces unleashed by the Revolution.



2.7 FURTHER READING

1) Maiti, Provatansu. (1970). A History of Europe (1789-1919). Kolkata **:** India, Sreedhar Prakashani.

2) Hayes, C. J. H. (1963): Modern Europe to 1870. New York, USA: Mac Millan.

3) Ketelbey, C. D. M. (2000): A Short History of Modern Europe. New Delhi, India : Surjeet Publication.

situation in France. Louis XV was an incapable king unlike his grandfather Louis XIV. All the powers were concentrated in the hands of the ruler. Long ago, Louis XIV had declared: “L’etat c’est moi” (I am the state) and this legacy was carried forward by his successors. The crown wielded power on all matters of the state, legal, commercial, etc. The courtiers were all greedy and had selfish intentions. ***Letters de cachet*** was very common.

The First Estate or nobility of France was the most privileged of all other classes. They enjoyed exemptions from all taxation. Earlier they were allowed to enjoy the benefit in return for their services to the king. But with the centralized monarchy the duties and functions earlier performed by them were now performed by the central government, and this left the nobility with no duties. But they retained and enjoyed the old privileges and benefits.

The next privileged class was the Second Estate or clergy. Most of the clergy were drawn from the nobility. Most of them were engaged in the intrigues and dissipation within the Church. The higher clergy were in control of the posts and yet had no duties, while the lower ranked clergies did all the work and yet lived in abject poverty. This class of the clergy were infuriated and thus allied with the peasants for a common cause.

The Third Estate constituted the majority of the population, which included the upper middle class or the bourgeoisie, the artisans and the peasants. The bourgeoisie classes were the intellectual class in the French society who had good positions and money. They were keen for socio-political reforms. The artisans and the peasants lived at the mercy of the rich middle class who owned the industries or lands. The condition of the peasantry was very pitiable. They were to pay taxes to the state, tithes to the Church, and rent to the landlord. The money left after all the payments was not enough and the peasants were left to starve and die. They had to work as ***corvee***, do all the menial jobs of their lord, see his crop being destroyed by the hunting troops of his master and yet could not protest. Their condition is best understood by the saying of the French maxim: “The nobles fight, the clergy pray, the people pay”.

France under Louis XVI was going through a serious financial crisis. The reckless wars of Louis XIV had left the country in heavy debt, while the

luxurious lifestyles of Louis XV and his courtiers led the nation to bankruptcy. Economically, France was left with an empty treasury; a bankrupt Empire with no prospect of economic revival due to the fact that taxes could not be imposed on the privileged classes and the peasants would not be able to pay any more. The finance ministers, Turgot and Necker, tried to bring in reforms but could not make much headway due to the opposition from the nobles who were threatened with the loss of their privileges. A hailstorm in July, 1788 destroyed the harvest and pushed the country to starvation and then came the severe winter. Prior to 1788, there were a series of bad harvests that left the poor bleeding in poverty and starvation. There was a rise in the prices of goods and rents which made the life of the poor people very miserable.

Financial crisis was an important cause for the outbreak of the French Revolution. For over a century, France had been at war with Great Britain. Besides, the extravagant expenditure incurred by the royal court in grand projects only made the matter worst. The fatal blow to France came when it got involved in a war with Great Britain. The crown was compelled to summon the Estates General. This was a signal for change.

The Paris Parliament demanded the summoning of the Estates General. The king attempted to overawe the Parliament which led to riots in many places. Thus, the king had to summon the Estates General and on May 5, 1789 the Estates General was summoned after a gap of 176 years.



Caheirs : Lists of grievances

When the Estates General met, every member had ***cahiers*** from his constituency. There was a united demand for a constitution and reforms in taxation. The Third Estates demanded the abolition of the feudal rights, to which there was a lot of opposition. They also demanded the meeting of the Estates General in a single chamber and the votes to be counted on the basis of individuals. The Estates General comprised the three chambers of elected representatives from each order. The three chambers were for the nobles, clergy and the commoners. The system of voting was done on the basis of the order or houses and hence the decisions were always made in favour of the privileged orders. When the Estates General was summoned, Necker allowed double the members to the Third Estate than the two other

included England, Russia, Austria, Turkey and Naples. Meanwhile, in France, Napoleon Bonaparte managed to capture power which was seen as a threat by many European rulers. In the battle that ensued, England was left alone as other members left the Coalition. Peace was restored for a temporary period. The Third Coalition of Russia, Austria, Sweden and England were formed against the undue interference of Napoleon in the internal affairs of Switzerland. The objective of the Third Coalition was the expulsion of the French army from the northern part of German speaking areas; the independence of Holland and Switzerland and the restoration of Piedmont to the King of Sardinia. It was also agreed among the European powers that once France would be defeated, map of Europe will be redrawn restoring the erstwhile boundaries. However, the Third Coalition also met with the same fate. The Fourth Coalition was formed in 1813 with Russia, Prussia, Austria and England each of them being ruled by the so-called 'enlightened despots'. By this time Napoleon had begun to face defeat both on home ground as well as on the battle field offshore. As an aftermath, the Bourbon monarchy was reinstated in France and national boundaries of Europe were restored. Thus, for the time being European powers managed to halt the progress of the French Revolution.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 6 : Who said: "L'etat c'est moi"?

.....

Q 7: What is a ''Letters de cachet''?

.....

Q 8: By whom was the march from Paris to Versailles undertaken?

.....

state repression. The peasant also took up arms against their landlords. The women marched from Paris to Versailles. When the king had ordered the three chambers to sit separately, the commoners refused but waited and negotiated. The lead was taken by Bailly, the astronomer (who later became their president and Mayor of Paris) and Abbe Sieyes, a writer. The lower clergies too joined the Third Estate when along with some clergy declared itself as the National Assembly and started the revolution. When Louise XVI declared for the sitting of the three chambers secretly, it was Mirabeau, a journalist and orator who defied it. During the revolution the bourgeoisie leaders led the revolution. But as it progressed it passed to the commoners.

2.5 RESPONSE AND REACTION TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The French Revolution evoked a strong response from the French people. The idea of equality, liberty and fraternity echoed throughout and heralded the beginning of a new era world-wide. Nonetheless, the French Revolution was a real time political event having far reaching impact within and outside France. In this situation, the European powers vehemently opposed the French Revolution. Incidentally, almost all the so-called 'enlightened rulers/despots' of Europe came together to crush the French Revolution which was supreme manifestation of enlightenment philosophy. The excesses of the revolutionary ideals in France under Jacobins and Napoleon Bonaparte sent the rest of the European monarchs in a state of panic especially after the execution of Louis XVI. The European powers formed as many as four Coalitions to defeat France and to halt the spread of revolutionary ideals outside France. The European powers formed coalition among them to drive out the revolutionary government of France. The First Coalition was formed by England, Prussia, Austria, Russia, Spain, Holland and Sardinia against France. They initially registered victory but soon the French were able to break the Alliance and Napoleon rose as the saviour of the French Revolution. However, the defeat of Napoleon in the Battle of Nile in 1798 led to the formation of the Second Coalition which

orders combined. However, the voting system remained the same when the Third Estate demanded for the votes to be counted on the basis of the heads than orders. The Third Estate on June 17, 1789 declared itself to be the National Assembly representing the whole country and pledged to work on its behalf.

The king ordered the hall doors to be closed so as to obstruct the work of the Assembly. But the members of the Assembly rushed to a nearby tennis court wherein they took an oath of making a constitution and not to part before that. This is known as the **Oath of the Tennis Court**. The king took a stern step and declared the activities of the Third Estate to be illegal and also for the Estate General to meet in three chambers rather than one. But soon he had to change his decision and allowed the meeting of all the three chambers as one and ordered the two privileged classes to join the Third Estate for the formation of the Assembly. This paved the way for the ultimate end of the monarchy. But the king was not to be cowed down. He sent armed forces to suppress the National Assembly. He replaced Necker with Breteuill. This enraged the Parisians and they marched in the streets. There were some clashes between the royal forces and the crowd. The public of Paris revolted and soon attacked the prison fort of Bastille. Bastille was regarded as a symbol of authority and autocratic power. On July 14, 1789 the Bastille was razed to the ground. The Parisian mob took over the control of the city.

A new form of municipal government was formed, a National Guard was established at Paris and Lafayette was made its commander replacing the king's troops. The peasants who had been hard hit by the rocketing food prices now attacked the nobles and the wealthy peasants. They burnt down the title deeds and looked for grains which were kept in secret stocks. Many nobles were killed by the angry peasant mob.

These outbursts soon spread all over France. Many other cities took it as an example and formed governments on the Paris model. The peasants revolted and sacked the castles of their feudal lords. The king had to yield before the tide and recognized the National Guard, recalled Necker as the Finance Minister and sent back the armed troops. This incident had a strange



Corvee : Feudal privilege the French landlords asserted in the form of forced labour from the common masses

impact. The nobles in a historic session of the National Assembly surrendered all their feudal rights and privileges. On August 4, 1789 the nobles gave up their hunting privileges. ***Corvees***, customary services and tithes were abolished. On September 27th, 1789, the Assembly issued the– "Declaration of The Rights of Man and Citizens". Equality was to be the watch word. Discrimination was to be done away with, and emphasis was laid on the rights of man. But soon the people became suspicious of the designs of the Royal Court. The fear of famine lingered along with the scarcity of bread. The women of Paris led a long march to Versailles where the king was residing. The monarchy had thus come to an end with the king becoming a prisoner at the hands of the people.

- **Nature and Contributions of the French Revolution**

The aforesaid revolutionary ideas were not just restrained to France and were bound to sail outside France. That is why, from very early on, philosophers outside France started developing a counter narrative whereby they criticized the very idea and phenomenon of change through revolution. The famous English philosopher Edmund Burke in the immediate aftermath of the French Revolution described it as nothing but an embodiment of evil and an 'unnecessary occurrence' brought about by a clique. Burke considered the French Revolution as a 'conspiracy' of literate class against the rulers. In fact, Burke defended himself by saying that he was not against change but he felt that it should be in occurrence with past traditions and customs. Similarly, the Scottish philosopher Thomas Carlyle painted a horrible picture of revolution and viewed the revolutionary crowd as an uncontrolled, blood thirsty and wild eyed mob. Dissident voices emerged within France also. The French scholar H. Taine, in 1876, wrote that a revolution is an 'insurrection of mules and horses against men, under the conduct of apes, possessing the throats of parrots.'

The intellectual current in France was brought in by the prolific teachings of the likes of Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau. They prepared the people's mind for the event that was to shake France and entire Europe. They guided the people with their leadership, gave voices to their grievances and acted like politicians. Their writings were an insight into the decaying

state of condition in France and they were very vocal about it. Montesquieu stood for constitutional monarchy and glorified the government of England. He was against the divine right theory of monarchical rule but he was not opposed to a liberal form of monarchy. He was against the Church and state despotism. His book "L Esprit Des Lois" was an analysis of the principle of government. Voltaire advocated benevolent despotism. His anger was directed towards the State and the Church and all the malpractices that were rampant therein. His writings shook the faith of the general people in the state organization and the Church. He stood for the superiority of reason. Rousseau was in favour of social reconstruction. He favoured a government based on individual equality. In his book 'Social Contract' he propounded the theory of democracy in which the people were the sovereign power. He held guilty the corruption of the state institutions and political machinery for depriving man of his natural rights to liberty and happiness. His social contract theory meant that kingship was a contract framed by the people for their welfare, thus recognizing the responsibility of the crown towards the masses. Beside these great thinkers there were other writers like Diderot, d' Alembert, Turgot, Quesnay, Beaumarchais etc. Even though many scholars do not ascribe the French Revolution to the influence of the intellectuals, yet it cannot be denied that the intellectuals exposed the people to new ideas and thinking patterns that prepared them for the revolution that was to come.



LET US KNOW

Jean Jacques Rousseau wrote the "Social Contract" which says: "Man is born free, and yet everywhere he is in chains".

The French Revolution saw the participation of all sections of the society, especially the ***bourgeoisie***. The causes of sufferings were borne mostly by the Third Estate, consisting of the bourgeoisie, the peasants, and artisans. The middle class of France took the lead in the revolution. When the Estate General met, the Third Estate took the commanding role and they were joined by the lower clergy as well. It was basically the commoners who, under the guidance of the intellectuals, razed Bastille, the symbol of

3.4 ANARCHY IN FRANCE

- **National Convention and the Reign of Terror**

The National Convention which met on September 21, 1792 declared France a republic. The monarchy was abolished. A new committee for drafting a new constitution was appointed. But this act was postponed due to the rivalry between the Girondists and the Jacobins. Both were Republicans but they differed in their views. The Girondists did not trust the mobs of Paris. They wanted the supremacy of the convention. They wanted the commune to be brought to justice and the end of the bloody massacres. But the Jacobins aimed to save France and make the Paris Commune superior to all other offices. Between these two parties were the majority of the people which could never decide between the two.

Louis XVI was executed as per the will of the Convention on January 21, 1793. The convention soon raised propaganda, which urged the people of Europe to rise against their rulers and were assured of the support of the revolutionaries. The convention was taking an aggressive attitude, which became a serious menace to the European powers. The Republicans also declared all as enemies, who would refuse liberty and equality as the basic principle of the nation. France had become ready for war. Indeed under the pretext of natural rights France wanted to pursue her traditional policy of conquest. Europe saw the turn of events in France as a menace to her security. The execution of Louis XVI shocked the entire European community of nations who pushed for further action. Thus Europe formed a coalition.

In the First Coalition against France, the countries were England, Holland, Sardinia, Spain, Austria and Prussia. The French ambassador to England, Chauvelin was ordered to leave for France. At this France declared war. While collectively the Europeans fought for the preservation of monarchy, each of them had their own agenda. Austria was eager to expel France from Belgium; Sardinia wanted to save Savoy, and England saw her commercial fortune ruined due to the opening of the Scheldt. At the early stages France had to suffer defeat. This led to a civil war, as many peasants rose up in revolt. The Committee of Public Safety was formed to

2.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: According to the “Divine Right Theory” of rule, the King claimed immunity from all earthly controls. They were predestined to rule by the Divine right and were solely responsible to god alone.

Ans to Q No 2: Serfdom was declining in Western Europe because the landlords found serf labour unproductive. Cultivation of land by hired labour was found to be productive and cheap.

Ans to Q No 3: State interference and strict regulations were among a few causes that obstructed the growth of trade.

Ans to Q No 4: The commoners mostly the serfs, peasants, professionals, workers, labourers formed the Third Estate.

Ans to Q No 5: The poorest and deprived among the members of the Third Estate were known as *Sansculottes*.

Ans to Q No 6: Louis XIV.

Ans to Q No 7: It is an arrest warrant by which anyone could be arrested on mere suspicion.

Ans to Q No 8: The women peasants.

2.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A. Very Short questions (Answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: Who were the members of the Third Estate in the European society?

Q 2: Name the two French finance ministers who wanted to reform the French economy on the eve of the French revolution.

Q 3: Name the French monarch who was executed by the revolutionaries.

Q 4: On which historical date was the “Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizens” signed by the national Assembly?

B. Short questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Describe the social structure of Europe in 18th century?

Q 2: What was the mercantile system in European Trade and commerce?

Q 3: What was the role of the Church in 18th century Europe?

Q 4: What do you know about the Oath of the Tennis court?

Q 5: Write short notes on the Girondists and the Jacobin

C. Long questions (answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss about Bourgeois class in European society.

Q 2: Analyse the feudalistic character of European economy on the eve of French Revolution.

Q 3: Narrate the circumstances that led to the end of monarchy in France.

Q 4: Discuss the participation of the intellectual class in the French Revolution.

Q 5: Discuss the reactions against the French Revolution.

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ideas which were spreading outside France. The German Princes were not happy with the abolition of the feudal dues and tithes. Austria had given shelter to the French *émigrés* and, hence, the relation between Austria and France became sour. The émigrés in the meantime were trying to collect troops and induce the foreign power to free France from the revolutionists. The French people were alarmed. At the same time Austria and Prussia issued the famous declaration of Pillnitz by which they rallied to the cause of the anti-revolutionist in France and was ready for an armed intervention. This convinced the French people that the king was in a secret alliance with the foreign powers. The Girondists were in favour of a war so as to overthrow the monarchical government. They were successful in their attempt when on April 20, 1792 France declared war against Austria. However, the Jacobins led by Robespierre were not in favour of war. The French army had to face defeat in the war and the Republicans declared the king to be a traitor.

During that time the Duke of Brunswick issued a manifesto by which he announced the destruction of the French capital if the royal family were hurt. The people of France were angry as it confirmed their worst fears of the double game of their ruler. The mob soon attacked the king's palace. The Legislative Assembly now voted for the suspension of the king and declared for the election of a National Convention. Meanwhile the mob of Paris was led by the Jacobins, who had replaced the municipal governments of Paris by a new commune or the city council. The Jacobins were determined to face the enemies of France. They first decided to teach a lesson to those Royalists whom they suspected to have aided the foreign powers. Many Royalists were killed and upon merest suspicion more than thousands of men and women were ***guillotined*.** This incident was known as the September Massacre of 1792. The Jacobins now marched to meet the Austro-Prussian army at Valmy where the French won the battle. This instilled courage and confidence amongst the French army and thus they went on to win more such battles with the effect that in 1793 the Republican army had Belgium, Savoy and Nice in their possession and also a firm grip on the middle of the Rhine. The revolution had left France as a nation divided.

Legislative Assembly consisted of a single chamber of 745 members elected for two years by limited franchise. The judiciary also went through certain reforms. The whole administration was decentralized. France was divided into districts, cantons, communes and local councils. The assembly also confiscated the Church lands to solve the financial problems. Assignats or paper money were issued. The Church also underwent changes. By the Civil Constitution of the Clergy the old ***dioceses*** was abolished. The bishops and the priests were to be elected by popular vote. Tariff barriers within France were abolished and so were the trade guilds and corporations. However, the constitution only pushed the nation towards discontentment. There were many loopholes in the constitution.

Thus, Mirabeau stated, “The disorganization of the country could not have been better planned”. The attempt of Louise XVI to flee from his country was soon discovered and this added fuel to the fire. The people were convinced of the disloyalty of the king for his subject and they were in no mood to support the monarchy. The radical group demanded a republic form of government, but the constitutional monarchists still held the majority and hence the king was again reinstated to his earlier position.

The Legislative Assembly met on October 11, 1791. The members of the Assembly were divided into groups. The Constitutionalists were in favour of the new constitution by which the king was the head of the government. The Republicans in the house were divided into Girondists and the Jacobins. The Girondists were Moderate Republicans. They were mostly from the district of Gironde and were eager for a republican government but practically they were not ready. The Jacobins were the extreme factions. They regarded all means to be legitimate if it meant the safety of the republic.

Soon France was embroiled in a war. The cause for it was basically the issuing of a decree by which the ***émigrés*** were asked to return home to France within a fixed time or else face consequences leading to death or confiscation of property. The king vetoed this decree and this aroused the suspicions of the people. Moreover, the European nations were worried with the turns of events in France. They feared the revolutionists and their

UNIT 3: FRANCE: FROM REPUBLICAN RULE TO DICTATORSHIP

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives
3.2 Introduction
3.3 Responses to the Constitutional Monarchy
3.4 Anarchy in France- National Convention
- Reign of Terror
3.5 The Directory
3.6 Let Us Sum Up
3.7 Further Reading
3.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
3.9 Model Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the developments under the Constitutional Monarchy and the response from the people
- describe the work of the new Republic under the National Convention and
- discuss the function of the Directory and the transformation of France to military dictatorship.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous Unit, we discussed at length on the French Revolution of 1789. The Unit deliberated on the causes leading to the Revolution, the nature of the Revolution and the responses to it.

In this Unit, we will discuss the aftermath of the French Revolution that all began with the burning of the Fort of Bastille. The Unit will highlight on the internal developments mostly the political upheaval post Revolution. The lack of political stability in France was the highlight of that period. Consequently the period was marked by the Reign of terror and there was

anarchy all over France.

Most importantly, France was going through a phase of experiments with the change in governance. Monarchy was challenged and overthrown with the formation of Republic and later a dictatorship.

3.3 RESPONSES TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

The National Assembly started framing the new constitution and it declared itself as the Constituent Assembly. The Declaration of Rights was formulated and on its basis the new constitution was to be made. The National Assembly acted as the Constituent Assembly rooted out the Old Order in France. After working hard for two years, the National Assembly framed a Constitution and announced the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" on 27th August, 1789. It was based on Rousseau's view as discussed in his famous work "The Social Contract". This Declaration contained the rights which the people could inherently enjoy. The principles were so universal that the appeal of Declaration touched the heart of entire people of Europe. Following fundamental rights were granted to the citizens:

- Men are born free and are equal in rights
- Article II mentioned the natural rights of the people, which cannot be taken away by anybody. They are the right to liberty, property, security and resistance to expression.
- Liberty was defined as the power to do anything that does not harm another.
- Sovereignty resided in the nation only.
- All citizens were equal before law. They had a right to enjoy equal opportunity in the society.
- Right of property was sacred and inviolable. No one could be deprived of his property without payment of just compensation.
- Article VII and IX mentioned that no man could be indicted without authority of law. Everybody had the right to express themselves, freedom of speech. Every public servant was responsible to the people.

The Declaration heralded the dawn of a new order in Europe. It raised a high optimism in the mind of men as a charter of their liberty. It borrowed its idea from Rousseau and also from the American and English Constitutions. Many of its significant clauses condemned the wrongs under which the Frenchmen had suffered under ancient regime. Therefore, the Declaration was a formulation of purely abstract doctrines unrelated to the historical context.

However the Declaration was a half hearted document. Though it proclaimed equal rights of men, it did not assert their political or social equality. It only proclaimed the rights of men and not their duties. It was marked by bourgeoise love for property. It had also not mentioned about the equal rights to vote for all the citizens. It also did not mention about the improvement of the deplorable condition of the slaves. But despite its shortcomings, the Declaration was significant.

The Constituent Assembly felt the need of a religious settlement in France. The Deputies of the Constituent Assembly agreed with the suggestions given by Camus that church should be brought under the state. By a Decree dated February 19, 1790 the French Church was nationalised. The monasteries and monkish living houses were abolished. The authority of Roman Pope on the French Church was abolished. Monastic system, papal right of appointment of church officers, payment of tithe and other taxes to the Church, were abolished. A new order in the Church of France was laid down. By a law named the civil constitution of the clergy. The Church became a department of the state. The old territorial limits of the bishoprics were abolished. Each administrative department was to have an elected bishop. Each Commune was to have an elected local priest. The Church officials were to be paid by the State. The Pope could no longer draw money from French church. Toleration was granted to all creeds. The priest was asked to take oath to obey the civil constitution.

The declaration proclaimed the equal right of all men and their freedom. The constitution was finally adopted in 1791. A constitutional monarchy was established with the king as the head of the executive with some limited veto power and the power to choose his own ministers. The

4.3 COUP D'ÉTAT OF 1799

Napoleon Bonaparte was born on 15th August, 1769 at Ajaccio in Corsica. At the age of seventeen in 1786, Napoleon joined the army as an artillery officer and soon distinguished himself as a good military official.

In France, from 1795 to 1799, the executive power had been entrusted to the ***Directory***. The first question that confronted it was the question of continuing the war against the enemies of the republic. The Directory planned a double attack upon the Austrians, one through Germany and the other through Italy. The responsibility of the Italian campaign was given to Napoleon Bonaparte.

Napoleon and his army quickly appeared before the gates of Turin and compelled the Sardinians to sue for peace by the cession of Savoy and Nice. Next he turned against the Austrians and entered Milan in triumph. The Austrians were driven out of Lombardy. Napoleon next besieged Mantua. The Austrians made repeated efforts to relieve Mantua but were totally beaten at Bassano, Arcola and Rivloli. Venice was also conquered by the French. The Italian programme of Napoleon also included an attack upon the ***Papacy***. He invaded the ***Papal*** territory and forced upon the Pope, the Treaty of Tolentino by which the latter agreed to cede territories and recognize the newly formed republics in Italy. Napoleon next crossed the Alps and by a rapid march came within the striking distance of Vienna. This sudden move frightened the Austrian Emperor Francis II. He concluded a peace with Napoleon by the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797). By this treaty Austria ceded Belgium to France and recognized the French possession of the Ionian Islands and the extension of the French frontiers up to the Rhine. She also recognized the two republics namely the Ligurian Republic and the Cisalpine Republic which Napoleon had created in Italy. In return for these concessions, France gave Venice to Austria.

After the Italian campaign, Napoleon was received with enthusiasm at home. The Directory appointed him the commander of the army for the invasion of England. But a direct invasion of England was impossible without a powerful fleet. So, Napoleon advised the Directory to carry out an

save France from internal and external danger. The defeat of France under Dumoriez, who belonged to Girondists, gave a chance for a new clash between the Girondists and the Mountain (Jacobins). The difference soon led to the arrest of as many as 31 Girondists leaders. A reign of terror was let loose by the Jacobins under the leadership of Robespierre, Danton and Marat.

With the expulsion of the Girondists, the Jacobins took over. France was hounded by enemies within and without. Within France a discontented group, who were opposed to the revolutionist, was growing up. They did not appreciate the supremacy of the Paris Commune over the other departments; rather, they wished for all the departments to be equal. Meanwhile, the peasants of La Vendee rose up in revolt incited by priests, and called for the abolition of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. They protested against compulsory military service. Faced with such a situation the Jacobins created a new Committee of Public Safety under Robespierre which consisted of 12 members with unlimited executive powers.

The Committee of Public Safety was nothing but a machine for the spread of terror. Its activities were aimed to create fear in the minds of the pro-monarchical and the anti-revolutionists. Those who were suspected were arrested by the law of suspect put to a speedy trial by the revolutionary tribunal, and guillotined at the square of the revolution. The committee took efforts to quell the internal revolts and encounter external enemies. France won against the European coalition. The English were defeated at Hondschoote, the Austrians at Wattignies, Belgium were recovered, Toulon recaptured, Holland occupied and by the Treaty of Basle in 1795, Prussia and Spain made peace with France. Now with no dangers, external and internal, questions arose with regard to the reign of terror. The Hebertist (most extreme section of the Jacobins) were in favour of ultra - revolutionary measures like worship of reason rather than Catholic faith and called for the closure of all the places of worship in Paris. But the Hebertists' were all sent to the guillotine by Robespierre and they were soon followed by the Dantonists due to their moderate policies which Robespierre regarded as dangerous. Robespierre now became the leader and promoted terror with

more vigour. This only helped him to make more enemies than friends and at last Robespierre and his associates were arrested and Robespierre himself was executed on 28 July.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions :

Q 1: When did the Legislative Assembly meet?

.....

Q 2: Who were the Emigres?

.....

Q 3: Name the two Republican groups in the Legislative Assembly.

.....

Q 4: When was King Louise XVI executed?

.....

3.5 THE DIRECTORY

The Constitution of 1795 was the third Constitution of the Revolutionary period. It was also known as the Constitution of Year III. The National Convention was dissolved after framing this constitution on 26th October 1795. It was prepared keeping in view the principle of democracy. Much stress was given on rights and duties. The framers of the Constitution of 1795 represented the bourgeois order. Rejection of manhood suffrage was the keynote of the plan of 1795. It gave political power to the propertied bourgeois. The main features of the Constitution were-

Executive :

The power of the Executive was laid in the Committee of five powers known as the Directors. One among them was to lead the Directory. He was supposed to be the resident of France. The office of the Directory was established at Luxemburg. The Directory appointed the ministers and thus the Cabinet was formed. The Directors kept a tab on the law and order situation of the country.

Legislative :

It had two chambers. The first chamber was called “The Council of

UNIT 4: ERA OF NAPOLEON

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objective
4.2 Introduction
4.3 Coup d’état of 1799
- Rise of Napoleon

4.4 Reforms of Napoleon as the First Consul
4.5 Territorial Expansion: Continental System
4.6 Fall of Napoleon
4.7 Let Us Sum Up
4.8 Further Reading
4.9 Answers to Check Your Progress
4.10 Model Question

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- discuss how Napoleon Bonaparte came to power, and describe the growth of his Empire wing to his policy of territorial expansion,
- discuss the internal reforms initiated by Napoleon Bonaparte and
- explain the Continental System of Napoleon Bonaparte and also his gradual fall from grace.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

In the last Unit, we have discussed the period of transition that France underwent post the Revolution of 1789. The Bourbon monarchy was abolished in France and a republic was proclaimed. But Napoleon Bonaparte once again established himself as the Emperor of France, re-establishing monarchy there.

In this unit, we will discuss in details the rise and fall of Napoleon Bonaparte. Through this Unit, we will be able to understand Napoleon as a leader through his foreign policy and his achievement as a ruler through his reforms.

Ans to Q No 8: The Royalists were not satisfied because it gave no importance to the then king.



3.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (Answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: Who were the Dantonists?

Q 2: What was the provision of the Declaration of Pillnitz?

Q 3: When did France declare war on Austria?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Write short notes on the Girondists and the Jacobins.

Q 2: Write short notes on :

a) The National Assembly

b) The Directory

C) Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q 1: Narrate the circumstances that led to the end of monarchy in France.

Q 2: Discuss the participation of the intellectual class in the French Revolution

Q 3: How was the French Republic transformed into a military dictatorship?

*** ***** ***

Five Hundred" and the second chamber was known as "The Council of Ancients". The former consisted of 500 members while the latter was composed on 250 members. One must be at least 30 years to be a member of "The Council of Five Hundred" and to be a member of The Council of Ancients, one must have attained the age of 40 years. The former chamber proposed laws and legislations, while the function of the latter was to approve or disapprove the laws proposed by the first Chamber.

Rules of election :

The property was the basis of election. The people who used to pay tax to the government had the right of election. It was provided in the Constitution that 1/3rd of its members were to retire every year and in the early election 2/3rd members would be elected from the outgoing members of the National Convention. This provision was laid down with a view so that the Royalists might not be elected in a great number in the legislature. This provision not only annoyed the Royalists but also the middle class who felt deeply concerned with it and revolted against the National Convention on 5th October, 1795. Barras crushed this revolt with the help of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Demerits of the Constitution :

- The right of vote was awarded on the basis of property which deprived most of the people from the right to vote. The Democrats opposed the constitution due to this anomaly.
- The royalists were not satisfied because it gave no importance to the then king.
- No provision was made to remove the differences between the executive and the legislative.
- The members of the executive were neither responsible to the legislature nor to the people. They could be removed from their post only by impeachment.

Causes of the downfall of Directory :

With the death of Robespierre, a mild regime followed. The last remnant of the reign of terror was dissolved. A constitution was drawn up known as the "Constitution of the Year III". The executive power was

entrusted to the Directory of five members and there were two houses to carry out the legislative duties-Council of Five Hundred and the Council of the Ancients. The convention also provided that two-thirds of the new legislative should be chosen from amongst the deputies of the present convention, thus disallowing the monarchical element within the legislature. Soon, an insurrection followed as the royalists groups were dissatisfied with the convention. Napoleon Bonaparte, one of the Directors took the lead and saved the convention which was eventually dissolved on October 26. The Directory turned its attention towards foreign policy in which they made many blunders. Its domestic policy was equally unpopular. All this led to a ***coup d'etat*** by Sieyes and Napoleon and on November 9, 1799, the Directory was overthrown and a Consulate came up in its place. Napoleon was chosen as the first Consul. 1799, the Directory was overthrown and a Consulate came up in its place. Napoleon was chosen as the first Consul.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions :

Q 5: The Directory was overthrown by a coup. Who led the coup?

.....

Q 6: Who was chosen as the First Consul?

.....

Q 7: What was the other popular name of the Jacobins?

.....

Q 8: Why were the Royalists not in favour of the Directory?

.....



3.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, we have learned that-

- The revolution paved the way for the establishment of Constitutional monarchy. The Constituent Assembly announced the Declaration of the Rights of Man by which fundamental rights were granted to the French citizen.
- The peace after the Declaration however did not last long as the discontentment spread and soon France was caught up in a state of civil war. The conflict was mainly between the Constitutionalists and the Republicans.
- Once the Republican Government was established, France faced a tense situation. There was chaos and anarchy in france.
- The Directory only made it worse. There was insurrection led by Napoleon who was successful in his attempt to establish a dictatorship in France.



3.7 FURTHER READING

1) Ketelbey, C. D. M. (2000): *A Short History of Modern Europe*. New Delhi, India: Surjeet Publications.

2) Hayes, C. J. H. (1963): *Modern Europe to 1870*. New York, USA: MacMillan.



3.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: October 11, 1791.

Ans to Q No 2: Those that migrated from France and tried to curb the French Revolution by aiding the foreign countries.

Ans to Q No 3: Girondists and the Jacobins.

Ans to Q No 4: 1792

Ans to Q No 5: 1793

Ans to Q No 6: Napoleon Bonaparte

Ans to Q No 7: The Mountain

a failure which eventually brought about his downfall.

After defeating the Austrians at Wagram, Napoleon had forced Austria to sign the Treaty of Schonbrunn by which she had to pay a heavy indemnity and had to make territorial cessions on the Polish, Alpine and Adriatic frontiers. The Austrian Emperor also had to give his daughter, Maria Lousia, in marriage to Napoleon. But this matrimonial alliance between Austria and Napoleon offended the Czar of Russia. This rift between the two powers further increased with the refusal of the Czar to increase the rigours of Napoleon's economic blockade of England. Moreover, the Czar wanted to modify the Continental System as Russian was incurring heavy financial loss. Hence, Napoleon thought to bring Czar Alexander to terms by a smashing victory over the Russians like that of Friedland. Napoleon followed the Russians with his dogged energy, defeating them at Bordino, and finally occupying Moscow (1812). The Russians deserted their ancient capital and set it on fire. This compelled Napoleon to retreat during which his army was exposed to indescribable hardships of hunger and exhaustion, intensified by the rigour of a Russian winter and the harassing attacks of the Cossack guerrilla bands. Napoleon deserted the army and hurried to Paris. This ill-fated expedition shattered the military power of Napoleon and encouraged the powers of Central Europe to shake off his domination.

The Russian disaster had sent a ray of hope to the enemies of Napoleon. Prussia was the first to rise. The enthusiasm of the people swept away the timid irresolution of King Frederick William III and forced him to sign a treaty of alliance with the Czar at Kalisch and declare war against Napoleon. Berlin was recovered from the French. The **War of Liberation** (1813) was now fairly afoot. Austria too joined the European coalition when Napoleon refused the terms of peace as proposed by Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor, Bernadotte, king of Sweden inspite of once being one of Napoleon's marshals joined the allies and England agreed to help him. Thus was formed the **Fourth Coalition** against France. Napoleon's generals were defeated in several engagements but he defeated the Austrians at Dresden. This was his last great victory. But the odds against him were too heavy. The allies closed upon him at Leipzig and there, in three days' battle

expedition for the conquest of Egypt, the key to the East. This would be an indirect blow to England. The Directors agreed to his proposal and Napoleon set sail for Egypt in May, 1798. Napoleon conquered Malta and won the famous Battle of the Pyramids which made him the master of the Nile basin. But the English admiral Nelson followed him closely and in the Battle of the Nile, he completely destroyed the French fleet. In the meantime, a new European coalition known as the **Second Coalition** was successful in driving Napoleon out of Germany and Italy.

The Directory was discredited by these reverses and the Directors were losing the popular support. Their domestic policy too was weak and unpopular. Taking advantage of the unpopularity of the Directors, Sieyes (one of the Directors) and Napoleon joined hands. They organized a ***coup d'etat***, and overthrew the Directory on November 9, 1799. This is known as the **Coup d'etat of 18th Brumaire**.

- **Rise of Napoleon**

After the overthrow of the Directory a new constitution was framed for France in 1799. Under that constitution the executive power was put in the hands of the Consulate consisting of three Consuls to be elected by the Senate for 10 years. Sieyes, Ducos and Napoleon Bonaparte were the three Consuls with Napoleon being appointed as the First Consul. Soon Napoleon consolidated his position by dismissing Sieyes and Ducos and appointed two new Consuls who were not strong enough to oppose him.

The first problem of the Consulate was to meet the **Second Coalition** formed against France and to recover the ground lost during Napoleon's absence in Egypt. Meanwhile, Russia withdrew from the coalition leaving Austria and England to face France. Napoleon sent Moreau to attack the Austrians from Germany and he himself set out to meet them in Italy. He crossed the St. Bernard Pass and unexpectedly appeared before the Austrians. In the battle that followed at Marengo the Austrians were completely defeated and Napoleon recovered all of Italy at one stroke (1800). A few months later Moreau also won a decisive victory over the Austrians at Hohenlinden, which opened the road to Vienna. These reverses compelled Emperor Francis II of Austria to sue for peace. By the Peace of Luneville,

Austria reconfirmed all the cessions made to France by the Treaty of Campo Formio, and agreed that the Rhine should remain the boundary of France on the East.

After the Peace of Luneville, the only member of the Coalition that held out against France was England. Napoleon turned to diplomacy and made use of the grievances of neutral powers against England. The British ships used to search neutral ships for French goods. Napoleon instigated the Russian Czar to revive against England the Armed Neutrality, consisting of Russia, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark in order to prevent England from searching neutral ships for French goods. But this league was not successful against England and Napoleon was inclined to conclude peace with England. By the Peace of Amiens (1802), which followed, England restored all conquests from France. England agreed to recognize French annexations in Europe and to abandon all intervention in continental affairs.

In 1802, Napoleon managed to transform the Consulate for 10 years to one for life, with the right to name his successor. This step made him the absolute ruler of France and brought him within view of the throne. In the meantime, a royalist conspiracy was made on the life of Napoleon which rather served to emphasize his pre-eminence. Then in May, 1804 Napoleon proclaimed himself the **Emperor of the French** as this change was being demanded by the interests of the French people. A plebiscite ratified this change of constitution by a majority of more than three and a half million votes.

4.4 REFORMS OF NAPOLEON AS THE FIRST CONSUL

During the short interval of peace which followed the Treaties of Luneville and Amiens, Napoleon devoted himself to the task of reorganizing the government of France and building up afresh the fabric of social order. His aims were to heal the wounds of the nation, to secure efficiency of administration, and to ensure a large measure of social and fiscal “equality”. But he was opposed to the principle of “liberty”. Following are some of the major reforms:

reverses at Baylen and Vimiero. The French commander Junot was compelled to evacuate Portugal by the Convention of Cintra.

The news of reverses at Baylen and Vimiero called for Napoleon to take more energetic action in Spain. Already both the Portuguese and the Spaniards were able to receive the help of England. In Austria there was also the outburst of nationalism being infected by Spanish nationalism. Hence, Napoleon renewed his alliance with Russia by the Convention of Erfurt to counteract the hostile attitude of Austria. With his position being secured in Central Europe, Napoleon burst upon Spain at the head of a large army. He defeated the Spanish armies in several encounters, entering Madrid in triumph and reinstalled his brother Joseph Bonaparte on the Spanish throne. He then turned to crush the British army under Sir John Moore as they have marched into Northern Spain to assist the Spanish in organizing a resistance in the South. However, as Austria was threatening to declare war, Napoleon had to return to France leaving the Spanish responsibility under Marshal Soult. In the absence of Napoleon, Sir John Moore defeated the French armies though he was himself killed in the action. Thus the latter spoiled Napoleon’s plan enabling Southern Spain to organise resistance to French rule.

With the death of Moore, Wellesley was appointed to the chief command. He opened his Italian campaign by driving the French army under Soult, out of Portugal. Then in 1809 he defeated the French at the Battle of Talavera and prepared to march upon Madrid. But the French army under Soult regained its position forcing Wellesley to retreat to Portugal. In the meantime Napoleon successfully defeated Austria at Wagram and sent his best general Massena with a large army to expel the English from Portugal. But he was not successful. Under such a situation in 1812 the Russians attempted to invade France which distracted the French. Taking this opportunity Wellesley captured the fortresses of Ciudad, Rodrigo and Badajoz and routed the French at Salamanca. He then occupied Madrid, but only for a short period. But when the French army under Soult was called away to Germany, Wellesley turned towards Spain, defeated its ruler Joseph severely at Vittoria. Napoleon’s attempt to conquer Spain was thus

seized and treated as a prize. The Berlin and the Milan decrees formed what is called Napoleon's Continental System. At Tilsit he secured the adhesion of Russia to this scheme of destroying England's trade.

However, the plan of Napoleon was not successful. The British fleet controlled the seas and no colonial goods could be obtained except through British vessels. Although English commerce was put to great disadvantage, it went on as before. But the commerce of the continental states was ruined. The result was that the prices of the necessary commodities of life went up enormously and the inhabitants of the European continent suffered greatly. The subject allies of France became discontented with Napoleon and his rule became hateful to the population.

Still for Napoleon the conquest of Europe was not complete with Russia remaining as a formidable enemy of France. In 1807 the French army fought a fierce battle with the Russians in the battle field of Eyleau. On June 14, 1807, Napoleon defeated the Russians at Friedland. The Czar Alexander I at once sued for peace and the Treaty of Tilsit were signed between them. By this treaty Napoleon created new kingdoms out of the Prussian territory. Russian losses were restored. The most important feature of the treaty was that it was followed by an alliance between Russia and France.

4.6 FALL OF NAPOLEON

Napoleon was at the height of his power in 1807. He occupied Portugal in order to bring her within his Continental System. Then in 1808, he occupied Spain putting his own brother Joseph Bonaparte on the Spanish throne. In the North-West, Napoleon annexed Holland in 1810 because his brother Louis Napoleon, who ruled there, refused to sacrifice the interests of his Dutch subjects by enforcing the Continental System. Next, he annexed a considerable portion of North Germany up to the Baltic in order to close the Northern coastline of Europe to British ships. He also conquered Genoa and Tuscany in Italy and then added the Papal States. He tried to bring Denmark and Sweden within his Continental League against England, but was unsuccessful in his attempt. Even in Spain the French had to face

- He reduced the elected councils to impotence and placed the departments and smaller administrative units, such as communes, in the hands of prefect, sub-prefects and mayors who were all appointed either directly or indirectly by himself. This system restored order but ignored the ideas of self-government.
- To enlist the sympathy of every section of the community, he did away with all party distinctions. The émigrés and the nonjuring clergy were sympathetically treated, and offices were thrown open to all including the Royalists and Girondists. As the Civil Constitution of the Clergy had alienated a considerable section of the people, Napoleon sought to win their gratitude by restoring the Roman Catholic Church. He came to an agreement with the Pope in 1801, known as the Concordat. By it Catholicism was recognized as the "religion of the great majority of the French people". The Catholic Church was made dependent on the state. This measure healed the ***schism*** in the Church and thus gave great satisfaction to the mass of the population.
- However, his great achievement in the work of internal re-construction was the Civil Code known as the **Code of Napoleon**. His famous code gave to France a common system of law, at once clear, orderly, and systematic and thereby made justice rapid, cheap and reliable. It established social equality in the eyes of law, secured religious toleration to all and perpetuated much of the social gains that had been won by the revolution.

  As part of his economic reforms, Napoleon founded the Bank of France. He encouraged trade and industry. For developing the education system, he reorganized and improved national education, both higher and primary. He also created a new aristocracy of merit by instituting the **Legion of Honour**. This satisfied the French love of glory. He thus created a new aristocracy faithful to himself.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 1: When and where was Napoleon Bonaparte born?

.....

Q 2: Between whom was the Treaty of Campo Formio concluded?

.....

Q 3: Name the three Consuls of the Consulate in France.

.....

Q 4: When did Napoleon proclaim himself as the Emperor of the French?

.....

4.5 TERRITORIAL EXPANSION: CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

For 10 years from 1804 to1814 Napoleon remained the Emperor of France. After consolidating his position at home, Napoleon started to follow an aggressive policy of territorial expansion. He once again started the revival of the colonial policy of the Bourbons.

The truce with England secured by the Treaty of Amiens proved to be short lived. Napoleon complained that England refused to evacuate Malta. On the other hand, the English demanded that France should evacuate Holland and Switzerland. But both France and England were in no mood to evacuate their occupied territory and war became inevitable. Napoleon seized Hanover, the hereditary German possession of the English king and closed its ports to British ships. He then made naval preparations for the invasion of England. But at the Battle of Trafalgar (1805), the British admiral, Nelson, defeated the combined French and Spanish fleet destroying the French naval power and all possibility of the invasion of England.

Meanwhile, Russia and Austria were antagonized with the rise of Napoleon. Austria resented Napoleon's aggression in Italy where she had been once the dominant power. Under such a situation the British Prime

Minister, Pitt the Younger formed the **Third Coalition** against France.

Napoleon on hearing about the Coalition acted rapidly. He advanced towards Austria and reached the Danube surrounding the Austrian army at Ulm on 20th October, 1805. Then he entered Vienna. On December 2, 1805 Napoleon won the Battle of Austerlitz against the Austrians. This victory of France resulted in the withdrawal of Austria from the **Third Coalition** and reduced her to a second class power.

After Austria, Napoleon turned his attention towards the German states. He started the task of reconstructing the German political system. On July 19, 1806 the Confederation of the Rhine was formally proclaimed under French patronage. The Confederation of the Rhine destroyed the Holy Roman Empire.

Prussia which had so far remained neutral finally joined the **Third Coalition**. Napoleon had earlier gifted Hanover to Prussia. But when England became aware of this fact during some peace negotiations, Napoleon decided to restore Hanover to the English. This angered Prussia. She formed an alliance with Russia and declared war against France. But the Prussian armies received a crushing blow at the two Battles of Jena and Auerstadt and Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph (1806).

Although Napoleon was victorious everywhere, but his power was military rather than naval. He therefore, found it impossible to make a direct attack upon England. Therefore, in 1806 the **Continental System** was formed. France being a land power and not a naval power, Napoleon found it impossible to make a direct attack upon England. Therefore, he sought to bring England to terms indirectly by ruining her trade and commerce upon which her power depended. He sought for the closure of every continental market to British goods which would prove to be a fatal blow to England. Thus, in 1806, he issued from Berlin a series of ***decree***s declaring a blockade of the British Isles and forbidding all commerce with them. All British goods were ordered to be seized. England retaliated by Orders in Council which forbade all trade with ports belonging to France or her allies. Thereupon, Napoleon issued his **Milan Decree** (1807) by which he declared that any ship of any country which should touch at a British port, was liable to be

By the Article VI of the Quadruple Alliance, it was also agreed that the signatory powers should meet from time to time in diplomatic Congresses to discuss any problems which might arise and to decide what would be 'most salutary for the peace and prosperity of peace. This proposal became the foundation of the 'Concert of Europe'. The years that followed the 'Quadruple Alliance' have been called the »Age of Congresses¼. On several occasions, the members of European Concert met together at specific places to discuss questions that called for collective deliberations.

- **Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818)**

The first congress of the Concert of Europe was held at Aix-la-Chapelle in the year 1818. There the powers permanently decided the position of France. As France promptly paid off the indemnity to the Allied Powers, the Allied army occupying French soil was withdrawn and France was admitted as the fifth great power to the Quadruple Alliance making it a Quintuple Alliance. The Five Powers now began their fresh conquest and in this regard, they called upon the king of Monaco to rule in a proper way and to check the territorial ambition of Bavaria. The king of Sweden was asked to give an account for ignoring the treaty rights in his dealings with Norway and Denmark. The elector of Hesse was denied the title of king; Bavaria was deprived of the Rhenish Palatinate due to a verdict passed by the Five Powers.

But on questions involving their own conflict of interests they failed to overcome their mutual jealousies and to take concerted action. England refused to take any action in the rebellious Spanish colonies of Spain due to their commercial interest. Similarly Russian ships were prevented from making inroads into the Mediterranean to bring down the pirates.

- **Congress of Troppau (1820) :** The next congress was held at Troppau in 1820, where the rift initiated at the first congress became wider. All the members of the European Concert condemned the revolutions that broke out that year in Naples, Spain and Portugal. Metternich urged all the powers to view the revolution as common concern of all the states as it might infect them. He thereby advocated the principle of intervention in suppressing revolution everywhere. But the English Foreign Minister, Lord

known as **The Battle of the Nations**, they overwhelmed him with superior numbers in 1813. With the defeat of Leipzig, Napoleon's political structure in Germany collapsed. The Confederation of the Rhine was dissolved. Holland was made independent.

The allies offered Napoleon peace on the basis of the "natural boundaries" of France, the Rhine, the Alps and the Pyrenees. But Napoleon refused them. So, the allies invaded France from all directions. At La Rothiere he was defeated by the Prussian general Blucher and was again offered peace at Chatillon on the basis of the frontiers of 1791 France. He, however, refused the terms and avenged himself on Blucher by defeating him in four successive engagements. He defeated another army of invasion at Montereau and sought to detach Austria from the Allies. Thereupon, the four great Allied Powers, namely, England, Russia, Prussia and Austria – concluded the Treaty of Chaumont, making an alliance for twenty years. Slowly and gradually on March 30, 1814, the Allies entered Paris. Napoleon, finding that his marshals had deserted him, was forced to abdicate. By the Treaty of Fontainebleau he abandoned his European position and had to retire to the island of Elba where he was allowed to exercise his sovereignty.

A congress was held at Vienna to settle the affairs of Europe. But the powers quarreled over the spoils of victory. In February, 1815, Napoleon suddenly escaped from Elba and landed near Cannes in France. Louis XVIII, the newly reinstated French king fled across the border and Napoleon entered Paris amidst the wildest acclamations. The restoration of Napoleon is called the Hundred Days. As soon as the European powers heard of Napoleon's escape they reunited against Napoleon. It was in the Battle of Waterloo (1815) that Napoleon was finally defeated and surrendered to the Captain of a British ship. He was exiled by the English in the Island of St. Helena where he died six years later in 1821.

In short, the Continental System was one of the greatest blunders of Napoleon. To enforce the System, Napoleon followed a policy of systematic aggression upon other European countries which led to a series of costly wars, exhausting him of men and money. His attempt to destroy England by ruining its powerful economy backfired and became one of the main

causes of his downfall.

Another cause of his downfall was his harsh treatment of the Pope. He demanded that the Papal ports should be closed against British ships but the Pope replied that he would remain neutral. Thereupon Napoleon imprisoned the Pope and annexed his territories. These activities of Napoleon shocked the Catholic nations of Europe and did much to shake the fabric of Napoleon's power.

The fall of Napoleon began with the Spanish expedition. It was this "Spanish Ulcer" that ultimately led to the doom of Napoleon. Napoleon's interference in the affairs of Spain by declaring Joseph Bonaparte as the king of Spain was disastrous. England extended its support to Spain and thus Napoleon was caught in a long drawn war. Napoleon was surrounded by officers and generals who were deceitful and treacherous.

The next campaign was against Austria. France was left isolated by it powerful allies and made weak and vulnerable by its unfaithful friends. Though Russia allied with France, yet the bond was fragile. It was the control in the Near East that brought Russia and France in direct conflict. Napoleon sent his army to attack Moscow, but the hurdles encountered during the march came at a heavy cost. He lost most of his men and his resources were depleted to a huge extent due to the strong generalship of the enemy and the extreme weather conditions. Even then, Napoleon won several victories and was able to keep hold but he was heavily outnumbered by his rivals and in April 7, 1814, he abdicated as the Emperor of France.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 5 : During which period did Napoleon remain the Emperor of France?

.....

Q 6 : Name the battle in which Admiral Nelson defeated the combined French and Spanish fleet.

.....

aggressive territorial expansionist policy and became a threat which brought Austria, Prussia, Russia and England together. This Coalition was successful in bringing the fall of Napoleon in 1815.

In this Unit, we will discuss the changes that were brought about by the victorious powers in the continent of Europe to ensure peace. The Holy Alliance, the Concert of Europe and the Congress of Vienna were attempts on the part of the European powers to establish a friendly relationship among them so that a balance of power was maintained in Europe.

5.3 THE EUROPEAN CONFEDERATION

The Congress of Vienna had sealed the triumph of reaction. It restored the pre-revolutionary conditions as far possible. But so great was the dread of the Revolution that the European powers could not rest content with devising some plans for ensuring the permanence of the Vienna Settlement. No doubt the Vienna treaties were entrusted to the collective guarantees of the powers but past experience had convinced them to the necessity of having some sort of machinery for closer international co-operation in the interest of European peace. To secure this object two conflicting schemes were put forward. The one was Holy Alliance sponsored by Czar Alexander of Russia, and the other was Concert of Europe, based on Quadruple Alliance of the big powers. It provided that the allied powers should from time to time met in the Congresses to discuss the common interests and the needs of Europe for the promotions of peace and prosperity. The Holy Alliance and the Concert of Europe are often confused unite each other, because both of them became instruments of reactionary policy in the skillful hands of them Austrian minister, Metternich.

- **The Quadruple Alliance**

The other proposal put forward was the **Quadruple Alliance** which was signed on 20 November, 1815 by Russia, Prussia, Austria and England with the objectives of the maintenance of the treaties with France, preservation of the political stability of Europe, and consolidating the friendly relations amongst the four sovereigns for the welfare of the world. This Quadruple Alliance formed the very basis of the Concert of Europe.

UNIT 5 : CONCERT OF EUROPE AND CONGRESS OF VIENNA

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 The European Confederation

- Concert of Europe
- The Quadruple Alliance
- Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle

5.4 The Holy Alliance

5.5 Congress of Vienna

- Provisions
- Significance

5.6 Let Us Sum Up

5.7 Further Reading

5.8 Answers To Check Your Progress

5.9 Model Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- describe the political chaos in Europe after the downfall of Napoleon, and political attempts to bring a balance of power,
- discuss the various alliances formed among the European powers through the Congress of Vienna and Concert of Europe and
- explain the role played by the major European powers in the attempt to establish peace.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous Unit, we learnt how Napoleon Bonaparte established his authority over France and became the master of the European Continent. We also discussed how Napoleon transformed the map of Europe with his

Q 7 : Against whom did Napoleon win the Battle of Austerlitz?

.....

Q 8 : What was the significance of the Milan Decree?

.....

Q 9 : What was the impact of the Continental System on Europe?

.....



4.7 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, we have learnt that,

- Napoleon Bonaparte was one of the greatest conquerors and by the might of his sword and Grand Army he established his mastery over almost whole of Europe.
- He formulated the Continental System to hold England in check and to destroy her by striking at her trade and commerce. Napoleon also made a series of reforms for the internal reconstruction of France, and
- His expansionist policies were aggressive which was seen as a threat and hence, the formation of Coalitions against Napoleon which ultimately brought the downfall of the Empire built by Napoleon and the man himself.



4.8 FURTHER READING

1) Hayes, C. J. H. (1963). *Modern Europe to 1870.* New York, USA: Macmillian.

2) Phukan, Meenaxi. (2000). *Rise of Modern West.* New Delhi, India: MacMillan Publishers.

3) Thomas, D. (1962). *Europe Since Napoleon* (2nd edition). London, UK: Longman.

4.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: 15th August, 1769 at Ajaccio in Corsica.

Ans to Q No 2: Napoleon Bonaparte and Emperor Francis II of Austria.

Ans to Q No 3: Sieyes, Ducos and Napoleon Bonaparte.

Ans to Q No 4: In May, 1804.

Ans to Q No 5: 1814

Ans to Q No 6: Trafalgar

Ans to Q No 7: Austrians

Ans to Q No 8: By the announcement of the **Milan Decree (1807)**, Napoleon declared that any ship of any country which should touch at a British port was liable to be seized and treated as a prize.

Ans to Q No 9: One of the impact was the prices of the necessary commodities of life went up enormously and the inhabitants of the European continent suffered greatly.

4.10 MODEL QUESIONS

A) Very Short Questions (Answer each question within 50 Words)

Q 1: Which were the powers who formed the Second Coalition against France?

Q 2: Which powers formed the Third Coalition against France?

Q 3: In which year did the Last Holy Roman Emperor Francis II formally resign?

Q 4: What is the *Legion of Honour* formed by Napoleon?

Q 5: Which European powers formed the Forth coalition against France?

Q 6: In which battle and in which year was Napoleon finally defeated?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 Words)

Q 1: What is meant by the 18th Brumaire?

Q 2: Write briefly what is the Code of Napoleon.

Q 3: Write a short note on the battle of Waterloo.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 Words)

Q 1: How did Napoleon Bonaparte become the Emperor of France?

Q 2: Discuss the rise of the Napoleonic Empire.

Q 3: Discuss the Continental System of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Q 4: Discuss the reforms introduced by Napoleon Bonaparte in France.

*** ***** ***

for the diplomats assembled there. It was the first international meeting which tried to bring peace in Europe. More than distributing the trophies of the war among the victors, the congress was directed towards resettling the disturbed continent of Europe. In making the settlements, the element of compromise was applied as far as possible and no harsh term was imposed upon France and the other defeated countries. The Peace Settlement of Vienna succeeded in bringing peace to Europe for a period of 99 years from 1815-1914.

As for the criticism of the Vienna Settlement, the statesmen present in the Congress have been accused of ignoring the forces of liberalism and nationalism that had been unleashed by the French Revolution. The Congress of Vienna ignored the sentiment of nationality while making the territorial readjustments which only fuelled the hostility of France. Later Napoleon III made it a principle of his foreign policy to wreck the Vienna Settlement.

The most influential critic of the Vienna Settlement was Sir Charles Webster. His main points of criticism were- discouraging the idea of self government and the failure to work on issues like disarmament. He is of the opinion that the statesmen were too eager to compromise and strike a deal due to their lack of faith and courage as well their narrow outlook.

Adam Zamoyski opines that the statesmen assembled at the Congress were well aware of the nationalist sentiments but they chose to ignore it and failed to acknowledge the new forces of democratic ideas which were resented by the Germans and the Italians. They calmly set aside all these national considerations in order to secure the balance of power and dynastic interests. True to the traditions of the Old Regime, they thought in terms of dynasties and states.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 5 : When was the Treaty of Paris signed?

.....

Castlereagh, supported by the French, refused to intervene and regarded revolutions as internal problems. Still at Metternich's initiative Prussia, Russia and Austria signed a declaration known as the 'Troppau Protocol' by which the three powers recognized the responsibility of stamping out revolution even at the cost of intervening in the domestic problems of a sovereign state.

- **Congress of Laibach (1821) :** The third congress was held at Laibach in 1821. In this congress the predominant interest of Austria in Italy was recognized and Austria was allowed to send forces to suppress the revolt in Naples. They successfully suppressed the revolt in Naples and also put down a liberal movement in Piedmont.
- **Congress of Verona (1822) :** In 1822 the congress was summoned at Verona. At that time revolution was going on in Spain and the Greeks revolted against Turkey. These two problems caught the attention of the European Concert. In the Greek revolt, the Russians wanted to intervene on the side of the Greeks. But Austria and England, the rivals of Russia in the ***Balkan****s* prevented her from interference in the affairs of Greece. Then the Bourbon ruler of Spain asked the Bourbon ruler of France for help in suppressing the revolt. Russia, Austria and Prussia allowed France to help Spain in suppressing the revolt. But England opposed any intervention in Spain and withdrew from the congress when other powers gave mandate for French intervention in Spain. Thus, with the withdrawal of England, the Concert of Europe broke up.

The Concert of Europe was a noble attempt as an agency for international co-operation. But it unfortunately broke up due to the mutual jealousy of the powers, lack of faith on any agreed principles and irreconcilable differences of interest on common issues.

The experiment of holding congresses emerged in the wake of Napoleonic wars as a reaction to the growing danger that lurked around. These congresses were nothing but a growing aspiration of the European powers to bring international peace.

5.4 HOLY ALLIANCE

In the post-Napoleonic period, the main concern for the states of Europe was the preservation of peace and order in the continent of Europe. An attempt in this direction was the Holy Alliance, a proposal put forward by Czar Alexander I of Russia.

Among the diplomats assembled at the Congress of Vienna, Czar Alexander I was the most liberal one, in spite of him being an autocrat in Russia. Actually, he was a man of liberal and mystical ideas. He believed that the French Revolution was essentially irreligious and for preventing the occurrence of similar kind of revolution in future all sovereigns of Europe should recognize their responsibility to God. The rulers of the European states, he believed, should apply the principles of Christianity in their dealings with one another.

There should be a spiritual Christian Alliance, a Holy Alliance among the Christian kingdoms of Europe on the basis of the Holy principles of Christianity, namely, Justice, Christian Charity (Benevolence) and Peace. He set forth his ideas in a document which contained his vision of a brotherhood of sovereigns based upon Christian ideals. It declared that the sovereigns of Europe were henceforth bound by a solemn engagement to take the precepts of Holy religion as their sole guide in governing their own subjects and in their political relations with other countries.

In September, 1815 Czar Alexander I successfully induced the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria to join the Holy Alliance. The three sovereigns together signed the Holy Alliance declaring that in the administration of their respective states and in their political relation with other states they would follow the Holy principles of Christianity. All the sovereigns of Europe, except the Pope and the Sultan of Turkey, were invited to sign the Holy Alliance and all of them signed it except the Prince-regent of England. Thus the Holy Alliance in Europe was formed.

But in practice the Holy Alliance was a failure and it came to an end with the death of Czar Alexander I in 1825. Actually, Czar Alexander I was the only sovereign among all the signatory sovereigns of the Holy Alliance

7. For her surrender of Belgium to Netherland, Venetia and Lombardy was given to Austria. The members of the Habsburg family were placed on the thrones of Parma, Modena and Tuscany. Hence, Austria got a commanding position in Italy. She also got Tyrol from Bavaria and recovered the Illyrian provinces along the Eastern coast of the Adriatic.
8. Prussia got back all her German territories taken away by Napoleon. In addition, she got Swedish Pomerenia, two-fifth of Saxony, the whole of Westphalia and most of the Rhineland. These cessations were made to Prussia so that she might act as a defence against France in the North-Eastern frontier.
9. Russia was allowed to retain Finland which she had conquered from Sweden. She was also given Bessarabia which she had captured from the Turks. Besides, she got most of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw (Poland).
10. Sweden as compensation for the cession of Finland to Russia and Pomerenia to Prussia secured Norway from Denmark. This was a punishment to Denmark as she had supported Napoleon Bonaparte.
11. In Europe, England acquired Helligoland, Malta and she enlarged with the retention of Trinidad (from Spain), Mauritius and Tobago (from France) and Ceylon and Cape of Good Hope (from Holland) thereby becoming the greatest colonial power in Europe.
12. In addition to the territorial readjustments, the Congress of Vienna made declaration favouring the abolition of the slave-trade. While France, Holland and Sweden abolished slave trade in 1815, Spain continued till 1820.
13. The Congress also confirmed the civil rights granted to the Jews by the states of German under the influence of Napoleon.
14. The Congress recommended for the free navigation of international rivers.

- **SIGNIFICANCE**

The Congress of Vienna of 1814-15 was a remarkable achievement

powers were rewarded at the cost of the defeated powers. By applying this principle, the victorious powers tried to enhance their own interest.

- **PROVISIONS OF THE VIENNA SETTLEMENT**

On the basis of the above three principles, the diplomats at Vienna arrived at a conclusion. This was the "Final Act" signed on 15th June, 1815 commonly called the **Peace Settlement of Vienna**. The provisions were:

1. The Bourbon dynasty was to be restored in France with Louis XVIII as the king. But France lost a large part of her colonial Empire. She was also forced to pay huge war indemnity. The Bourbons were also restored in Spain, Naples and Sicily.
2. The Savoy dynasty was restored in Sardinia and Piedmont. To the kingdom of Sardinia, Savoy and Piedmont were restored and Genoa was added. This was done with the intention of creating a strong kingdom on the South-Eastern frontier of France.
3. The Pope was restored with all his temporal possessions in Rome.
4. The Confederation of the Rhine established by Napoleon Bonaparte was destroyed. A loose German Confederation of the 38 German States was established under the headship of Austria. Internal autonomy was provided to the German States, but external affairs were to be controlled by the Federal Diet of the Confederation under the Presidentship of the Austrian Chancellor.
5. The Swiss Confederation established by Napoleon Bonaparte was restored and the neutrality of Switzerland was guaranteed by the powers.
6. Belgium (Austrian Netherlands) was joined with Netherland as one kingdom under the rule of the restored Dutch Prince of Orange dynasty now to be recognized as the king of the United Netherlands. This was done to compensate the Dutch and to erect a stronger state on the Northern frontier of France.

to take it very seriously. It should be noted that the Holy Alliance was honoured more in its breach than in observance. Most of the European rulers signed the Holy Alliance as they did not want to antagonize Czar Alexander I. Metternich called it ***verbiage***, and Emperor Francis of Austria, while signing it, said he did not know what it meant: "if it was a question of politics, he must refer it to his Chancellor; if of religion, to his confessor." Lord Castlereagh, the British Foreign Minister, pronounced it as "a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense." Even Pope Pius VII regarded the Holy Alliance as an attempt to reduce the Christian religion to "religiosity".

Hence, it can be said, that the Holy Alliance was a sincere attempt to bring all the European states close to one another on the noble principles of Christianity. But the application of religious principles in politics was quite impossible. Besides, the Holy Alliance was only a declaration and not a treaty and the element of compulsion of fulfilling it was not there. The Holy Alliance was the hobby of Czar Alexander -I and it came to end with his death.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions :

Q 1 : Who were known as the Vienna Powers?

.....

Q 2 : Who gave the idea for the Concert of Europe?

.....

Q 3 : Name the Sultan who was not invited to sign the Holy Alliance.

.....

Q 4 : When did the Holy Alliance come to an end?

.....

5.5 CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Napoleon Bonaparte had badly disfigured the political map of Europe. The well known boundary lines had disappeared and almost every frontier needed reconstruction. He had torn away territories from some states and added them to other states. Even many ruling dynasties had been

overthrown.

There was an urgent need to redraw the map and impose the terms of a peace treaty on France. The peacemaking process was very complex and it was stalled by the second attempt of Napoleon to assert his imperial position also known as the One Hundred Days.



LET US KNOW

One Hundred Days: After his abdication of the throne, Napoleon was meant to retire to the island of Elba. But, he took up arms and tried to win over the people and the allies but to no gain. However he suffered a defeat in the battle of Waterloo (June 18, 1815).

This return of Napoleon from his exile is termed as the One Hundred Days (20 March to 22 June, 1815).

After the overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte and his departure to the Island of Elba, the victorious powers namely, Austria, Prussia, Russia and England together with Spain, Portugal and Sweden made formal peace with France by signing the first **Treaty of Paris** in May, 1814, which restored the pre-revolutionary French frontiers of 1792 and provided for the holding of a congress of all the European powers to arrange a general peace settlement. With negotiations becoming more complex, a further conference was arranged by the Allies.

Vienna, the capital of Austria, was chosen as the venue of the congress as Austria had played the decisive part in the overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte. In order to resettle the disturbed continent of Europe all the states of Europe, except Turkey assembled at Vienna, the capital of Austria in the autumn of 1814. There at a magnificent assembly, all of them met under the Presidentship of Metternich, Chancellor (Prime Minister) of Austria. He was the most outstanding figure among the assembled diplomats with a commanding personality.

The task before the Congress was not an easy one. The immediate problem before the allies was the question of settlement with France. It was an arduous task to undo the territorial reconstruction brought by

Napoleon in the continent of Europe. The question of German nationalists also taxed the Congress, besides the issue of Prussia and Russia.

Never in Europe, prior to the Congress of Vienna, was there an august gathering of such a galaxy of crowned heads and titled dignitaries. Most prominent of them were Emperor Francis I of Austria, Czar Alexander I of Russia, King Frederick William III of Prussia, Foreign Minister Lord Castlereagh of England, Prime Minister Metternich of Austria, etc. Russia under Alexander I was interested in the creation of a larger Poland dependent on Russia. Metternich and Castlereagh shared a cordial rapport due to their conservative ideology of protecting Europe from any further Revolutions. Prussia was interested in the neighbouring territory of Saxony. France was represented by Talleyrand initially but after the return of Napoleon from Elba, he was replaced by Duc de Richelieu in September 1815.

The main business of the congress was carried on by England, Russia, Austria and Prussia. As stated above, the main task before the congress was to rebuild the European state-system demolished by Napoleon Bonaparte. The diplomats wanted to set the affairs of Europe in an orderly manner so that there would be no recurrence of revolution in future. As such, the diplomats at the Congress of Vienna followed three principles while making the territorial reconstruction of Europe.

1. **Balance of Power:** The principle of Balance of Power was directed towards providing effective safeguards for the future peace of Europe to ensure that no European state could in future become powerful like France and dominate Europe. Every kingdom should be equally powerful.
2. **Legitimacy:** By the principle of Legitimacy, the pre-revolutionary conditions were tried to be restored as far as possible. This principle was propounded by Talleyrand, the great French diplomat. As per this principle all those dynasties that were in power prior to the outbreak of French Revolution in 1789 or the rise of Napoleon were regarded as legitimate dynasties. So, these dynasties were to be restored in their respective states.
3. **Compensation:** With this principle of Compensation the victorious

leadership of Germany by introducing some federal reforms.

A war with Austria was necessary for the realization of Bismarck's great design-the unification of Germany under Prussian leadership. The opportunity came in 1863 with the revival of the Schleswig-Holstein question. Schleswig and Holstein were two duchies in the Danish Peninsula, in the North of Germany. The king of Denmark was the Duke of the two duchies. But the duchies had their separate laws and institutions which the Danish king was bound to observe. Schleswig was a ***fief*** of Denmark, while Holstein was a member of the German Confederation. The populations of these duchies were partly Danish and partly German. The Danes wanted incorporation of the duchies with Denmark and the Germans with that of the German Confederation.



LET US KNOW

The two duchies being partly inhabited by Danish and Germans, serious complications arose due to the rising nationalism in Denmark and Germany. The Duke of Augustenburg also had strong claims over the two duchies.

Earlier in 1848 the king of Denmark attempted to merge the two duchies with his kingdom. But the attempt failed due to the opposition of Prussia and the Duke of Augustenburg. By the Treaty of London in 1852, Denmark's possession of the duchies was confirmed, but their absolute incorporation into the Danish kingdom was forbidden. In 1863 the Danish king violated the Treaty of London by a constitutional claim. Bismarck at once interfered in the issue.

Bismarck in spite of having bitter relations with Austria successfully entangled her in an alliance with Prussia against Denmark. This was a great diplomatic achievement of Bismarck, for Prussia alone could not act against Denmark. The two powers delivered an ultimatum to Denmark which was refused by the Danish king and hence war was declared. In February 1864 they invaded

Q 6: Under whose Presidentship was the Congress of Vienna held?

.....

Q 7: Why was Vienna chosen as the venue of the congress?

.....



5.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that,

- the Vienna Congress and then the Concert of Europe were noble attempts to preserve peace in Europe,
- However, the alliances fell apart due to mutual jealousy and conflicting interests. The powers who were influential during this Conference (mainly Austria, Russia, Prussia, Britain) had their own interests to serve.
- The significance of the Conference lay in its role to establish peace but at the same time, it garnered a lot of criticism due to the failure of the statesmen in acknowledging the nationalist feeling of the time.



5.7 FURTHER READING

1) Hayes, C. J. H. (1963). Modern Europe to 1870. New York, USA: Macmillan.

2) Phukan, Meenaxi. (2000). Rise of Modern West: New Delhi, India: MacMillan India.

3) Thomas, D. (1962). Europe Since Napoleon (2nd edition). New Delhi, India: Surjeet Publications.

5.8 ANWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: England, Austria, Prussia and Russia.

Ans to Q No 2: Kauntiz, the Chancellor of Austria.

Ans to Q No 3: Sultan of Turkey

Ans to Q No 4: 1825

Ans to Q No 5: 1814

Ans to Q No 6: Metternich

Ans to Q No 7: It was because Austria had played the decisive part in the overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte.

5.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words):

Q 1: Which three principles guided the diplomats of the Vienna Congress in Reconstruction of the political map of Europe?

Q 2: Name the four congresses of the Concert of Europe.

Q 3: When was the Aix-la-Chapelle signed?

Q 4: How was France treated by the European powers in the Congress of Vienna?

Q 5: What was the provision of the Second Treaty of Paris (1815)?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words):

Q 1: Write in brief what is meant by the battle of the Nations.

Q 2: What is the importance of the concert of Europe?

Q 3: What happened to the Swiss Confederation in the Congress of Vienna?

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 500 words):

Q 1: Explain the significance of the Holy Alliance.

Q 2: Give reasons for the failure of the Concert of Europe.

Q 3: Discuss the provisions of the Congress of Vienna. To what extent were the powers satisfied with the arrangement?

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even had a Constitution and created a Parliament. This had created hopes of the patriots and nationalists in Prussia for their unification.

The international situation also favoured Prussia. The Crimean War had alienated Russia from Austria and made her a friend of Prussia. Again, a change came over Prussia when William I (1797-1888) succeeded Frederick William IV in 1861 and became the King of Prussia. He was then 64 years old. He wanted Prussia to become the leader of Germany. His entire lifetime had been spent in the army, which he loved passionately. He believed that Prussia's destinies were dependent upon her army. For that he appointed efficient persons like Von Moltke as Chief of the General Staff, Von Roon as the War Minister and Bismarck as the Minister-President. William I even demanded appropriations which parliament declined to grant him. The king was urged to abolish parliament altogether. But he did not do so because he had sworn to support the constitution. William I wanted to make Prussia the most powerful nation in Europe.

6.3.4 Bismarck and Modern Germany

Otto Von Bismarck became the Minister-President of Prussia on September 23, 1862 at a critical stage of her history. His services were requisitioned to control and subdue the Parliament which had rejected the request of the king for sanctioning budget for strengthening the Prussian army. Bismarck was of the opinion that the unification of Germany could be brought about only by waging a war. Hence, he was in complete agreement with William I on the question of reform in the army. He realized that for Prussia to lead the unification of Germany, her armies should not only be strong but also more powerful than those of her enemies. Diplomatic preparations were also to be made. Bismarck successfully prevented King William I of Prussia from attending the Congress of German Princess, thereby ruining the attempt of Austria to consolidate her

Sporadic revolts had broken out in Germany following the February Revolution of France in 1830. In the year 1848 and 1849 the liberal elements of Germany had made an earnest effort to achieve national unity. They called a National Parliament at Frankfurt. But this was rejected by the sovereigns of the leading states: Austria and Prussia. The old confederation was restored, resuming its sessions in May, 1851.Though, the hopes for the German unification were dashed to the ground, it produced some good results.

- It was realized that German unity could not be achieved so long as Austria remained the supreme authority in their country and regulated her affairs through the Federal Diet.
- It was also realized that so long as the German Princes were not brought round to the idea of German unity, the entire attempt to reform the country would fail.
- Another fact that emerged from the failure of 1848 was that the German unification could not be achieved by a popular movement undirected by the Princes.



LET US KNOW

For the unification of Germany three things needed to be done namely, the abolition of the German confederation; expulsion of Austria from Germany and new adjustment of relations with the Princes in order to persuade them to accept a politically unified Germany.

If Austria was to be expelled from Germany then in her place a new leader should be found to rule the country, which could fulfill the hopes of the nationalists. Prussia seemed fittest for such a leadership. She was looked upon as the natural leader of German unity inspite of her betrayal on two occasions. The faith upon her was natural as she stood heroically against Napoleon Bonaparte and her armies had fought bravely for the whole of Germany. Even her economic leadership entitled her to political leadership. She had

UNIT 6: UNIFICATION OF GERMANY AND ITALY

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives
6.2 Introduction
6.3 Unification of Germany
6.3.1 Metternich and his Policy
6.3.2 The Germanic Confederation
6.3.3 The Frankfurt Assembly of 1848
6.3.4 Bismarck and Modern Germany
6.4 Unification of Italy
6.4.1 Vienna Congress and Italy
6.4.2 Carbonari, Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi
6.5 Let Us Sum Up
6.6 Further Reading
6.7 Answer to Check Your Progress
6.8 Model Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- discuss the background of the Italian Unification Movement,
- explain the role of eminent personalities in the unification of Italy and,
- describe the role of Metternick and Bismarck in the unification of Germany.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous Unit, we discussed the Peace Settlement that was forged in Vienna and the various alliances that were made post Vienna Conference. We discussed at length the provisions of the Conference and its significance for the European nations.

In this Unit, we will be discussing the unification of Italy and Germany. The Unit will throw light on the aspirations of the people in the wake of the spirit of nationalism and the respective role of the leaders in unifying their nation.

6.3 UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

Germany comprised of a number of princely states which were always fighting among themselves for supremacy. The ideas of the French Revolution had aroused nationalist aspiration among the Germans. But the settlement of the Congress of Vienna upset all chances of German unification. The ousted princes were restored to their states and all nationalist aspirations were curbed by strong reactionary measures. Thus, the old local divisions were once again established and Austria was given control of the German States also.

6.3.1 Metternich and his Policy

Metternich played a key role at Vienna in 1815, which was meant to keep Europe safe from French and Russian intrusion. He had no love for Revolution and hence he detested any reform movement. He made all efforts to curb any self-determination struggle or movement. He stood for the restoration of the ancient regime. He created a political idea on which was built the post war settlement among the European powers.

Clemont von Metternich was the most significant conservative statesman in Europe during the period 1814-48. As well as dominating affairs within the Austrian Empire, he often dictated policies within the German Confederation and the Italian states, and directly influenced the pattern of international relations through the medium of the Concert of Europe. He has been credited by some historians with having devised a method of working, known as the “Metternich System”. This system represented Metternich’s efforts to maintain the 1815 settlement through an alliance of

European monarchies and by the comprehensive repression of nationalism and liberalism within states. Obviously, the importance of this Metternich System reflected Metternich’s significant role in Europe.

6.3.2 German Confederation

Founded in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna by the powers of Central Europe, the German Confederation was intended to take the place of the Holy Roman Empire dissolved in 1806. At its foundation, it was decided that the ‘German question’ should be dealt with to the advantage of the Habsburg Monarchy. There were two possible ways of dealing with the German question: one possibility was the unification of the German states including those parts of the Habsburg monarchy that had been part of the Holy Roman Empire or had a German population, while the other was that of a federation that excluded the Habsburg dominions. While the former, sometimes referred to as the ‘greater German solution’, made for Catholic-Habsburg dominance, the ‘smaller German solution’ favoured that of the Protestant-Prussian Hohenzollerns. Although German unification in the second half of the nineteenth century was to see the second model gain the upper hand, the Congress of Vienna pursued the greater German solution.

Essentially, the German Confederation extended over the territories of the old Reich and was a federation of sovereign states. The Federal Assembly (*Bundestag*) in Frankfurt am Main met under the presidency of the Austrian delegate. The foundation of the Confederation postponed the solution of the ‘German question’ for around two generations and a decisive change of direction did not take place until Austria’s defeat at Königgrätz in 1866.

6.3.3 The Frankfurt Assembly

the choice was limited, either France or England.

At this juncture the Crimean war (1854- 56) broke out, providing a much needed opportunity to Cavour. Piedmont had no enmity with Russia. But she made an unconditional and very risky alliance in 1855 with France and England against Russia and rendered a distinct service to them. In return Cavour was admitted to the Congress of Paris which met in 1856 to discuss the terms of peace. There Cavour raised the whole Italian issue before the assembled diplomats showing the worst effects of Austrian rule over Italy. The Italian question thus became a matter of European concern. Hence, it has been said that "out of the mud of Crimea was born a new Italy".

The French Emperor Napoleon III was considered to be sympathetic towards the Italian cause as he had fought as a ***Carbonaro*** in 1831. As such Cavour tried and successfully won over Napoleon III to the Italian cause. By the *Campact of Plombiers* in 1858 Napoleon III agreed to provide help to Sardinia in the event of a war against Austria and to make Italy free from the Alps to the Adriatic. Austria should be driven out of Lombardy and Venetia which were to be added to Piedmont. Naples and Rome were to be left untouched and the rest of Italy was to be made into a separate kingdom. As the price for providing assistance Napoleon III was to receive Nice and Savoy. To strengthen this Franco-Sardinian alliance, the daughter of King Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia-Piedmont was to be given in marriage with Prince Jerome Bonaparte, the cousin of Emperor Napoleon III.

After a period of nine months from the Pact of Plombiers, the Austro-Sardinian war broke out in1859.The allied French and Sardinian troops aided by Garibaldi were victorious in two great battles, that of Magenta and of Solferino against Austria. Lombardy was cleared of the Austrians. The rulers of Tuscany, Parma and Modena were also expelled by their subjects when they knew that the Austrians were expelled from Lombardy. But suddenly Napoleon

Denmark and by a treaty concluded at Vienna in October 1864, the Danish king ceded the two duchies to Austria and Prussia jointly. But soon the two powers (Austria and Prussia) started to quarrel over the question of Schleswig-Holstein. While Prussia had an interest over the duchies, Austria was against Prussia's occupation of the duchies permanently. Rather, she proposed that the duchies should be handed over to the Duke of Augustenburg which was disliked by Prussia. The situation was exactly what Bismarck had waited for. Bismarck arranged a temporary settlement of the question by the *Convention of Gastein* (1865) pending the final settlement.

By the term of the Convention, Austria was to occupy and administer the duchy of Holstein populated by the Danes and Prussia the duchy of Schleswig populated by Germans. Further, it was agreed that the question of the duchies should not be brought before the Diet. This Convention became one of the master strokes of Bismarck diplomacy. With Holstein being surrounded by Prussian territory, Bismarck got an opportunity to conspire against Austria in the duchy.

Meanwhile Austria was having a hard time in keeping Holstein under her possession, for the Danes frequently created problems. As such, she put forward the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg and took the question of the two duchies to the Federal Diet. This was a violation of the Convention of Gastein which gave Bismarck an opportunity to accuse Austria of ill-faith and a pretext for war. But before going to battle, Bismarck diplomatically safeguarded Prussia against the danger of foreign intervention by securing the goodwill of Russia when Prussia helped the Czar in suppressing the Polish insurrection (1863). While Austria had lost the goodwill of the Czar because of her pro-Polish attitude, he now (1865) won over French neutrality by winning Emperor Napoleon III's sympathy for nationalist aspirations and making a vague prospect of having territorial gain either on the Rhine or in Belgium. Then he negotiated a treaty of alliance with Italy which provided that if within three months Prussia could provoke a war, Italy would co-operate with Prussia against

Austria and would receive Venetia as the reward of the help.

After isolating Austria diplomatically, Bismarck successfully persuaded the Prussian king William I for the war. With both military and diplomatic preparation for the war being ready, Bismarck proceeded to provoke a conflict with Austria. As a reply to Austria's demand of disposing the question of the two duchies before the Federal Diet, he declared that the Convention of Gastein had ceased to exist and sent troops into Holstein and expelled the Austrians. This hostile action of Prussia provoked the Austrians who in protest mobilized their troops. At this point, Prussia proposed the reform of the German Confederation on the basis of universal suffrage with the exclusion of Austria. Austria turned down this reform proposal of Prussia and prevailed upon the Diet to mobilize the Federal forces to punish Prussia for infraction of Austrian rights in Holstein.

Austro-Prussian War of 1866 : Thereupon Prussia seceded from the Confederation and declared war upon Austria, claiming to act in self-defence. Finally, the war broke out in June, 1866. It proved to be one of the shortest wars in history, beginning on June 16 and ending on July 3,1866. Prussia had no German allies of any importance. Austria was supported by Hesse-Casel, Bavaria, Saxony and almost all the minor German states, their rulers being fearful of Prussian designs. But Prussia had superior military organization with which they struck with amazing swiftness. The Prussian armies overran Hesse- Casel, Bavaria and Saxony in ten days and within two weeks crushed the resistance of the smaller German states. Then they made a direct attack on the Austrians and obtained an overwhelming victory over them at Sadowa.

Fearing any further foreign intervention, Bismarck immediately started negotiation with Austria and thereby brought the war to a close, by the Treaty of Prague. By it, Austria accepted her exclusion from Germany, consented to the dissolution of the German Confederation, ceded Venetia to Italy and her share in Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia, and agreed to recognize any

the unification of Italy. Cavour knew it well that a sound foreign policy should always base itself on sound economic and political stability at home. For this he always wanted to make Sardinia – Piedmont a model state and a leader of all the Italian states.



LET US KNOW

The Republicans succeeded in setting up a republic in Rome, but it was crushed by Napoleon III. With this ended republicanism in Italy. Likewise, the refusal by the Pope to fight against Austria discredited the Federalists in the eyes of the people. The only hope of the people was now left with the king of Sardinia-Piedmont.

Italian unification came in stages. These stages are discussed below:

The first step towards the unification of Italy began within the assumption of the office of the Prime Minister by Cavour who was a great statesman and diplomat. The policy Cavour pursued for the unification of Italy was based on one sound principle that Italy alone could not work out her own salvation. Foreign help was of ardent necessity. The Italian question must be brought out of the obscurity of Austria's domestic policy and placed before the European Powers so that their support could be enlisted for the Italian cause. He knew it well that unification of Italy was impossible in economic and parliamentary matters. With this view Cavour tried to start his work for the Italian unification that was achieved in stages.

Initially Cavour set about the task of promoting the economic progress of Piedmont and developing its parliamentary government. Italy must be united under the House of Savoy. As such, Piedmont must be made a model state, strong and liberal enough, so that other Italian states would accept her leadership. Under general Lamarmorathe army was also reorganized for the role it was to play in the unification process. Along with developing Piedmont economically and politically, Cavour was also seeking an ally. But

- **Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882):** Giuseppe Garibaldi was born in Italy in 1807. From the very beginning he was interested in an adventurous life. He was highly inspired by Mazzini. So he joined Young Italy. His military experience was chiefly in irregular guerilla fighting. He even took part in the revolt of 1834 organized by Mazzini and as a result was condemned to death. But he somehow managed to escape to South-America where for the next 14 years he lived in exile. He participated in a good number of wars in South America. He even raised a 'Red Shirt Party' in America and took part in the civil war there.

  Garibaldi returned to Italy in 1848, when the revolution broke out in Europe. When the Piedmont Government rejected his services, he helped the patriots of Lombardy. He again fled to America, but returned to Italy to complete the work of Cavour for Italian unification. He was a Federalist. The Federalists under the leadership of Garibaldi wanted to create a Federation of the Italian states under the Presidency of the Pope. Though a Federalist, Garibaldi ultimately agreed to the idea of a constitutional monarchy.

- **Count Cavour (1810-1861):** Count Cavour was born in 1810 in Sardinia and spent his youth mostly in Piedmont. He was a nationalist and a great patriot. Cavour took full advantage of the situation created by Mazzini. Cavour was a first class diplomat and an efficient politician. The policy that Cavour pursued for the unification of Italy was based on the sound principle that Italy alone could not work for her own salvation. Cavour was a man of liberal ideas and entered the Piedmontese cabinet in 1850 and became the Prime Minister of Piedmont in 1852.He remained the Prime Minister of Piedmont except for a brief interruption, until his death in 1861. With the assumption of office by him, a new stage of the Italian question began to develop. With the help of Garibaldi's armed strength and his own diplomacy, Cavour tried to bring about

reconstruction of Germany to be made by Prussia.

Reconstruction of Germany: The victory of Prussia made her supreme in Germany. Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Nassau and free city of Frankfort were annexed to Prussia with her territory continuously running across North Germany. All the other states north of the river Maine were organised into a new confederation called the North German Confederation under the Presidentship of the Prussian king. But Bismarck left the South German states like Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemburg and others free to act as they chose. Thus, the partial unification of Germany was completed after the victory of Prussia over Austria.

Franco-Prussian War: With partial unification of Germany being completed, Bismarck now set himself to complete the task. At that time France was the greatest continental power. Bismarck knew it quite well that to complete the unification of Germany, a war with France was inevitable. Hence, he diplomatically isolated France. Russia was friendly to Prussia as Bismarck had offered to help her during the Polish troubles. Bismarck further strengthened this relationship by supporting Russian designs against Turkey. Prussia also had the goodwill of Austria as she was treated with great leniency and moderation after the defeat at Sadowa. The friendship of Italy was retained by holding out to her the prospect of acquiring Rome where the position of the Pope was being defended by the French troops. After securing the goodwill of neighbouring powers, Bismarck attempted to find out an earliest pretext for a war with France.

In 1868 the Spanish incident provided the much needed opportunity for war. Napoleon III declared war against Prussia. The immediate cause of the War was the refusal of the Prussian king to give assurance about the Spanish throne. Before the outbreak of hostilities Bismarck published the written proposals of Napoleon III containing his demand for compensation, thereby convincing Europe that a new era of French aggression was likely to begin. He thereby built European opinion against France and also brought the South

German states to the side of Prussia. In the war the French were beaten at Worth and Graveloth. Finally, at Sedan the entire French army surrendered to the Prussian general Von Moltke and Napoleon III was taken prisoner. Thereafter, Bismarck compelled France to accept the Treaty of Frankfurt by which France had to give up Alsace and Lorraine to Germany, pay a heavy war indemnity and to allow the German troops to hold a part of France until it was paid.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 1 : Between which two countries was the Treaty of Frankfurt signed?

.....

Q 2: What was the significance of the Treaty of Prague?

.....

Q 3: Why did Bismarck prevent King William from attending the Congress of German Princes?

.....

6.4 UNIFICATION OF ITALY

6.4.1 Vienna Congress and Italy

Napoleon III had once tried to liberate the Austrian provinces of Lombardy and Venetia. But he abandoned the cause of the Italian nationalities in the middle of success. The betrayal by Napoleon III proved that the Italian nationalities could free themselves from foreign yoke only through their own efforts. However all hopes were crashed by the Congress of Vienna.

At Vienna Congress, the Italians were represented by the Pope which was not what the Italian patriots would have wanted. However, Metternich who took the lead in the Congress, failed to see Italians as people and hence the formation of a state by them was out of question. Austria, by the agreement made in Vienna, began

extending its influence in Italy. Military troops were stationed permanently in Lombardy-Venetia. Every measures taken during the Congress was made to ensure that Italy would not fall into the control of France. Old Dukes and kings were restored in Italy who would be acting under the command of the Austrian Emperor. All of these worked against the idea of any unification of Italy.

6.4.2 Makers of Modern Italy

A large number of patriots dedicated their lives to the making of modern Italy. Among them were three great persons- Joseph Mazzini, Giuseppe Garibaldi and Count Camillodi Cavour. These three leaders were different in their views regarding the Unification of Italy, but they were united in their aims. Republicans, Federalists and the Constitutionalists were the three parties that began to work for the unification of Italy. Let us discuss the contribution of these three leaders for the unification of Italy.

- **Joseph Mazzini (1805-1872):** Joseph Mazzini was born in 1805 in Genoa. The deepest aspiration of Italian people had finally found a voice: clear bold, and altogether thrilling in him.

  He advocated a republican form of government. The Republicans under the leadership of Mazzini made bold attempts to rouse the Italians against authority. At first he tried to achieve his goal by joining the Carbonari and organized revolt in 1830. However, he failed and was imprisoned. He then founded the *Young Italy* society in 1831 to create patriotism and nationalism among the people. This society was destined to be an important factor in the making of a new Italy. The programme of this society was very clear, that first of all, Austria must be thrown out of Italy and war must come as soon as possible. No Italian should depend on foreign government aid and diplomacy but should depend upon their own unaided strength. His motto was *God and his people*.

because of the education he had received from a Swiss tutor. His liberalism led him to believe that peace could be established in Europe on the Christian prospects. Among the emperors and ministers who attended the Congress of Vienna in 1804-15, the presence of the Russian Czar was conspicuous for the reason that he was the only liberal who extended benign influence on the proceedings of the Congress. It was he who insisted on offering generous terms to the defeated French. He also insisted on the few French kings to rule the country according to a charter. He encouraged the aspirations of the German people for unity and integrity of their country. He was exceptionally liberal with the Poles so much so that he formed a separate kingdom of Poland and granted it autonomy under his rule. He granted a constitution to Poland and respected the constitution of Finland, which was recently annexed to Russia. He also liberated the serfs of some of the Northern provinces and abolished slavery. His religious faith led to the formation of a Holy Alliance. But he gave up liberalism and became an arch reactionary when he came under the full influence of Metternich.

- **Nicholas I (1825-55)**

The death of Alexander was followed by uprisings by the liberals who wanted to set up a constitutional government in Russia. The revolutionaries are called *Decemberists,* for they led the uprisings in December. But Nicholas I, who was the brother of Alexander I and succeeded to the throne after some troubles, suppressed the uprising most cruelly. He became an arch enemy of liberalism. He banned foreign periodicals and magazines, forbade foreign travels and established an effective espionage system to check the spread of liberal ideas.

Nicholas crushed the Poles when they revolted in 1830. About, 45000 Poles were banished from the country. Nicholas pursued an imperialistic policy. He wanted to dismember Turkey by supporting the cause of the Greeks. He took full advantage of the defeat of the Turkey at Naverino. He compelled the Sultan after the withdrawal of France and England from the scene, to accept the treaty of Adrianople be which Greece was made free. By the treaty of Unkier Skelessi with Turkey after the defeat of Mehemet Ali, Nicholas converted the Black sea into a Russian lake. Nicholas also

III halted the tide of his success. He met with the Emperor of Austria at Villa franca and concluded there an armistice with Austria without consulting with his ally. As per the terms agreed upon Austria was to cede Lombardy to Sardinia but to retain Venetia. The rulers of Tuscany, Parma and Modena were to be restored and an Italian federation was to be formed under the Presidency of the Pope. These terms were ratified by the Treaty of Zurich.

The acquisition of Lombardy by Piedmont was the first step in the unification of Italy. In Parma, Modena, Tuscany and Romagna (a Papal state) also provisional governments were formed and the people voted for their merger with Piedmont. So, it became difficult for Napoleon III to restore the expelled rulers in view of strong national feeling among the people, who received sympathy from England. Under such a situation Cavour once again won over Napoleon III to his side by giving the offer of Savoy and Nice. He secured his consent to the incorporation of the central duchies to Sardinia. As a result, ***plebiscites*** were held in Tuscany, Parma, Modena and Romagna. All these states voted for their merger into the kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont. With this, except Venetia, the Northern half of Italy was united under Piedmont and made free from foreign control.



LET US KNOW

Plebiscite: A vote made by all the members of an electorate on an important public issue.

Carbonaro: A member of Italian Carbonneri, a revolutionary society.

With Northern half of Italy being almost united, there started similar movement in the Southern part of Italy. The people of the Two Sicilies (Naples and Sicily) were discontented under the tyrannical rule of their Bourbon monarch. The Sicilians asked Garibaldi for assistance. He promised to help, provided the intended revolt was started by them in the name of Italy and King Victor

Emmanuel II. The Sicilians rose in revolt and Garibaldi landed in Sicily in 1860 to help the revolutionaries. Commanding his volunteer army-the famous thousand *Redshirts*, Garibaldi within three months became the master of the island and proclaimed himself the dictator of Sicily in the name of Victor Emmanuel II. He then turned towards Naples. At his approach King Francis II of Naples fled to Gaeta and Garibaldi entered Naples where the people welcomed him.

Next, Garibaldi thought of occupying Rome. This had greatly annoyed Cavour because he thought that such an advance would surely lead to a war with France as Rome was protected by a French garrison. There was also a possibility that Garibaldi being Republican at heart might give the movement a republican character. All these would definitely upset Cavour's plan for Italian unity. Hence, Cavour prevailed on Victor Emmanuel II to march to the Papal States as he knew that Napoleon III would not interfere as long as Rome was respected. At his instance, therefore, Victor Emmanuel II led an army into the Papal States. He defeated the Papal army at Castel fidardo and occupied Umbria and the Marches.

Victor Emmanuel II then went to meet the Redshirts at Naples. Garibaldi and his army of volunteers were stationed there as they could not advance further being checked by the Neapolitan army at Capua. Meanwhile, plebiscites were held in Sicily, Naples, Umbria and the Marches where majority people voted for union with the kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont. Garibaldi too surrendered all his power to Victor Emmanuel. Then Victor Emmanuel II completed the conquest left incomplete by Garibaldi. Capua was occupied and the King of Naples Francis II surrendered at Gaeta in 1861.This brought military operations to a close. Now the kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont was expanded into the kingdom of Italy. In1861 the first Italian Parliament representing all Italy except Rome and Venetia, met at Turin and Victor Emmanuel II was proclaimed King of Italy.

Venetia was still under Austria and Rome was still subject to

7.3 RUSSIA IN 1815

In spite of her rise as a great Power of Europe after the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte in Moscow, Russia remained backward socially and economically. Even her political institutions were medieval in character.

- **Social Condition**

Russian society was composed of two classes- (1) the Nobles (2) the Serfs. There were clerical and bourgeoisie classes also but they were relatively insignificant. The same social anarchy prevailed in Russia as it did in France before the Revolution of 1789. The nobles were not required to perform any duty towards the government but they enjoyed the privileges associated with such duty. They ruled over the serfs with an iron rod.

The condition of the peasants was very pitiable. The Serfs lived in very wretched conditions and got no protection from the State against the oppression committed on them by the nobles. They were flogged, sold and sent to Siberia or even killed without any rhyme or reason. Czar Nicholas I took some steps to improve the lot of the serfs.

- **Political Condition**

The individuals in Russia had no political status whatsoever. There were no representative institutions and the people had no say in the political matters. They had no freedom of speech. Several restrictions were imposed on the press. Even the judiciary was not independent. The autocracy prevailed and the Czar ruled the country with the help of Council of Ministers who were appointed by him and were responsible to him only. The words of the Czar were laws of the land. Such laws were called Ukases. The Czar administered the provinces with the help of Imperial Police. A number of officials appointed by the Czar treated the people most cruelly.

- **Alexander I (1801-25)**

Czar Alexander I, was the first ruler during whose reign Russia rose to become a great power in Europe. He ascended the throne in 1801. He was a bundle of contradiction. He was both thunderous and enigmatic. He was an idealist by nature. He had a religious bent of mind which made his character imbalanced and intriguing. He was, however, a liberal at first

UNIT 7: RUSSIAN REFORM MOVEMENT (1815)

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives
7.2 Introduction
7.3 Russia in 1815
7.4 Alexander II and his Reforms
7.5 Let Us Sum Up
7.6 Further Reading
7.7 Answer to Check Your Progress
7.8 Model Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the socio-political condition of Russia in 1815 which serves as a background of the Russian Reform Movement
- describe the reign and times of the predecessors of Alexander II, and
- discuss the reforms initiated by Alexander II during his reign.

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

In the previous unit the discussed on the unification movement of Germany and Italy In this unit we are going to discuss about the history of Russia during 1815. Here we will discuss about the socio-economic conditions of Russia during the 19th century. The political condition of Russia will also be discussed here. In this unit we also include about the Czar Alexander II and the reforms introduced by him in Russia. The emancipation of serfs and some other reforms introduced by Alexander II will also be discussed in this unit.

the Pope. As such, without Rome and Venetia the unification was incomplete. But an opportunity came when the Austro-Prussian war broke out in 1866. By helping Prussia against Austria, Piedmont acquired Venetia. Then only Rome was left to complete the Italian unification. With the outbreak of the Franco-Prussia war in 1870, Napoleon III was compelled to withdraw the French army from Rome where they were sent in 1849 to protect the Pope. Victor Emmanuel II took full advantage of the situation and occupied Rome which became the capital of united Italy. Thus, the unification of Italy was achieved.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Answer the following questions:

Q 4: Who was the leader of the Republicans?

.....

Q 5: Name the leader of the Federalist.

.....

Q 6: In which year did Cavour enter the Piedmontese cabinet?

.....

Q 7: What was the first step in the unification of Italy?

.....

Q 8: When did Garibaldi land in Sicily?

.....



6.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, you have learnt:

- Italy and Germany was able to unify after a long struggle and the significant role played by the respective diplomats and leaders were Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour, Metternich and Bismarck.

- The success of the unification movement in Italy paved the way for the success of such liberal and democratic movements in other parts of Europe and the world.
- Likewise the unification of Germany brought about a major development in the course of the history of Europe. It brought about the triumph of the principle of nationalism and self - determination.



6.6 FURTHER READING

1) Ketelbey, C. D. M. (1994). *A History of Modern Times from 1789.* New Delhi, India: OUP

2) Hayes, C. J. H. (1963). *Modern Europe to 1870.* New York, NY: MacMillan.

3) Thompson, D. (1990). *Europe Since Napoleon* (2nd edition). New Delhi, India: Surjeet Publications.



6.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Prussia and France

Ans to Q No 2: War with Austria was brought to an end and Prussia gained much favour from it.

Ans to Q No 3: Bismarck successfully prevented King William I of Prussia from attending the Congress of German Princess, thereby ruining the attempt of Austria to consolidate her leadership of Germany by introducing some federal reforms.

Ans to Q No 4: Joseph Mazzini

Ans to Q No 5: Garibaldi

Ans to Q No 6: 1850

Ans to Q No 7: The occupation of Lombardy by Piedmont

Ans to Q No 8: 1860



6.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (Answer each question within 50 Words)

Q 1: Name some of the dominating personalities of the Italian Unification movement.

Q 2: Name the organization founded by Mazzini in 1831.

Q 3: In which year was the unification of Italy finally completed?

Q 4: What was the provision of the Treaty of London (1852)?

Q 5: Why was Prussia chosen to be the leader of the German Unification Movement?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 Words)

Q 1: Write briefly what you know about Mazzini

Q 2: Write short note on:

a. Franco-Prussian War

b. Convention of Gastein

c. Cavour

C) Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 Words)

Q 1: Examine the role of different leaders in the unification of Italy.

Q 2: Discuss the role of Bismarck in the unification of Germany.

Q 3: Narrate briefly the series of events that led to the unification of Germany.

*** ***** ***

7.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: What were the liberal steps taken by Alexander II?

Q 2: How did Alexander II pave the way for decentralization of power?

Q 3: What were the measures taken by Alexander II for the Fundamental Rights of the people?

Q 4: What were the military reforms done by Alexander II?

Q 5: What were the financial reforms done in the reign of Alexander II?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Write a short note on the social conditions of Russia during 1815.

Q 2: Write a note the political conditions of Russia during 19th century.

Q 3: What were the administrative reforms of Alexander II?

Q 4: What were the judicial reforms done by Alexander II?

C) Long Questions (answer each question with 300-500 words)

Q 1: What was the foreign policy of Nicholas I?

Q 2: Give an account of the opening years of the reign of Nicholas II.

Q 3: What reforms were enacted during the reign of Alexander II?

Q 4: Write a note on the "Emancipation of Serfs".

*** ***** ***

helped Austria by crushing the Hungarian revolt in 1848. He helped the Prussian king in check when he was offered the German crown by the Frankfurt parliament. But it was the issue regarding the holy places in Turkey that led to Nicholas' downfall. By supporting the cause of the Greek monks, he wished to bring Turkey under his control. But he failed. The Crimean War brought about his fall and death.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions-

Q 1: How many classes were there in the Russian society?

.....

Q 2: What does "Ukase" mean?

.....

Q 3: When did Alexander I ascend the throne?

.....

Q 4: Who were the "Decemberists"?

.....

7.4 ALEXANDER II AND HIS REFORMS

On the death of Nicholas I, the Russian throne was occupied by his son Alexander II in 1855 until his assassination in 1881. He was thirty seven years of age when he ascended the throne and did not inherit the cruel traits of his father. He was most humiliated at the defeat of his country at the hands of Britain and France in the Crimean war. The disaster of Crimea (1856) exposed the military ineptitude and revealed the socio-economic backwardness of the country. The final responsibility of this state of affairs rested squarely on the shoulders of the despotic Czar. Therefore the new Czar who succeeded during the middle of the Crimean war felt it necessary to introduce liberal reforms in his country. As mentioned earlier he inaugurated a series of reforms during the first decade of his tenure. But he was careful enough to safeguard royal prerogatives and let the people know that reforms can come from above and not by violent revolution.

➢ **Reforms**

All repressive laws relating to the freedom of travel, press and religion were revoked. The expansion of Railways under the Czar gave special preference to railways building and setting up of weapon industry. The Government helped the growing industries by supply of capital and securing foreign capital. During 1860-1870, exports rose in value from 181 to 350 million roubles, and import from 159 to 336 million.

➢ **Emancipation of the Serfs**

Russia had forty-five million serfs, half of them working on the crown lands and the remaining under the nobles and the Church. They worked on lands of their masters and received meager wages. They were much exploited. No improvements on land were effected either by the landlord or the church or the emperor, but the crushing burden of paying taxes fell upon the shoulders of the peasants. Comparatively the serfs working on the crown's land were better off since the lands were held by Mirs (village communities). During the last days of Alexander I he envisaged a scheme to emancipate the serfs gradually. After his death, his brother Nicholas did not do anything, on this issue.

On March 3, 1861, the Edict of Emancipation was issued. It abolished serfdom throughout the Empire, and it won for Alexander the popular title of the "Czar Liberator." This manifesto did not merely declare the serfs free men; but it undertook also to solve the far more difficult problem of the ownership of the soil. The Czar felt that merely to give the serfs freedom, and to leave all the land in the possessions of the nobles, would mean the creation of a great proletariat possessing no property, therefore likely to fall at once into a position of economic dependence upon the nobles, which would make the gift of freedom a mere mockery. Moreover the peasants were firmly convinced that they were the rightful owners of the lands which they and their ancestors for centuries had lived upon and cultivated, and the fact that the landlords were legally the owner did not alter their opinion. To give them freedom without land, leaving that with the nobles, who desired to retain it, would be bitterly resented as making their condition worse than ever. On the other hand, to give them the land with their freedom would

19th century.

- The reactionary regime of Alexander I and Nicholas I and the growing protests by the people during their rule.
- The liberal reforms brought during the reign of Alexander II in various aspects of the administration which had an impact on the lives of the people.



7.6 FURTHER READING

1) Mahajan V.D. (1956) : *Modern Europe since 1789*. Delhi, India: S. Chand & Company Limited

2) Rao, B.V. (1985) : *History of Modern Europe 1789-1975*. New Delhi, India : Sterling Publishers Private Limited.

3) Lipson, E. (1968) : *Europe in the Nineteenth Century, 1815-1914* (11th edition). London : A. and C. Black.



7.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Two classes- the nobles and the serfs.

Ans to Q No 2: Imperial order.

Ans to Q No 3: 1801.

Ans to Q No 4: Decemberists were the liberals who wanted to set up constitutional government in Russia.

Ans to Q No 5: 1853-1856.

Ans to Q No 6: March 3rd, 1861.

Ans to Q No 7: Alexander II.

Ans to Q No 8: 1858.

Ans to Q No 9: 1866.

The reform of Local Self Government was accepted by the people with indifference. Its impact on the society was marginal. The Zemstov was not a political body. It could not criticize and control the executive and influence its policy. It was no alternative to a parliament. It had no power to control the tyranny of officers. Nor was the autocratic power of the Czar reduced by any degree. The Zemstov had no right to raise its fund by independent taxation. It had to depend on the contribution of the Government which was meagre.

Above mentioned were some major reforms of Alexander II .The first ten years of his reign saw the introduction of many salutary reforms which raised high hopes among the liberals. A new spirit began to pervade Russia and it found expression in new literature. But disillusionment was not long in coming.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 5: In which year did the Crimean War take place?

.....

Q 6: When was the Edict of Emancipation of Serfs issued?

.....

Q 7: Who was known as the “Czar Liberator”?

.....

Q 8: When was the High School for girls started in Russia?

.....

Q 9: When did Russia establish the State Bank?

.....



7.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit we have learnt about-

- The deplorable socio-economic conditions in Russia during the early

mean the ruin of the nobility as a class, considered essential to the state. The consequence of this conflict of interests was a compromise, satisfactory to neither party, but more favorable to the nobility than to the peasants.

- **The Division of the Land**

The lands were divided into two parts. The landlords were to keep one; the other was to go to the peasants either individually or collectively as members of the village community or *Mir* to which they belonged. But this was not given to them outright; the peasant and the village must pay the landlord for the land assigned to them. As they were not in a position to do this the state was to advance the money, getting it back by installments. This arrangement was a great disappointment to the peasants. Their newly acquired freedom seemed a doubtful boon in the light of this method of dividing the land. Indeed, they could not see that they were profiting from the change. Personal liberty would not mean much, when the condition of earning a livelihood became harder rather than lighter. The peasants regarded the land as their own. But the state guaranteed forever a part to the landlords and announced that the peasants must pay for the part assigned to them. Moreover, as the division worked out, they found that they had less land for their own use than in the pre-emancipation days and that they had to pay the landlords, through the state, more than the lands which they did receive were worth. The Edict of Emancipation did not therefore bring either peace or prosperity to the peasants. The land question became steadily more acute during the next fifty years owing to the vast increase in population and the consequent greater pressure upon the land. The Russian peasant lived necessarily on the verge of starvation.

The emancipation of the serfs is seen, therefore, not to have been a boon. Yet Russia gained morally in the esteem of other nations by abolishing an indefensible wrong. Legally, every man was free. Moreover, the peasants, though faring ill, yet fared better than had the peasants of Prussia and Austria at the time of liberation.

- **Administrative Reforms**

Alexander set up District Local Councils, which were representatives of the people. The Provincial Councils were elected by these District

Councils. The duties assigned to these local bodies were related to the development of infra-structure, like the repairing of roads and bridges, supervision of sanitation and primary education and prevention of famines. The power of these councils was, however, restricted by the *veto* power of the Provincial Governor. These councils proved a very good ground for training in the management of public affairs. They also paved the way for decentralization of power.

- **Judicial Reform**

Alexander improved the judicial system which had become corrupt and inefficient. He separated judiciary from executive in order to make the judges independent in their work. The trial by jury was introduced and court proceedings were made public. He got framed a new panel code so that all the cases could be tried uniformly. Now all were treated as equals in the eyes of law. The Court was guided by Customary and National laws. Trained judges were appointed in higher courts. The sole higher court of appeal was the Senate. *Justices of the Peace,* chosen by popular election, were instituted to deal with minor cases. However, Alexander made a mistake in making this office elective. It bred corruption after some years.

- **Financial Reforms**

In the financial sphere, Russia established the State Bank in 1866, which put the national currency on a firmer footing. The Ministry of Finance supported railroad development, which facilitated vital export activity, but it was cautious and moderate in its foreign ventures. The ministry also funded the Peasant Land Bank in 1882 to enable enterprising farmers to acquire more land. Other important measure was the abolition of liquor concessions in favour of an Excise tax.

- **Recognition of Fundamental Rights and Educational Reforms**

Alexander II was the first Czar who gave recognition of the fundamental rights of the people. He removed the censorship against the press, journalism and educational institutions. Several new educational institutions were set up throughout the country. In 1858, a High School was started for the education of girls. A ministry of education was set up by Alexander II. It set up large number of primary schools in towns, which was

controlled by ***Zemstov***. A new establishment for secondary school was introduced. Lecturers were appointed more freely and Deans of Faculties were elected. The new University Code granted autonomy to the Universities. The Professors were granted full freedom to express their views to the students. Teaching of law was made more modern. In the school syllabi, teaching of Greek, Latin and Mathematics were introduced along with natural science. The number of Secondary Schools increased. A great progress was made in women's education. The number of the universities in Russia arose to 8.

- **Military Reforms**

The reform of the military service (1874) was the last of the principal reforms during the reign of Alexander II. The Franco- Prussian War demonstrated the necessity of building a modern army. The old system of long term service (25 years) for a limited number of recruits were abandoned, as being too heavy a burden for the people and as providing practically no reserves. The new conscription system, which provided for a short term active service followed by several years in reserve, was introduced by Dmitry Milyutin in 1874. It was drawn on democratic lines, calling to the colours all young men of 21 without distinction of class. Exemption was only granted to young men who were the sole breadwinners of their families. It also gave the army a role in teaching many peasants to read and pioneering medical education for women.

- **Criticism**

These reforms though conceived in an enlightened spirit, proved disappointing to the peasant. They regarded themselves burdened with taxes and bitterly resented the payment of compensation for the land which they had come to regard as their own. The nobility lost their free labour supply and their debts were paid out of their redemption fees. Accustomed to free labour, they found it hard to adopt themselves to the change and they soon discovered that the bonds they received as compensation money were not readily convertible into cash. The abolition of serfdom failed to achieve the desired results. Though the serf was relieved of certain disabilities, but he was burdened with fresh obligations.

a finance ministry only for the army, navy and diplomatic expenditures in Vienna.

- Separate legal systems would be maintained by Austrian and Hungarian states in terms of laws and their traditionally independent and separate judicial systems.
- Creation of a Common Ministry of Foreign Affairs which would be responsible for the diplomacy and foreign policy of the Austrian and Hungarian empire.
- There would be no common citizenship in Austria-Hungary.
- A common finance ministry would be founded only for the expenditures of the common army, navy, and the diplomatic service and for the issue of Bank notes. It would be headed by the common finance minister.
- The monetary and economic terms of the compromise and the customs would have to be negotiated in every ten years.

Despite Austria and Hungary sharing a common currency, they were fiscally sovereign and independent entities. The Austrian Empire and the kingdom of Hungary contracted their international commercial treaties independently of each other. A common Austro-Hungarian War Ministry was formed immediately for the large common army but it had no right to command directly the small Austrian and Hungarian armies as they were placed directly under the control of the separate Austrian and Hungarian Ministries of Defence. However the Austrian and Hungarian ministers of defence were not placed under the command and jurisdiction of the common war ministry; they were subordinated only to their own prime ministers and their respective parliaments in Vienna and Budapest. Under the terms of the compromise Hungary took on a large part of the towering Austrian state debt. The king retained royal privileges and became the supreme warlord, holding all authority over the structure, organization and administration of the army. He had the right to declare war and also a state of emergency. The king had the right to dissolve the National Assembly. He also had the rights to appoint and dismiss the members of the Cabinet Council. This meant a great reduction in Hungarian sovereignty and autonomy even in

UNIT 8: AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN PROBLEM

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives
8.2 Introduction
8.3 Beginning of the Discontent
8.4 The March Laws
8.5 The October Diploma
8.6 Ausgleich
8.7 Let Us Sum Up
8.8 Further Reading
8.9 Answers to Check Your Progress
8.10 Model Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the factors that created the Austro-Hungarian problem,
- discuss the impact of the Revolution of 1848 in Hungary,
- analyse the various laws like the March Laws and the October Diploma related to the Austro-Hungarian Problem and,
- discuss about the compromise of 1867.

8.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous Unit, we discussed the Russian Reform Movement of 1815 under Alexander II.

In this Unit we will discuss the Austro-Hungarian Problem. It refers to the struggle of the people of Hungary to form an independent kingdom of Hungary, breaking the centuries-old political association with the Austrian Empire. Since 1547, Hungary was a province of the Austrian Empire. The population of Hungary was a mixed one. Each race had its own interests and ambition. Magyar was the most influential race and they dominated the Hungarian society. The Habsburg emperors of Austria ruled over Hungary

with the help of the nobles. However, Hungary maintained her own parliament known as the Diet. The autocracy of the Habsburg monarchs and the mixed interests of the people of Hungary created tensions between Austria and Hungary. The Problem was visible for the first time during the Revolution of 1848. The Austro-Hungarian Problem culminated in the form of Ausgleich or the Compromise of 1867. During this period, there were many political ups and downs and the problem involved foreign intervention.

8.3 BEGINNING OF THE DISCONTENT

The Hungarian province of Austria was administered centrally by the feudal lords and nobles appointed by the Austrian monarch. They were exempted from all taxes and were given certain privileges. On the contrary, the common people of Hungary were deprived of all political rights and economic and social privileges. There was no sign of development under the Austrian rule. The Hungarian Diet existed only in name and it did not have any political authority. Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor from 1815 to 1848, tried to suppress the rise of nationalism in Hungary. Being an enemy of the French Revolution, Metternich despised the message of liberty, equality and fraternity. The Magyars wanted change in the administration. They wanted to free Hungary from Austria. Following the French Revolution, a nationalistic and reformist movement was growing in Hungary. The Hungarian society was preparing for emancipation from autocratic rule. Writers, poets, artists and some nobles were working towards that political liberty which was to unite all the Magyars. In 1825, the Diet was reconvened in response to growing concerns amongst the Hungarians about taxes and the diminishing economy. This started a period of reforms in Hungary. A liberal party emerged in the Diet. The liberals understood the necessity of modernization. Their leaders recognized the need to develop Hungary in the model of developed West European countries. They tried to improve the condition of the lower gentry. Louis/Lazos Kossuth, a newspaper editor with liberal ideologies emerged as the leader of the lower gentry in the Diet. Along with Francis Deak, Kossuth circulated liberal ideologies throughout Hungary. The government banned his paper and Kossuth circulated

the October Diploma or Charter on 20 October, 1860. According to the Diploma, a central parliament with 100 members was formed. In matters of finance, commerce and industry, it had advisory authority. The other imperial matters were handed over to the provincial governments. The Emperor had full control over foreign policy and military matters.

The October Diploma restored Hungary to the pre-1848 condition. The administrative districts were abolished and the Diet was restored. Local governments were re-introduced with Hungarian officials. These reforms paved the way for the reconciliation of Hungary. But the Magyars were not happy with the Diploma. They wanted the March Laws to be re-imposed. To prevent them, Francis Joseph I abandoned the October Diploma and issued the February Patent in 1861. It created a bicameral legislature and provinces were asked to send representatives. Hungary was reduced to the status of a province. The Hungarian Diet rejected the Patent and refused to send Deputies to the Austrian Parliament. The Diet argued that no change could be made without the approval of Hungary. The deadlock continued up to 1865. In 1865, negotiations were started but interrupted due to the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. After Austria was defeated in the War, negotiations were resumed which ultimately resulted in the Ausgleich or the Compromise of 1867.

8.6 AUSGLEICH

The Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867 established the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. Under the compromise the Habsburg dominions were divided into two parts: 1) Austria including Austria proper, Bohemia, Galicia, Carniola and Tyrol 2) Hungary including Hungary proper together with its crown lands of Croatia, the Banat and Transylvania. According to the terms of the Compromise of 1867:

- Austria and Hungary would have separate parliaments and constitutions. Each part would have their own governments, headed by their own prime ministers. The dual monarchy consisted of the emperor king known by the dual title of ‘Emperor of Austria and king of Hungary’ and the common ministers of foreign affairs, defence and

state language. Thus, the Revolution of 1848 failed in Hungary and the March Laws were annulled.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions**.**

Q 5: When were the March Laws presented in the Diet?

.....

Q 6: Which country supported Austria in the suppression of the revolt in Hungary?

.....

Q 7: What was the state language of Hungary before 1848?

.....

Q 8: Who benefitted by the March Laws?

.....

8.5 THE OCTOBER DIPLOMA

The suppression of the Revolution of 1848 did not provide a permanent solution for the Austro-Hungarian problem. Though Francis Joseph displayed full monarchial power, in practice Austria was becoming weak. After Russia was defeated in the Crimean War (1856), Austria lost a strong ally. Moreover, Austria was defeated in the second war of Italian Independence in 1859. Thus Austria was weakened and her economic backwardness and the weakness of bureaucracy were exposed. Many Hungarians joined the enemies of Austria and there was the possibility of a revolt. Consequently there was a demand for reform within the Empire and betterment of relations with Hungary. Compelled by these demands, Francis Joseph asked the Imperial Council (Reichsrat) to advise the emperor on matters of reform. One group, mainly German speaking members, wanted a strong central government and weak provincial governments. Another group consisting of Hungarian, Czech and Polish nobles, advocated federalism, with more power to the provincial governments. The Emperor sided with the latter group. The Parliament framed a constitution known as

revolutionary messages in handwritten pamphlets. Through his pamphlets, the people of Hungary realized about their rights and they were eager to overthrow Austrian control. The Hungarians united in support of modernization despite obstruction from the Habsburg monarchs.

But the growing popularity of the liberals alarmed the Austrian Government. The new Emperor Ferdinand I attempted to crush the reform movement by arresting the leaders and denied all important liberal laws relating to civil and political rights and economic reforms. Many liberals including Kossuth were put in jail. But the Diet stood in support of the reform movement. In 1839, the Diet refused to proceed to business till the political prisoners had been released. To counter Austrian control, Magyar was declared state language by the Diet in 1839, replacing Latin. Moreover, the peasants' holdings were freed from all feudal obligations. In 1847, Kossuth was re-elected to the Diet and was appointed Finance Minister.

In the legislature, Kossuth demanded democratic reforms in every sphere of national life of Hungary. An atmosphere was created in favor of democratic reforms. The people, fed up with the existing administrative system, demanded rapid change. Kossuth put forward some demands:

i) Imposition of taxes on the basis of property.

ii) The Hungarian Legislature should control the national expenditure.

iii) Freedom of the Press.

iv) Democratic rights for the people like freedom of speech.

v) Hungary should be declared a separate and free state.

These demands were circulated throughout Hungary and thus, the liberals created an atmosphere ripe for a democratic uprising. In the meantime, the Revolution of 1848 started in France, leading to the fall of Louis Philippe, the King of France. The Revolution inspired the people of Austria and they started an uprising against Metternich and his system of administration. It ultimately resulted in the fall of Metternich. When the news of the Revolution reached Hungary, Louis Kossuth and his supporters declared revolt against Austria. They demanded a separate parliamentary government in Hungary. Ferdinand I, the king of Austria was already weakened by the fall of Metternich. He granted the demands of the Magyars and the Hungarian Diet became free of Austria.



LET US KNOW

METTERNICH SYSTEM: Metternich, the Austrian diplomat and statesman introduced a new system of administration of Austria which was called the 'System of Metternich'. There were two main elements in the system of Metternich i) To prevent the tide of revolutionary ideas in the Austrian Empire. ii) To maintain status quo in Europe. With a view to maintain peace and order in Europe, Metternich established an international organization in the Congress of Vienna, which was called the Concert of Europe. The Concert of Europe was an integral part of the System of Metternich.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions**.**

Q 1: Who was the leader of the liberals of Hungary?

.....

Q 2: What was the name of the Hungarian Legislature?

.....

Q 3: Who was the Emperor of Austria during the Revolution of 1848?

.....

Q 4: What led to the fall of Louis Philippe, the king of France?

.....

8.4 THE MARCH LAWS

The liberal members of the Hungarian Legislature wanted to abolish the feudalistic nature of administration. Moreover, there was a growing demand of introducing modern system of governance. But they did not want radical change at that point of time, rather they emphasized on national liberation. On March 15, 1848, Kossuth presented their program to the Diet; it was intended to preserve the common people's power and to create

an independent Magyar state within the Austrian Empire. The program, known as the March Laws, was adopted by the Hungarian Diet.

The March Laws provided for a viceroy in Budapest to exercise the prerogatives of the emperor without answering to the Austrian government. A national guard was raised to protect Hungary. Hungary gained authority to control its own budget and foreign policy. A ministry was formed which was responsible to the Hungarian Diet. The feudalistic character of the Diet was abolished. Voting right was given according to property. The March Laws abolished censorship over the press. Serfdom was abolished in Hungary. The nobility lost their exemption from taxation. On April 11, 1848, the March Laws were constitutionally confirmed by Emperor Ferdinand I along with the national flag of Hungary. But the March Laws failed to provide a permanent solution. Hungary was a melting pot in which blended different races with different aspirations. The March Laws benefited the Magyars only. The non-Hungarians were dissatisfied with the new political system. Magyar became the official language of Hungary replacing Latin. But Magyars were minorities in Hungary. Moreover, a group within the Diet wanted monarchy in Hungary. They revolted against the Diet. The Austrian government backed these revolts and therefore, the Diet cut off all relations with Austria. The liberals declared Hungary an independent republic state in April, 1849 and Kossuth was elected as the president of Hungary. But the anti-Magyar uprising was growing strong as the Slovaks, Serbs, Rumanians and the Germans protested against the Magyar state. Francis Joseph, the new Austrian Emperor was a reactionary to the Revolution and a believer in strong monarchy. He took the opportunity of the internal revolt in Hungary and sent an army to suppress the liberals. The declaration of the Hungarian republic also alarmed Russia as Hungary was bordering her. When Austria asked Russia for help, Russia sent a large army against Hungary. The joint forces defeated the liberals of Hungary and Kossuth was compelled to leave the country. Austria re-established autocratic rule over Hungary, making it an Austrian province. A policy of centralization and absolutism was followed. The system of local government was superseded and administrative posts were filled by Austrian officials. German was substituted for Magyar as the

monarchial right. But the changed condition of France forced him to seek a middle road between the conservatism and revolutionary ideas and he planned for some compromises. The absolute monarchy was impossible to restore by the king, hence he enacted a charter on 4th June, 1814. According to this Charter,

- The king was the executive head of army and navy.
- The Charter empowered the king with the power to change and regulate the law of the state in case of emergency situations.
- The charter established two legislative houses, The Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Peers. The lower house was elected by voters paying annual income tax of 300 francs. There was no provision for the poor to be a part of the election system.
- The legislature was constructed as a suggestive body; it could not amend laws without the consent of the king.

The Charter can be seen as a compromising attempt to develop a constitutional monarchy by the king, which failed to please the French people. The ultra royalist party formed by the king's brother supported the move whereas independents i.e. liberalists, republicans and Bonapartists disliked the move and voiced for absolute republic status. In 1815, ultra royalists started acts of terror and murdered members of the opposition over a chief ministerial dispute, leading to the dissolution of the ultra royalist chamber by Louis XVIII. Villele, a chief minister of Louis XVIII, also an ultra royalist planned to react to the independents by long term policies like rigid censorship of the Press, dominance of the Church over educational institutions. With all these contributions, Louis XVIII died in 1824.

The reign of Charles X (1824-1830)

After the death of Louis XVIII, his brother Charles X ascended the throne of France. The new king was a leader of the ultra royalists and possessed a less compromising attitude towards the ideas of revolution than his brother. Charles was determined to revolt against the independents and tried to bring back absolute monarchy. With this view in mind Charles X on 25th July, 1830 issued four ordinances which gave special power to him. The ordinances were significant as they changed the electoral system and

comparison with the pre-1848 status-quo. In the kingdom of Hungary, several ethnic minorities faced increased pressure of Magyarization. Further the negotiations that occurred every ten years often led to constitutional crises. Although the Compromise hoped to fix the internal problems of the state while maintaining the benefits of a large state, the new system still faced the internal pressures as old. Ausgleich was not the real solution of the problems. The other minorities in the Empire were jealous of the concessions given to Hungary. No effort was made to reconcile them after 1867. The result was that discontentment continued to grow among them and ultimately brought about the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Thus the dual monarchy could not succeed in stabilizing the country in the face of national awakenings. Therefore, in 1918 the Hungarian government in agreement with King Charles IV of Hungary terminated the Compromise of 1867. The Austro-Hungarian Problem was characterized by the growth of modern ideas like democracy, liberalism .



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 9: Which Emperor issued the October Diploma?

.....

Q 10: Ausgleich was signed in which year?

.....

Q 11: Who issued the February Patent in 1861?

.....



8.7 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, we have learnt that-

- The autocratic nature of the Austrian government and its failure to bring modern ideas in the administration was the reason for the Austro-Hungarian Problem.
- The liberals of Hungary wanted to end the feudalistic nature of

government. They wanted democratic rights for the citizens of Hungary.

- The Revolution of 1848 inspired the liberals to fight for Hungarian autonomy.
- The March Laws introduced many reforms in Hungary. But the Austrian Emperor abolished the Laws after defeating the liberals with the help of Russia.
- The defeat of Austria in the hands of Prussia weakened her and as a result, a compromise was made with Hungary. It created dual monarchy in Austria and Hungary.



8.8 FURTHER READING

1) Hayes, C.J.H. (1953). *Modern Europe to 1870*. New Delhi, India: Surjeet Publications.
2) Ketelby, C.D.M. (2000). *A Short History of Modern Europe.* New Delhi, India*:* Surjeet Publications.
3) Mahajan, V.D. (2009). *History of Modern Europe since 1789*. New Delhi, India : S Chand & Co.
4) Thomson, David. (1962). *Europe Since Napolean*. New Delhi, India: Surjeet Publications.



8.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Louis/Lazos Kossuth

Ans to Q No 2: Diet

Ans to Q No 3: Ferdinand I

Ans to Q No 4: Revolution of 1848

Ans to Q No 5: March 15, 1848

Ans to Q No 6: Russia

Ans to Q. No 7: Latin

émigrés returned to France- noblemen who had left the country during the French revolution. They tried to avail the privileges and property rights earlier given by the government. The émigrés had learnt nothing from the French Revolution and wanted to restore the old power and status. Apart from this, land ownership issues between the church and a class of society emerged. The lands originally belonged to the nobles and church which were confiscated during revolution and acquired by a new class of society. It was an issue for Louis XVIII to evict them and to restore the original land status to the émigrés and to the church. A steady rise of the bourgeoisie occurred after the Industrial Revolution till the French Revolution of 1848. At that time the status of the inhabitants was determined by wealth rather than birth, perhaps a side- effect of the rapidly growing Industrial Revolution. The society was not homogeneous; there were distinct divisions among the bourgeoisie also.

There existed an urban and rural imbalance. The urban dwellers were the workers, daily workers, middle income families in poor living conditions. The society was dominated by the bourgeoisie, where the workers had to fight for their political and economic rights. Secularism and conservative religious thoughts co-existed in the society. The populations of the rural areas were high accounting for almost 3/4th of the total population of France. Poverty, debt, lack of land ownership, urban and rural disparity and the dominance of the bourgeoisie, and unhealthy rural conditions created room for a new revolution in France. Despite tremendous development in the cotton and linen industries in France, the condition of the proletariats was wretched. The mounting prosperity of the bourgeoisie and the pitiable condition of the proletariats was damaging the social structure indicating the need of the revolution.

In the sphere of political policy, the French people developed an antipathy towards the Vienna Settlement, considering the Vienna Congress a failure and a humiliation for France.

The reign of Louis XVIII

Louis XVIII (1815-1824) ascended the throne after the abdication of Napoleon Bonaparte. He supported the hereditary tradition and divine

understanding of the background and how the socio-economical and political changes happened which led to the people's revolution.



LET US KNOW

"The three glorious days" of France :

Day one: 27th July, Tuesday, 1830: Angry citizens led by the liberals and radicals, fought with the military officials, and the rebels fired on soldiers.

Day Two: 28th July, 1830: On Wednesday, July 28, the fighting resumed early. In Paris, a group of liberals wrote a petition asking for the ordinances to be withdrawn. The king replied that he would negotiate once the rebels put down their weapons.

Day Three: 29th July, 1830: The revolutionaries controlled Paris. The "people's flag" the red flag of the revolutionaries was seen atop the roofs of many buildings.

The background of revolution can be traced back to the period of 1789-1815, as during that time there was a vital and sweeping transformation in Europe, especially in France. The abdication of Napoleon Bonaparte from the throne of France in 1814 led to the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty. The restoration of Louis XVIII to power was decided by the Congress of Vienna. In 1815, as a side-effect of the Congress of Vienna, there were ideological changes among the French people resulting in the formation of two distinct and opposite camps- the aristocratic and the democratic. The aristocrats believed in three institutions namely, the monarchy, the nobility and the church. On the other hand the liberal, democratic forces wanted a constitutional government with an elected parliament. The democratic ideologist supported the protection of land settlements of the French revolution. The society was divided into various folds and each camp tried to protect their own ideology and policies. The bourgeoisie, who supported liberalism, were determined to protect their class values and their right to do trade and business. The condition of the society was such that the new king Louis XVIII was to think of compromising policies for a better harmony between the aristocrats and liberalists. During the time a large number of

Ans to Q No 8: The Magyars

Ans to Q No 9: Francis Joseph, the Emperor of Austria.

Ans to Q No 10: 1867

Ans to Q No 11: Francis Joseph I



8.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A. Very Short Questions (Answer each question within 50 words)-

Q 1: To what extent was the feudalistic nature of the Austrian Government responsible for the Austro-Hungarian Problem?

Q 2: Who was Louis Kossuth?

Q 3: Write in brief about the October Diploma.

B. Short question (Answer each question within 150-300 words)

Q 1: Discuss about the March Laws.

Q 2: What was 'Metternich System'?

C. Long questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words.)

Q 1: Discuss about the Revolution of 1848 in Hungary.

Q 2: What was Ausgleich? Discuss about its importance in the history of Austria and Hungary.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 9 : THE JULY REVOLUTION OF 1830

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives
9.2 Introduction
9.3 Causes
9.4 Nature
9.5 Consequences and Significance
9.6 Let Us Sum Up
9.7 Further Reading
9.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
9.9 Model Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- describe the causes that led to the outbreak of the July revolution of 1830,
- discuss the nature of the Revolution of 1830, and
- explain the significance the Revolution in the history of France and the world.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

The complex nature of the problem between Austria and Hungary was discussed at length in the earlier Unit.

The July revolution of 1830 holds a very significant place in the history of Europe due to its political and social impacts. Considered as the most widespread political movement of France, the Revolution of 1830 had tremendous influence in France and other territories like Austria, Germany and Italy. Widespread problems of unemployment, shortage of food, depression of commerce and industry, development of nationalist feeling and emergence of different political ideologies were some of the burning issues that had fuelled the revolution. The revolution was rooted in the

sweeping and vital transformation that had taken place from 1789-1815, from the time of the French revolution to the Congress of Vienna.

Here in this chapter we will discuss the background, causes, impacts and the contribution of the Revolution to the politics of France and to the world scenario.The discussion will help to understand the social and political scenario of that era.

9.3 CAUSES

The July revolution of 1830 has dramatically influenced France as well as the rest of Europe. The revolution was fuelled by the prevailing socio-economic and political imbalance of that time. Political stress is significant due to the emergence of different political viewpoints as well as the rise of support for nationalism and democracy versus support of age old monarchism. The social and economic outlook was set by the Industrial Revolution whereas the political scenario was coloured by the restoration of the Bourbons. After the abdication of Napoleon Bonaparte from the throne of France in 1814, the Bourbon dynasty was restored and Louis XVIII became the king. The revolution of 1830 was triggered after Louis XVIII died and Charles X, brother of Louis XVIII, rose to power. Charles X was a leader of Ultra royalists. Moreover he suffered from lack of flexibility and desire to compromise with revolutionary ideas. Charles X was determined to bring back the ancient regime and signed the July ordinances on 25th of July, 1830. The ordinances were a blow to the liberals and were in favour of the monarchial constitution that changed the electoral system and reduced the number of voters. The issues were enough to provoke the citizens and on Tuesday, July 27, 1830 fighting broke out in the streets of Paris. Angry citizens led by the liberals and radicals, fought with the King's army, and overpowered them. On 29th July, 1830 Paris was in the hands of the mob. The three days of revolution from 27th July, Tuesday to 29th July Thursday is considered as the "Three glorious days" for France.

Till now we have discussed in brief about the July revolution, providing us a basic idea of the revolution. There is a need to have a proper

10.3 BACKGROUND

Louis Philippe took over the throne of France after the great July revolution. The Republicans wanted to set up a republic with Lafayette, a revolutionary leader, as the chief. The liberals wanted to set up Louis Philippe as the constitutional king. The conservative followers, on the other hand, wanted Bourdeaux as their king. Louis Philippe got the throne as a compromise between these two camps as the liberal view got the majority support. The state though headed by Philippe, was controlled by the educated class of the society. Philippe was supported by the Orleanists, and was opposed by the Legitimists, republican and socialists. Philippe led a simple life and wanted to act like any regular French citizen and for this he usually went to public restaurants and shopping points. He wanted to establish himself as a "citizen king" i.e., a king for the people of France.

When we try to understand the character of the state after the Amendment of the Charter of 1830, we realize that the government at that time was not for the poor but for the rich. The amendment curtailed the voting rights of those persons paying less than 200 francs annually as income tax. As a result only 2.8% of the citizens had voting rights; others were not allowed to vote. There was no space for the political rights of the proletariats of society. During his rule at different places revolts broke out for example in 1831 in the city of Lyons, the silk weaver's revolt against the economic injustice. Louis Philippe's government adopted a suppressive policy rather than mitigating and solving the issues of the weavers. There were other incidents of massacre in different parts of the state like the revolt of the secular people against the formal church ceremonies.

In 1832, the republicans organized a revolt against the government which was suppressed by Philippe's government. In 1835, an attempt on the life of Philippe.

Louis Philippe was a power loving person and during his regime he made no attempt to establish a true constitutional monarchy. He tried to dominate his ministry and changed his ministries according to his will. Ultimately he got a suitable person called Guizot as a chief minister (from

further curtailed the right to vote. The ordinance restricted the voice of the press and limited criticism of the government.

The ordinance brought chaos and people become unhappy with the provisions and the dictatorial acts of the government. Oppositions, independents and journalists asked people to resist the illegal ordinances and encouraged them to agitate for their rights. People started fighting in the streets and the revolution rose to such a level that within three days the rebellions controlled Paris and forced Charles X, the king to abdicate on 30th July, 1830. After the abdication of Charles X, the liberalists and republicans declared Louis Philippe as the new king of France.

Causes of the July revolution

The background of the July revolution and the different causes of the Revolution like social, economic and political have been elucidated in the previous discussion. In the following discussion we will get to learn the specific causes.

- The compromising policy of Louis XVIII was dismissed by Charles X which precipitated the need to revolt among the citizens.
- The intention to establish absolute monarchy with the king as the ultimate decision maker, restriction of the civil powers and press, was against the emerging nationalist and liberalist feelings of the country.
- Cancelling the voting rights of the people by the July ordinance enacted by Charles X, was a bold step which ignited the people.
- Urban and rural imbalance and social disparity. The proletariats of the society were dominated and could not raise their voices for their political and economic rights.
- Louis XVIII failed to operate the constitutional government properly. He dissolved the chamber several times by using his supreme power.
- The so called constitutional government had many loopholes which did not solve many fundamental questions necessary for a constitutional government.
- Different historians said that the route of revolution was linked with the unsolved questions of the1789 revolution, which were fermenting and seeking for solutions. The July revolution is said to be the

completion of the revolution of 1789.

- Ideological change and rise of nationalism and political viewpoints was also the cause.
- Unpopularity of the restored monarchy of Louis XVIII among citizens. The liberals could not accept the attitude of the king towards hereditary and divine right of monarchy.
- Louis XVIII's arbitrary policy of appointing and dismissing ministers.
- Louis XVIII's arbitrary policy of dissolving the Chamber.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following Questions:

Q 1: What was the criterion of voters as per the July ordinance?

.....

Q 2: What did the Bonapartists want from the revolution?

.....

Q 3: Who was Villele?

.....

9.4 NATURE

The July Revolution was political in its origin. Prior to the Revolution, France was showing signs of improvement. It was only when the government forcefully tried to curb the freedom of the press that there was some trouble among the journalists which led to the outburst of emotions among the print workers and artisans.

Though there were similar insurrections in 1820 and 1827, yet the 1830 Revolution garnered wide support. The support to the Revolution could be seen in the closure of industries and small shops by people, participation by the students, the National Guardsmen, the Parisian Liberal Electoral Committee and its supporters and former Napoleonic officers.

The 1830 Revolution was a people's Revolution, in the sense that it was expression of common resistance against the authorities. It was marked

UNIT 10 : THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION OF 1848

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives
10.2 Introduction
10.3 Background
- Causes of the February revolution, 1848

10.4 Meaning and Consequences
10.5 Let Us Sum Up
10.6 Further Reading
10.7 Answers to Check Your Progress
10.8 Model Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the background of the Revolution of 1848
- describe the causes of the February revolt 1848, and
- discuss the consequences of the revolution in French history.

10.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous Unit, we discussed the July Revolution of 1830 and its impact on France and on the other European countries. The Revolution of 1830 was political in nature and was triggered with the hope of bringing liberal changes in the government of France.

In this Unit, we will discuss the background, causes, impacts and the contribution of the Revolution to the politics of France and to the world scenario. The discussion will help in understanding the social and political scenario of that era and also explain the short and long term effects of the revolution. The February revolution of 1848 holds a very significant place in the history of Europe due to its immense political and social impacts. The Revolution of 1848 is considered as the most widespread political movement of France that had tremendous influence in Europe.

root cause of the revolution?

B) Short Questions (answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: What was the socio-economic profile of France before the start of the July revolution?

Q 2: State the nature of the Revolution of 1830.

Q 3: Write a short note on Louis XVIII.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss the background of the July revolution in France.

Q 2: Briefly discuss the causes and impact of the July revolution of 1830.

*** ***** ***

with violence. For example, in Nantes, there was a casualty of a large number of people who were fired upon by the troops.

9.5 CONSEQUENCES AND SIGNIFICANCE

The July revolution is significant as it awakened the revolutionary tradition of France. The revolution is criticized as a conservative one which was not accompanied by any great social and economic reforms. Superficially, the revolution had replaced one monarchy by another. After the revolution, the amended government enforced voting rights to the rich who paid an annual income tax of 200 francs. The upper bourgeoisie benefited by the July revolution as the government was a puppet in its hands. Yet there were various short term and long term benefits associated with the revolution.

- Louis Philippe's government concentrated more on the divine right of the nation rather than the right of the king's. The king is regarded as the "king of the French" rather than king of France.
- The revolution ended the hereditary monarchy in France. Louis Philippe had no hereditary link with the throne.
- The revolution ended the dominance of the aristocrats and émigrés.
- Secularism energed as a fruit of the revolution and dominant clericalism and Catholicism were threatened.
- The Industrial Revolution added wealth to the bourgeoisie whereas the July revolution added the political power.
- It brought political and social reforms and awakened the common men.
- The revolution influenced many countries of Europe such as Belgium, Switzerland, Poland, Spain, Italy and England.

The July revolution had impacts on the political and social structure of the European countries. It created an echo in Belgium leading to its independence from Holland in 1831.

Another notable success was the announcement of a liberal constitution in Switzerland. Following the path of the July revolution, in 1830 the liberals and students started agitating for a liberal constitution and

democracy in Germany against the Metternich system. Rise of nationalism occurred in Poland and the nationalists revolted there in 1830, failing however to get widespread support. By 1831, the independent revolution of Poland was crushed by the Russian forces.

The effect of the July revolution on England was that the people demanded the extension of franchise in England and in 1832, Lord Grey introduced and passed the reform bill. The July revolution also ignited the civil war in Spain and Portugal between the conservatives and liberals.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following Questions:

Q 4 : Why was the 1830 Revolution more of a People's Revolution in nature?

.....

Q 5 : Mention one positive effect of the 1830 Revolution.

.....

Q 6 : When was the reform bill on franchise passed in England?

.....



9.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that-

- The July revolutions of 1830 have dramatically influenced the France as well as the rest of Europe.
- The revolution of 1830 was triggered after Louis XVIII died and Charles X, brother of Louis XVIII, rose to power.
- The July revolution brought about political and social reforms and awakened the common men.
- The revolution influenced many countries of Europe such as Belgium, Switzerland, Poland, Spain, Italy and England. Belgium got independence from the Dutch which is a reflection of the July revolution.



9.7 FURTHER READING

1) Maiti, P. (1997). *A History of Europe*. Kolkata, India : Shreedhar Prakashani.

2) Thomson, David. (2007). *Europe since Napoleon*. New Delhi, India **:** Surjeet publications.

3) Alexander, Robert. (2003). *Re-writing the French Revolutionary Tradition-Liberal Opposition and the fall of the Bourbon Monarchy*. New York, NY **:** Cambridge University Press.



9.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Voters paying annual income tax of 300 francs were allowed to vote.

Ans to Q No 2: Bonapartists wanted absolute republic status.

Ans to Q No 3: Villele, a chief minister of Louis XVIII, also an ultra royalist.

Ans to Q No 4: The 1830 Revolution was a people's Revolution, in the sense that it was expression of common resistance against the authorities.

Ans to Q No 5: A notable success was the announcement of a liberal constitution in Switzerland.

Ans to Q No 6: 1832



9.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (Answer each question in about 50 words)

Q 1: What was Guizot's educational policy?

Q 2: Why was Charles X's ordinance of 25th July, 1830 considered as the

under the leadership of Louis Napoleon, who transformed the Republic into an Empire while himself assuming the title of Emperor Napoleon III.

We will discuss the condition of France during this period and its relation with foreign powers.

11.3 SECOND FRENCH REPUBLIC (1848-1852)

The immediate effect of the February Revolution of 1848 was the abdication of Louis Philippe and the proclamation of France as a Republic. This is the beginning of the Second French Republic that we will be discussing in this Unit.

The Republic emerged by accident. Though there were differences between the Moderate and Socialist Republicans, yet for the time being, general consensus prevailed. A Provisional Government headed by nine republicans was set up under the new Republic. Slavery was abolished and universal male suffrage was declared by the government.



LET US KNOW

Lamartine, Marrast and Garnier-Pages were followers of moderate Republican ideals and were associated with the newspaper *Le National*.

Louis Blanc, Albert and the editor of *La Reforme* were more inclined towards a social Republic in France.

As elections for the Constituent Assembly was approaching, people started taking more interest in politics. In Paris alone there were more than 200 political clubs and newspapers being published and circulated. The representatives from these clubs began campaigning in the rural areas to woo the voters who were still loyal to the conservatives. There was also a rise in the demand for electoral franchise for women. “The Women’s Voice” was a newspaper published by women which demanded reforms. Prior to the elections, France was undergoing a huge economic crisis. Shortage of funds, no employment and unemployed workers migrating to Paris and other towns only created chaos among the elite class.

1840-1848) whose theory of government and power were suitable and comfortable for the king. Guizot’s educational and political policies were controversial. In 1848, Guizot declared that the schools were to be controlled by the governments and church. He did not truly associate with the idea of secular education. He tried to manipulate the elections by manipulating the legislators and offering bribes.

The people of France were not ready to tolerate the government of Philippe and in different parts of the state, demands for reform were raised. Different reforms like reform of the electoral law and extension of the franchise were raised in the state. Various opposition parties opposed the government and wanted some reforms which the King refused to contemplate. On February 22, 1848, the liberals arranged a “Reform Banquet”. The government was opposed to such public gatherings and prohibited the meeting. As a result the people revolted and barricades were raised in the streets. Republicans and liberals both united and revolted against the government. Fighting broke out between the municipal officials and the citizens. The king, on the evening of 22nd February, ordered the guards to suppress the revolt but the guards also supported the revolt and cried “long live reforms”. Next day, Guizot resigned from his duty. On 23rd February, in front of the ministry of foreign affairs office, eighty two people were killed by the army. Angry citizens began to converge to the royal palaces. The revolt organized by the liberals flourished as a full grown revolution and on 24th February, the government was under control of the activists and Louis Philippe abdicated and fled to England.

- **Causes of the February revolution, 1848**

The reign of Orleans monarchy began in 1830 and ended in 1848 through the Parisian revolution. Louis Philippe in his early years was popular among the citizens. He called himself the people’s king. The king in his early years tried to be moderate so that no political party would go against him. Philippe failed to change with time and due to this weakness the Royalists, Republicans and Bonapartists began to dislike him. Philippe gave a lot of patronage to the upper middle class, for which he earned opposition from other sections of the society leading to his downfall.

According to some historian, the food scarcity of 1846-47, due to failure of wheat and potato crops caused the unrest which led to the downfall of Louis Philippe. But there are different criticisms of this view. According to one, the rigidity of Philippe to reform social and institutional policies was the cause of the collapse of his regime. Lacking political support due to the anti-labour, anti-people strategy, his fall was bound to happen. According to Cobban, if the revolution had not happened in 1848, it was bound to happen at some other time.

The amendment of the charter and curtailment of the voting rights of the general population was the vital cause of the fall of the regime. The voting right was limited to only 2.8% of population, and the other greater remained unnoticed.

Rise of the working class and their revolt was the cause of the February revolution. The July revolution had awakened the French working class. The working classes were poor and ill paid and were overworked. They lived in poor living conditions, mostly in slum areas. Philippe's strategy was basically to suppress them; he repressed every labour movement by force. He refused to pass any law and policy to enhance the condition of the working class. His pro-capitalist and anti-labour policies were the significant causes of the February revolution.

Another strong social group named the petit bourgeoisie (lower middle class) was unhappy by the haute bourgeois (higher meddle class) policy of Louis Philippe. They opposed the policy of Louis Philippe and his minister Guizot's no reform policy.

All the above discussed points were the cause of the February revolution which fuelled the revolt into a full grown revolution and resulted in many happenings beginning from the abdication of the king from the throne to echoes that had been generated in other parts of the Europe. In our next section we will discuss the impact of the revolution-the short term and long term impacts i.e. results and impact in France and in the other parts of the world.

UNIT 11: THE SECOND NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives
11.2 Introduction
11.3 Second French Republic (1848-1852)
11.4 Napoleon III and his Reforms
11.5 End of the Second Napoleonic Empire
11.6 Let Us Sum Up
11.7 Further Reading
11.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
11.9 Model Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to -

- describe the rise and fall of the Second Republic in France
- discuss the rise of Louis Napoleon and the Second Napoleonic Empire
- analyse the reforms introduced in France by Napoleon III and their impact
- explain the foreign policy of Napoleon III and the attitude of the European power towards France
- discuss the fall of the Second Republic and Napoleon III.

11.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous Unit, we discussed the February Revolution that occurred in France in 1848. The February revolution brought universal voting rights to the French people and established a republic. The revolution influenced the political scenario of Europe and brought about the end of the Metternich system in Austria.

In this Unit, we will discuss the Second French Republic which was very short-lived (1848-1852) and the consequent development in France

10.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Rise of the working class and their revolt was the cause of the February revolution.

Ans to Q No 2: Through Bribes

Ans to Q No 3: The Orleanists

Ans to Q No 4: The positive effect of the revolution can be seen in the increased number of electorates

Ans to Q No 5: Crenville.

10.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (Answer each within 50 words)-

Q 1: Who were the ultra royalists and how did they influence the political system of France?

Q 2: "Louis Philippe got the throne as a compromise"- What was the situation that led to the compromise?

B) Short Questions (Answer each within 150-300 words)-

Q 1: Discuss the condition of the workers and the cause of the workers' revolution towards the regime of Louis Philippe.

Q 2: Draw a comparison between the July revolution of 1830 and the February revolution of 1848.

C) Long Questions (Answer each within 300-500 words)-

Q 1: Write a short note on the regime of Louis Philippe.

Q 2: Briefly discuss the causes and impact of the February revolution of 1848.

*** ***** ***



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions :

Q 1: Mention any one cause that led to the revolution.

.....

Q 2: How did Guizot try to manipulate the elections?

.....

Q 3: Who opposed Philippe?

.....

10.4 MEANING AND CONSEQUENCES

The February revolution brought universal voting rights to the French people and established a republic. The experimental constitutional monarchy came to an end after the February movement. The positive effect of the revolution can be seen in the increased number of electorates to almost 9 million from 0.25 million. Another interesting fact associated with the revolution is that it buried the slavery system in France. Relief for the unemployed was achieved by the provisional government through enactment of the National Workshops, which guaranteed the French citizens the "right to work". The political ideology of the state had changed from the republican system to the idea of socialism. The bourgeoisie opposed the new republican government as their exclusive privilege for voting was destroyed.

Apart from this the revolution turned into an international revolution and its impact can be traced in different countries nearby. The revolution had an impact on the political scenario of Europe and brought the end of Metternich system in Austria. The revolt of the Hungarians was suppressed with the help of Russia. The February revolution of France also contributed to the unification of German states. Historians also relate the February revolution with the risings in Naples, Papal States, Tuscany, and Venice in Italy.

Though the February revolution of France was aimed towards socio-economic changes in the country and for the voting rights of the common

people but at the end the revolution had changed its character. The objective of the revolution was fulfilled but the new republican government dismissed the socialist character soon after the revolution. The national workshops and the worker's welfare schemes were closed down. The change of mind of the new government from socialism affected the working community and led to a violent riot in June 1848. The riot in June was suppressed by the shedding of blood of almost 10 thousand workers. This shows that though the February revolution started as an opposition to the royal class and tried to bring equal rights to the working class but indeed it ended up as a petit bourgeois revolution.

According to Crenville, the February revolution was a "half revolution" and a distant sequel of the July revolution of 1830. The results of the revolution can be summarized as that it brought Republicanism and social and political equality in France. The revolution encouraged the common man to revolt and helped them to raise their voices.



LET US KNOW

"The revolution of 1848 could find nothing better to do than to parody that of 1789-95" ———— —— Karl Marx

In Maiti, P. (A History of Europe), page 318

"History repeats itself"-the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 were indeed a sequel of the great 1789 revolution which had repeated to fulfill different objectives at different time frames. According to historian Cobban, the model of February revolution was a repeated version of the commonly known 1789 revolution. Although the French revolution of 1789 was known to the people but the later revolution had a wide range of influence not only in France but also in the rest of Europe. The 1830 July revolution was about social equality and constitutional monarchy whereas the latter one was for social and political equality and for republicanism. Both Belgium and Poland fought for independence which was a reflection of the July 1830, French revolution. Belgium got independence from the Dutch. These two revolutions

led to social change and brought an end to the slavery system in France. The revolutions taught the working class that the ultimate authority belonged to them and that they also could change the political scenario.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following Questions :

Q 4: State a positive effect of the 1848 Revolution.

.....

Q 5: According to whom was the February revolution a "half revolution"?

.....



10.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that-

- Curtailment of the voting rights of the general population paying less than 200 francs per year, was the vital cause of the fall of the regime of Louis Philippe.
- Rise of the working class and their revolt was another cause.
- The February revolution brought universal voting rights to the French people and established a republic. The revolution influenced the political scenario of Europe and brought an end to the Metternich system in Austria.



10.6 FURTHER READINGS

1) Maiti, P. (1997). *A History of Europe*. Kolkata, India : Shreedhar Prakashani.

2) Thomson, David. (2007). *Europe since Napoleon*. New Delhi, India **:** Surjeet publications.

With the Spanish throne lying vacant, Prussian candidate Prince Leopold was put forward as the contender to the throne. Napoleon threatened Prussia with war and demanded an apology. Prussia was helped by Wuttemberg, Bavaria, Baden and Hesse. On July 19, 1870, war was declared. France was declared a Republic, and Napoleon III was allowed to leave for an exile in Britain. Paris fell into the hands of the Prussian army.

An armistice was signed between Germany and France on January 28, 1871 to establish a conservative Republic. Some leaders of France opposed the idea and elected a National Assembly dominated by the monarchist with Louis Adolphe Thiers as the chief executive of the provisional government. By the Treaty of Frankfurt (May 10, 1871), Alsace and Lorraine was lost to France. Paris was occupied by Prussian troops till the payment of the war indemnity.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 6: Who was Baron Haussman?

.....

Q 7: What is the "*Credit Foncier*"?

.....

Q 8: When was the Treaty of Frankfurt signed?

.....

Q 9: By which treaty did France gain Savoy and Nice?

.....



11.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that:

- The Second French Republic did not last long and the only significant outcome of the Republic was the abolition of slavery and the granting of universal male suffrage.
- Louis Napoleon brought about the downfall of the Republic by his

However the election was a disappointment to the Republicans. The Conservatives won the majority of seats with the Republican Socialists winning just 100 out of 900 seats. The results led to political crisis and there was an attempt to dissolve the new Constituent Assembly.

The new provisional Government took stern measures. National Workshops were to be closed, as declared by the government on June 23, 1848. Radical Republicans were arrested. There was uprising during these days, also known as "June Days".



LET US KNOW

NATIONAL WORKSHOPS: These workshops were avenues for providing employment to the unemployed. Since the outbreak of the February Revolution, there was a crisis of employment among the people who were forced to live in destitution. In order to curb this problem, National Workshops were established. The works assigned to the people were menial in nature. The workshops were fully supported by public funds.

The uproar was crushed with utmost brutality. Many were killed; some of them were executed. Workers were deported to Algeria or other colonies, while thousands of people were set to prison. The New Assembly immediately began passing laws curtailing political movements, freedom of press, assembly, banning women from any political membership, and ensuring the closure of political clubs etc.

In the Presidential election that was instituted by the republic constitution of November 1848, Louis Napoleon emerged the winner. The legend of Napoleon was still fresh in the minds of the people, and they hoped that Louis would be able to bring political stability in France. On December 10, 1848, Louis Napoleon was elected President of the Second Republic.



LET US KNOW

The other major candidate for the Presidential elections was Cavaignac.

With the overwhelming victory of Louis Napoleon, the latter now took measures to strengthen his power and authority. He sent an expedition to Rome which inspired an insurrection inspired by the leadership of Ledru Rollin, but the insurrection was crushed. By passing the Falloux Law in the Assembly, Napoleon allowed the Roman Catholic Church to run schools alongside the state schools thus keeping a check on secular education. He also proposed the repeal of Electoral Law of 1850 which disenfranchised poor voters. This was a huge step taken by Napoleon to gain popularity and favour of the common people.

On December 1 and 2, 1851, by a coup d'état, it was proclaimed that Louis Napoleon would remain President for 10 years. Assembly chamber was occupied, arrests were made. The Second Republic survived another year and on December 2, 1852 the Republic gave way to Empire and Napoleon assumed the title of Emperor Napoleon III.

Born in 1808, son of Louis Bonaparte (brother of Napoleon Bonaparte), Louis Napoleon made his bid to capture power through a coup twice (once in 1836 by seizing Strasbourg and another in 1840 at Boulogne), which failed.

In October 1849, he dismissed the Barrots Ministry and replaced it with his own men. He went on tours to interact with the people and at the same time made lavish arrangements for the army men. His proposal to re-elect himself for the second term of Presidency by amending the Constitution fell flat and consequently on December 2, a military coup took place under Duc de Morney (Louis Napoleon's half brother).

In a plebiscite after the coup, the majority of voters supported the coup and the continuation of Louis Napoleon as Prince President. The Constitution of 14 January, 1852, gave all executive power to the Prince President. All ministers were accountable to him. 260 Deputies elected by

exports doubled. The Government took direct interest in stimulating the economy and encouraging investment. In 1852, the Periere brothers created an investment bank, the *Credit Mobilier* to sell shares in order to raise capital. The *Credit Foncier* aided the agricultural sector.

Industrial growth under the Second Napoleonic Empire was almost comparable to that of Great Britain. However, the French industries remained confined to small scale business. Investors of France exported capital to foreign countries for infra-structural development. Loans were also provided to Portugal, Austria-Hungary and Mexico. France also developed her railways and it expanded to 10,000 miles of track by 1869. Napoleon III tried to bring a change of rule by introducing reform along the lines of "liberalism". In 1857, five Republicans were elected to the Legislative Corps. The Right to strike was established in 1864.

11.5 END OF THE SECOND NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE

Ever since its independence in 1821, Mexico had become a matter of significant importance to Britain, US and other European powers. Napoleon brought about his own downfall by his foreign policy. In 1859, the Franco-Prussian war broke out. Austrians were defeated in Northern Italy at Magenta and Solferino. By 1860 the Treaty of Turin, Savoy and Nice was gained by France. Napoleon also sent troops to expand French control in Senegal, Lebanon and Indo-China.

Napoleon intervened in Mexico with the pretext of protecting the financial interests of France. In 1864, Napoleon III proclaimed Austrian Archduke Maximilian as Emperor of Mexico. US rose in protest. The Mexicans did not want an Austrian Emperor. In 1867, Maximilian was executed. The Mexican people rose in revolt.

In 1866, France sided with Austria during the Austro-Prussian war and demanded Rhineland from Russia. Early in 1868, the freedom granted to the Assembly, garnered opposition for the Empire. Strike spread in 1870. Opponents were invited to draft a liberal Constitution to make ministers responsible to the Legislative Corps.



Key Sites in the Crimean War.
1. At Varna, troops were stationed July-August 1854.
2. At Kalamita Bay, troops landed in September 1854.
3. The Battle of Inkermann took place 5 November 1854.
4. At Scutari was the Barrack Hospital, Nightingale's main hospital. Sick and wounded soldiers had to be transported 300 miles from Balaclava to Scutari.

[Picture Courtesy: Lynn McDonald (edited) (2010). *Florence Nightingale: The Crimean War,* pg xiv. Volume 14 of the Collected Works of Florence Nightingale, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Canada, US]

The war resulted in the breakdown of the age old power relationship. Austria was the worst loser from the Crimean War, left with no friends and instead earned the wrath and hostility of Russia for its neutrality. Britain was left disillusioned and Russia was humiliated with the defeat.

In November 1860, Napoleon III had introduced liberal reforms in his administration allowing discussion over his annual address, the right to propose amendment to bills, publication of parliamentary debates. In 1861, the parliament got the right to discuss the budget clause by clause thus giving unprecedented influence in the government budget. French intervention in mexico at this point of time attracted huge opposition and criticism from the public as well as the parliament. Prior to this, France had just signed the Cobden Chevalier agreement and peace was restored with England.

The period of Napoleon III was marked by what the economic historian exemplified as an "industrial take-off". Between 1853 and 1864, the French

male suffrage formed the Legislative Body which met for only 3 months of each year and the Deputies had no power to raise questions which meant that they were Deputies merely in name. The Senate was created for amending the Constitution and a Council of State was created to support the Executive.

Thus the Government set up by the January Constitution of 1852 was meant to give more authority to Louis Napoleon. On December 1852, the Constitution was amended to proclaim the Second Empire with Louis Napoleon assuming the tile of Emperor Napoleon III.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions :

Q 1: When did Louis Phillipe abdicate the French throne?

.....

Q 2: Name the daily published by women that demanded reforms for women.

.....

Q 3: What is meant by "National Workshops"?

.....

Q 4: What was the "the Falloux Law"?

.....

Q 5: Who was Duc de Morney?

.....

11.4 LOUIS NAPOLEON AND HIS REFORMS

In a speech, Napoleon III famously proclaimed that "the Empire means peace", reassuring foreign governments that the new Emperor Napoleon would not be an aggressor. However, the promise proved illusory, as Napoleon III involved France in a series of conflicts throughout his reign. Back home, Napoleon curbed free press, kept strict police vigilance, exiling his opponents, manipulating elections. Public works were funded;

development of railways harbours gave uplift to the trade and industry and employment sector. Alongside the new buildings the affordable housing scheme for the working class also came up. Loans were raised outside the banks. The Credit Foncier provided loans for urban development. Credit Mobilier was an important innovation during that time which offered loans on the savings of the small investors and it prospered owing to the fact that the bank took risk unlike the old fashioned elite banking house.

Extravagant projects were undertaken like the Suez Canal, rebuilding of Paris under Baron Haussman. There was a marked change but it was not very deep due to the fact that there was no detailed economic planning. Infrastructural development did not lead to immediate gains in the industrial and agricultural sectors. Despite the opposition from the business class and manufacturers for reduction of tariff and protection of domestic markets, Napoleon III signed the Cobden-Chevalier agreement in 1860 which was an attempt to reduce tariff, thus allowing free trade.



LET US KNOW

The Cobden Chevalier Agreement of 1860 was a turning point in the history of French economy. It was signed between France and England. Michel Chevalier was the signatory from France and Richard Cobden was the signatory from Britain. Both were an ardent supporter of Free Trade.

Napoleon III had a long list of supporters which included Orleanists, Legitimists, old Bonapartists, and a few Republicans. The peasants were loyal owing their sentiments to a legend with which they had grown up, the bourgeoisie out of its desire for peace and stability. New men were recruited as officials to gain more loyalists for the Second Empire. Napoleon appealed to the Catholic sentiment too. Napoleon III made an attempt at establishing French power by winning over the Christian subjects in Palestine. The Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century had begun to decline and it offered new opportunities for rivalries among the Western powers that had their

vested interests in the region.

France under Napoleon took up the cause of the Christians and defended the Latin Church in Jerusalem at Porte. This led to Russian intervention which pointed to the treaties of 1757 and 1774. Russia demanded its rights for the protection of the Christian shrines in Palestine again in 1853. This created an atmosphere of tension among the European powers. They feared the rise of Russian menace in the Middle Eastern Ottoman Empire. This resulted in France getting support from Britain and Austria. Napoleon had also his own reason as he felt insulted when the Russian Tsar did not address him as “brother” but as a “good friend”. Austria was in the meantime looking for an ally against Russia. The various attempts by the Ottoman Emperor to reach a negotiation with Russia and France over the issue failed.

With the invasion of Wallachia and Moldavia by Russia, the Ottoman Empire declared war on October 4, 1853. In 1854, Britain and France declared war. Though the war strategy was poor, but with the fall of Sebastopol in September 1855, Russia under Tsar Alexander II withdrew from the battle. In 1856, a peace Conference was held in Paris, thus restoring the old French glory in the eyes of the French people. Thus, the Crimean War proved rewarding to France and Napoleon III who was desperately seeking to prove himself to the French public. With the conclusion of the war, Russia had to accept the neutrality of the Black Sea and give up Bessarabia. There were casualties on both sides during the War. Soldiers died in large numbers and mostlies from disease like cholera. The dedication of Florence Nightingale saved many lives in this period of great human loss.

to rule in accordance with the liberal constitution of 1812. Then, at the Congress of Verona held in 1822, the great powers met to discuss the continued instability of Spain due to revolution. In the case of Spain, England strongly opposed the policy of an international military intervention. But Metternich of Austria rejected England's objection and France was authorized to punish the revolutionaries. Throughout the 1820s and 1830s, Metternich continued the war against liberal revolutionaries. He believed that middle class liberalism was responsible for open revolution. Metternich's policies successfully repressed revolutionary activities. The Metternich system continued in Europe until 1848 A.D and his policies dominated the Austrian Empire as well as the German Confederation.

- **Metternich and Germany:**

Metternich established the German Confederation to preserve the interests of the Austrian empire. Moreover, it was a loose confederation which was the only thing in the interests of the Austrian empire. The thirty-nine states of the German confederation could be used by Austria to serve her against the Prussian empire. Metternich also saw that many secret societies were established throughout the German States. Therefore, to put a check on the activities of these secret societies, the Carlsbad Decree was introduced in 1819. College and Universities were to be under state control. As a result of such measures taken by Metternich, there was some unrest and instability in many States of Germany. But these were successfully suppressed. It is found that good relationship within the German confederation depended on an understanding between the two great members, Austria and Prussia. But both powers came into conflict with each other to establish their hegemony. Therefore, Prof. Hayes says, "Metternich's hold on Germany was complete."

- **Metternich and Italy :**

Prince Klemens von Metternich considered Italy as simply a "geographical expression." The Congress of Vienna supported this contention of Metternich. In Italy, Austrian interests determined the territorial arrangements. Austria received the two richest provinces, Lombardy and Venice, while rulers connected with the Austrian imperial family were restored

coup d'état in 1852 and assumed the title of Emperor Napoleon III and declared France as the Second Napoleonic Empire.

- Napoleon III had a challenge before him. First, he had to build on the legacy of his great uncle owing to which the French public had given him support and secondly to assure the foreign powers that France would not be a trouble abroad.
- Napoleon introduced reforms along the lines of Liberalism. His foreign policy did not give France any advantage.



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4) Simpson, William & Jones, Martin. (2009). *Europe 1783-1914* (2nd edition). London, UK: Routledge.



11.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: 1848

Ans to Q No 2: The Women's Voice

Ans to Q No 3: National Workshops were avenues for providing employment to the people of France. The works were mostly menial in nature.

Ans to Q No 4: The Falloux Law allowed the Catholic Church to run schools alongside the state run schools.

Ans to Q No 5: Duc de Morney was Louis Napoleon's half brother

Ans to Q No 6: French administrator who was given the charge of rebuilding Paris.

Ans to Q No 7: The *Credit Foncier* is an investment bank which offered loans.

Ans to Q No 8: 1871

Ans to Q No 9: Treaty of Turin



11.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each within 50 words)

Q 1: Who was Rollins?

Q 2: When did the Crimean War break out?

Q 3: What were the causes that led to the Franco-Prussian War?

B) Short Questions (answer each within 150-300 words)

Q 1: What did France gain from the Second Republic?

Q 2: What was the significance of the Cobden-Chevalier agreement?

Q 3: How did Napoleon III try to win the Catholic sentiments?

Q 4: What transpired during the "June Days"?

C) Long Questions (answer each within 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss the reforms introduced by Napoleon III under the "Liberal Regime" and how it affected the French.

Q 2: What led to the downfall of Napoleon III? Explain in details.

*** ***** ***

it was decided at the congress that each of the great nations would have to agree to meet periodically for discussing serious issues of mutual concern. Thus, Metternich got the opportunity to endorse Austrian hegemony in Europe.



LET US KNOW

Answer the following questions:

Q 1: In which year was the Treaty of Sistova signed?

.....

Q 2: Who dissolved the Holy Roman Empire in 1809 A.D. ?

.....

Q 3: In which year was Metternich appointed as a Foreign Minister of Austria?

.....

Q 4: In which year did the French Revolution break out?

.....

12.3 THE METTERNICH SYSTEM

Metternich played such an active role in European affairs from 1815 A.D to 1848 A.D. that the period was called the Age of Metternich. He was mainly responsible for creating a balance of power among the big nations in Europe. For the next thirty years, Metternich dedicated himself to stabilizing and consolidating this balance. The great powers called up the Concert of Europe after the Congress of Vienna. They met in the first assembly which was known as the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818 A.D and discussed the status of France, the Atlantic slave trade and other issues. During the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, Tsar Alexander I of Russia proposed a permanent European Union with an international troops but Castlereagh of England rejected this idea. This marked the first break in the accord among the great powers.

In the early part of the 1820s, liberal revolutions created instability in Spain and Naples. The revolutionary troops forced Ferdinand VII of Spain

1815 A.D to 1848 A.D. He entered the diplomatic service of Austria at a very young age. By 1806, he was appointed Austrian Ambassador to France. At that time, the Austrian Habsburg dynasty faced a serious threat from the aggressive policy of Napoleon I. It may be noted that Austria unwillingly joined the Third Coalition against Napoleon I of France, but Austria withdrew from the war after a decisive defeat at the Battle of Austerlitz .Then, Austria was forced to conclude a humiliating Treaty of Pressburg in 1805 A.D. In such a condition, Prince Klemens von Metternich was appointed as the Foreign Minister of Austria in 1809 A.D.

The latter period of Napoleonic wars was influenced by Metternich's foreign policy. His main aim was to keep the Austrian Empire afloat until Napoleon could be thwarted. However, Prince Klemens von Metternich initially supported an alliance with Napoleon I of France. So, he arranged the marriage ceremony between Marie Louise, the daughter of Francis I of Austria and Napoleon I of France. However, after this marriage, Metternich tried to protect Austria from the threat of Napoleon .But after 1812 A.D; Metternich had realized the inevitability of Napoleon's downfall. Then, Austria took part in the war against Napoleon .The result was that Austria became one of the great powers in Europe after 1815 A.D.

- **Metternich and the Vienna Congress:**

In the Vienna Congress, Metternich was a dominant figure and played an active role to take the decisions of the congress. Metternich believed that stability of European politics mainly depended on a balance of power among the great powers. His main aim was to increase Austria's power in European politics. For the establishment of the balance of power, strong countries had to be willing to put their own territorial interests aside. With his active role at the congress, Austria got Lombardy and Venetia in Italy. It is also found that Klemens von Metternich was able to maintain the members of the Habsburg royal family on the throne of Modena, Parma and Tuscany. Hence, Austria was also to be the controller of the German Diet and without Austria's approval nothing could be done. Metternich stood to make the Vienna Peace Settlement permanent. For that purpose, the Quadruple Alliance was formed between Austria, England, Prussia and Russia. Lastly,

UNIT 12: AUSTRIAN HEGEMONY IN EUROPE

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives
12.2 Introduction
- Rise of Austria under Metternich

12.3 The Metternich System
12.4 Failure of the Metternich System
12.5 Consequences
12.6 Let Us Sum Up
12.7 Further Reading
12.8 Answers to Check your Progress
12.9 Model Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the foundation of the Austrian Empire
- discuss the contribution and role of Metternich in the rise of Austria
- discuss the Metternich System and how it influenced European politics
- trace the causes for the failure of the Metternich Policy.

12.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, we disussed about the Second Napoleonic Empire This Unit will focus on the rise of the Austrian empire. The Austrian Empire comprised of Bohemia, Galicia, the kingdom of Hungary, the northern Italian province of Lombardy, Illyria and Venetia. The Austrian Empire included lands inhabited by different races speaking different languages and having no unified administration. It was difficult for Austria to rule and defend her widely scattered lands. Austria was dominated by the House of the Habsburg dynasty.

- **Early Period of Austrian Empire:**

The Habsburg dynasty controlled the election of the Holy Roman Emperor for the whole of the 17th century as well as during the Thirty Years War. It may be noted that during the time of the peace of Westphalia in 1648, Ferdinand III of the Habsburg royal family was forced to grant the German states more latitude in self-governance and also allowed each German state to choose its own religion. In 1648, Austria controlled the neighbouring states of Moravia, Bohemia, Tyrol and Carinthia. However, Joseph II was the Holy Roman Emperor of Habsburg dynasty from 1765 to 1790. He was one of the most powerful "Enlightened Despots". Joseph II contributed a lot to development of the Austrian Empire. He had tried to introduce a centralized and unified administration in his dominions and wished to make German the official language everywhere. In 1781, he also abolished the serfdom system. Moreover, Joseph II tried to improve internal conditions of the Austrian Empire.

After the death of Joseph II, Leopold II became the king of the Holy Roman Empire of the Habsburg royal dynasty. However, Leopold II was threatened by the aggressive policies of Catherine II of Russia. Then, he came to an agreement with Frederick William II of Prussia. Under such peaceful situations, Leopold II re-established his authority in Belgium and also made a friendly relationship with the Netherlands. He was also interested in negotiating with Turkey and his interests led to a final peace settlement, known as the Treaty of Sistova in August, 1791. It may be noted that the revolutionary sentiment of the French Revolution of 1789 also had its influence on the masses of the Austrian Empire. The motto of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" was a threat to the Austrian Emperor's rule. Specially, the revolutionary zeal of nationalism and the idea of liberty posed a direct threat to the authority of the Habsburg Emperor. In March, 1792, Leopold II suddenly died. He contributed a lot to re-establish Austrian hegemony in Europe.

After the death of Leopold II, Francis I became the king of the Austrian Habsburg royal family. It may be noted that he was also known as Francis II of the Holy Roman Empire. In fact, Francis II was the last Holy Roman

Emperor who ruled from 1792 A.D. to 1806 A.D.. He was the ruling emperor within the Austrian empire from 1804 A.D. to 1835 A.D. Moreover, he served as the first president of the German Confederation from 1815 A.D.

Francis II of the Holy Roman Empire continued his significant role as an opponent of Napoleon I of France. Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821), also known as Napoleon I was a Great French Emperor who conquered much of Europe during the early nineteenth century. Napoleon was a great military conqueror and successfully waged a war against various coalitions of European countries. However, Francis II of the Holy Roman Empire came into conflict with Napoleon I. In April, 1792 Revolutionary France declared war against the Austrian Empire. The first conflict and war between Francis II and Napoleon I of France lasted for five years until Austria was forced to make a peace treaty on unfavorable conditions. Again, Austria fought Napoleon I of France in 1799 and in 1805 but was defeated. However, Francis II of the Holy Roman Empire took two measures to protect the interests of the Austrian Habsburg dynasty. First, he adopted a new royal hereditary title "Emperor of Austria" in 1804. Now, he was known as Francis I, Emperor of Austria. Secondly, to check the expansion of Napoleon Bonaparte, he dissolved the Holy Roman Empire in 1809 Moreover, the war between Francis I and Napoleon I continued. In 1809 Austria declared war on France but Austria's defeat was swift. After this defeat against France and under such critical situations, Francis I of Austria appointed Prince Clemens Von Metternich as a Foreign Minister. He took several steps for reconciliation with Napoleon I of France. Metternich had arranged a marriage between Francis's daughter, Marie Louise and Napoleon I of France. The marriage ceremony took place in 1810. But later on, Napoleon I became weak after his unsuccessful invasion of Russia. Then, Francis I of Austria took advantage of that situation and broke the alliance with France. However, Metternich played a diplomatic role in waging war against Napoleon I. Thus, Austria emerged as a victor from the war.

- **The Rise of Austria Under Metternich**

Prince Klemens von Metternich is undoubtedly one of the most influential statesmen and controversial figures of European history from

UNIT 13: THE EASTERN QUESTION

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Origin of the Balkan Problem

13.4 European Attitude Towards the Middle East

13.5 Treaty of San Stefano

13.6 Congress of Berlin

13.7 Let Us Sum Up

13.8 Further Reading

13.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.10 Model Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- discuss the problem of the Eastern Question and its background
- discuss the conflicting interests of the major European Powers in the Eastern Question
- analyse the consequences of the attitudes of the foreign Powers towards the Eastern Question.

13.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous Unit, we discussed the Austrian hegemony and the role of the Metternich in the rise of Austria.

The present unit will acquaint you with the Eastern Question as a whole. It will give you a comprehensive idea as to the definition and background of the Eastern Question. It will focus on the major developments that took place in the Near Eastern countries and the attitude of the major European Powers towards them.

to their thrones in Parma, Modena and Tuscany. Thus, Metternich made Austria the dominant power in Italy.

- **Metternich and France :**

After the downfall of Napoleon I, Metternich tried to encircle France in an “iron ring”. Metternich was also aware of the fact that the revolutionary ideas had evolved from France which could be a source of trouble once again. According to Metternich, “When France sneezes, the rest of Europe catches cold.” Therefore, France was accepted as member of the Quadruple Alliance. Metternich also faced serious threat in his nation when the revolution of 1830 took place in France.

- **Metternich and the Eastern Question:**

The Eastern Question was the most important affair faced by Metternich during his two decades (1821-41).The Greeks revolted under the leadership of Ypsilantis. They expected help from Russia because Russia hated the policies of Turkey with regard to the Eastern nations. But the Ottoman Empire of Turkey got help from Metternich. In fact, Prince von Metternich played an important role to suppress the Greek uprising in Moldavia. He had the pleasure of imprisoning Ypsilanti in Austria for seven years. But ultimately the independence of Greece was secured by the Treaty of Adrianople and the liberation of Greece was the first example of the triumph of nationalism and was thus a blow to Metternich’s system.

12.4 FAILURE OF THE METTERNICH SYSTEM

The Age of Metternich ended with the outbreak of the revolution of 1848 .It may be noted that the February revolution of France in 1848 prompted serious effects in the discontented cities of the Austrian Habsburg Empire. The driving factor of the revolution in the Austrian empire was primarily agrarian discontent. The peasants wanted to free themselves from the control of the feudal servitude. Gradually, crowds began to gather in the Austrian capital, Vienna. Prince von Metternich tried to eliminate the revolutionary activities in Austria. But the situation deteriorated due to revolution and the emperor removed Metternich from his office. The revolution of 1848 finally ended his political career. However, he came to

England and lived there till June, 1859 A.D. Undoubtedly, he was a diplomat rather than a statesman.

- **Failure of the Metternich System:**

Undoubtedly, Metternich was the most powerful person who controlled European politics from 1815 AD to 1848 AD. But he has been criticized by some historians for being an opportunist. Tsar Alexander I of Russia called him a liar. The failures of the Metternich system were:

(1) Promotion of Austrian Imperialism : It may be noted that promotion of Austrian imperialism was one of the serious failures and negative impact of the Metternich system in Europe. He consolidated Austrian imperialism in Europe through repressive measures taken against nationalism. For such aggressive measures of Metternich's, nationalities within Austrian Empire faced lack of political liberties, imprisonment and oppression. Therefore, it is said that Metternich surpassed Napoleon I in dictatorship. However, he also suffocated liberalism in Europe.

(2) Exploitation and oppressive measures taken by Metternich : It is found that economically, Metternich exploited subjects within the Austrian Habsburg Empire. Prince Klemens von Metternich forced conscription into the military to raise a big force to consolidate his exploitative rule in Europe. He also took several exploitative measures to raise money and taxes to meet the cost of administration. It is pointed out that such measures led to financial crisis, poverty and poor living condition of the common people. Later on, these deplorable and instable economic situations contributed a lot to the outbreak of the 1848 revolution.

(3) Spread of revolution throughout Europe : Metternich's policy, so far, was responsible for the spread of revolution and revolutionary ideas throughout Europe. However, Metternich failed to make a strong attempt to prevent the revolutionary activities in Europe. Therefore, he himself was ejected out by the revolution of 1848 and was sent to exile in England.

(4) Educational policy of Metternich : Metternich's Education system

d. Metternich and the Eastern Question.

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q 1: Describe the rise and fall of the Austrian Habsburg Empire till 1878.

Q 2: Describe the main events of the Austrian Empire during the year 1790 to1848.

Q 3: Critically elucidate on the Metternich System. Do you agree that the Metternich system is responsible for the decline of the Austrian Empire?

Q 4: Discuss the consequences of the Metternich System.

*** ***** ***

- Crankshaw, Edward. (1963). *The Fall of the House of Habsburg*. New York, NY : Viking.
- Sen, S. Nath. (2013). *Europe and the World: From the Renaissance to the Second World War*. London, UK : NCBA.

12.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: 1791
Ans to Q No 2: Francis I of the Austrian Empire
Ans to Q No 3: 1809
Ans to Q No 4:1789
Ans to Q No 5: Marie Louise.
Ans to Q No 6: 1805
Ans to Q No 7: June 18, 1815
Ans to Q No 8: Metternich.

12.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: Name the Holy Roman Emperor of the Habsburg dynasty who abolished the serfdom system?

Q 2: When was the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle held?

Q 3: Who was Ferdinand VII?

Q 4: In which year did Klemens von Metternich die?

Q 5: Who was the emperor (Tsar) of Russia at time of the Vienna congress?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Write short notes on:

a. Metternich

b. Role of the “Five Big Powers” in the Vienna congress

c. The Metternich System and Europe.

was a kind of insult to people’s intelligence. Therefore, he became unpopular amongst the intellectuals for his education policy. Metternich banned the teaching of revolutionary subjects and also tried to dispel academic freedom of students and teachers. These measures created resistance and finally he lost his career to the revolution of 1848 which was mainly organized by the professors and students of Austrian universities.

(5) **Religious Intolerance :** Metternich re-imposed religious intolerance in the fashion of the ancient regime. He tried to restore the privileges of the Catholic Church and made Catholicism a state religion. People became discontented because the Austrian empire was a multi-religious one.

(6) **Weak administrative system :** Metternich also failed to influence Emperor Francis I to execute administrative reform. There was absence of a centralized administration system. Therefore, it was impossible to stop the spread of revolutions and revolutionary ideas which resulted in the revolution of 1848.

(7) **Collapse of the Congress system :** Metternich is credited as the father of the congress system, but he is to be blamed for killing his own child. Metternich’s selfish interests alienated liberal monarchies like Britain, France, and Belgium. His policy created problems for the congress and it collapsed by 1830.

12.5 CONSEQUENCES

The period from 1815 to 1848 was when Metternich was very successful in European politics. So, this period has been called as “the Age of Metternich” and he himself has been called the “Coachman of Europe”. From an analysis of his political activities, the following consequences have been observed:

- It is found that Metternich made great contribution to the downfall of Napoleon I of France. After the end of the Napoleonic Era, Metternich reorganized the whole continent of Europe. He reduced the border of France and enforced permanent border restriction.

- At the Vienna Congress, Metternich ensured that disputed territories were partitioned in a way that no one power emerged as the most powerful and dominant nation and hence the balance of power was restored.
- Metternich established Austrian imperialism in Europe. He used the Vienna Congress for expansion of Austrian imperialism. Thus, Metternich was credited for the establishment of the Austrian Empire.
- Metternich was pre-occupied with the restoration of peace in Europe and the maintenance of status quo. He tried to check the revolution throughout Europe. Metternich was successful to maintaining unity in the heterogeneous Austrian empire till 1848 A.D.

- **Austria after the downfall of Metternich (1848-1878) :**

After the downfall of Metternich, the condition of Austria became deplorable and was marked by political unrest and instability throughout the country. Various ethnic groups in Austria had increasingly become nationalists and now they all yearned to express their individual rights and gain independence. In fact, during the revolution of 1848, Louis Kossuth, a radical Hungarian leader, began a vocal independence movement. Kossuth rejected the role of aristocracy and tried to establish social status. However, with the support of Russia's troops, the Austrian government tried to suppress the Hungarian independence movement. The Russians were successful in suppressing the independence movement of Hungary. Kossuth was exiled after the revolution. Although, the revolution of Hungary under the leadership of Kossuth failed, a sense of increasing unrest was felt in the Austria Empire. However, to solve this problem, they decided to make peace settlements and this arrangement came to be known as the Ausgleich, meaning literally "settlement" or "compromise". Hungary had a separate Parliament in 1867 A.D. Then Emperor of Austria was now crowned with the dual title of Emperor of Austria and the king of Hungary. His new realm was to known as the Austria-Hungary Empire. Soon after this settlement with Hungary, Austria came to conflict with Prussia. However, the speed of the Prussians victory in the famous Seven Week War of 1866 led to the unification of Germany. It may be noted that the unification of Germany in 1871 A.D. reduced the importance of the Austria Habsburg Empire in the affairs of Western Europe.



LET US KNOW

Answer the following questions:

Q 5: Name the princess of Austria who was married to Napoleon I of France?

.....

Q 6: In which year was the Treaty of Pressburg signed?

.....

Q 7: In which year was the Battle of Waterloo fought?

.....

Q 8: Who acted as president of the Vienna congress?

.....



12.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, we have learnt that-

- Metternich was one of the most powerful diplomats of European politics. He had served as a Foreign Minister from 1809 A.D. to 1848 A.D. and represented the interests of Austrian Empire.
- The system established by Metternich at Vienna rested on a balance of power. However, it was based on the interests of the great powers. According to Metternich, "Stability of European politics depend on a balance of power theory."
- Before 1878 A.D, European politics had been dominated by Austria. During the nineteenth century, the Austrian Empire dominated the European politics. Metternich was able to establish security and predominance of the Habsburg family of Austria.



12.7 FURTHER READINGS

1) Breunig, Charles and Levinger, Matthew. (2002). *The Revolutionary Era: 1789-1850*. New York, NY : WW Norton & Co.

Sebastopol. The principal battles, fought on the Crimean peninsula, were Alma, Balaclava and Ackermann. The unbearable Crimean winter of 1854-55 took a heavy toll and the rate of British causalities increased due to the neglect of the wounded soldiers. It was in these circumstances that Florence Nightingale rendered yeomen's service and reduced the casualty rate from 44 percent to 2 percent.

The siege of Sebastopol was the chief feature of the Crimean War. After a siege of 336 days and enormous loss in terms of human lives, it finally fell on 8 September, 1855. Russia sued for peace.

Peace was finally made by the *Peace of Paris* which was signed on 30 March, 1856. According to the provision of the treaty, Russia had to give up her claim of protecting the Christian subjects in the Holy land. The Sultan of Turkey was forced to promise to treat his Christian subjects with sympathy and introduce reforms for their development. The Black sea was neutralised. The Danube was internationalised. The most important clause was that by which the powers admitted Turkey as a member of their European family. Thus, Turkey was bolstered up by the Christian powers of Western Europe because they did not want Russian influence in Constantinople. As a solution to the Eastern Question the war was a big failure. The Sultan never kept his promise. The condition of the Christian subjects became worse.

Turkey was fast becoming a weak power in Europe. Alongside, Turkish authority over the two ***protectorate***s– Wallachia and Moldavia was also gradually declining. Taking advantage of this situation the two protectorates tried to unify themselves under one single nation called Romania.

After Russia's defeat in the Crimean war, the Ottomans and the Congress of Great powers guaranteed the territorial integrity of Turkey. Even these great powers did not support the unification of Wallachia and Moldavia because they suspected that a united Wallachia and Moldavia would challenge Turkish suzerainty. But in Wallachia and Moldavia, nationalist sentiment was growing. Despite their social and cultural differences, both the states took pride in their Latin origin and were very protective of their culture and heritage. As the Sultan of Turkey refused the demand of Wallachia and Moldavia to unite under one banner as Romanians.

13.3 ORIGIN OF THE BALKAN PROBLEM

In the nineteenth century the Turkish Empire in Europe included the whole of what is now known as the Balkan Peninsula. The word *Balkans* is a Turkish word which means mountains. This is a term of political geography which applies to the mountainous country between the Danube and Aegean Sea. This region has been the meeting place of races from pre-historic times. The different races inhabiting the region are Greeks, Serbs, Bulgars and Albanians. The inhabitants of the Balkans were mostly Christians, while the Turkish overlords comprised a small Islamic minority. No attempt was made by the Turks to assimilate these different races of the Balkan region into one body politic. Thus, for many years the Muslims ruled over the Christians here. But the Turkish rule was incompetent and repressive.

In the nineteenth century the idea of nationality began to touch the Balkan Peninsula and the Christian nationalities became impatient under the Turkish dominion. They sought liberation from the Turkish yoke. This resulted in wars and atrocities, which became almost chronic in the Balkan region. Meanwhile, the infamous rule of the Turks invited many foreign powers to take an interest in the Near Eastern affairs. Russia was keen on controlling the Black Sea and the Straits to secure a passage to the Mediterranean Sea. However, Russia's aggrandisement would surely lead to a lopsided balance of power and it was this fear that attracted the attention of other European nations to the Balkans. The wars of liberation of the Balkan people from the Turks began in the first decade of the 19th century and continued till the third decade of the 20th century. Thus began a long, bloody, confused, and heroic chapter of European history.

The Turks, an Asiatic Islamic race had conquered South-Eastern Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries and had subdued many different races. In 1453, the Turks occupied Istanbul (Constantinople) and began to extend, during the next two centuries their sway over the South-Western part of Europe and the Northern coast of the African continent. They conquered all the lands which lay between them and Austria. Under the leadership of Sultan Suleiman they attacked Hungary and also laid siege to Vienna during

the middle of the 16th century. It was the Holy Roman Empire that, along with Prussia, defeated the Turks and drove them out of Vienna. The Turks continued to threaten the Holy Roman Empire till the last quarter of the 17th century. It was only in the late 17th century that the Ottoman Empire suffered a series of defeats which led to its decline.

The Balkan Peninsula, which had once formed a part of the Eastern Roman Empire, remained an integral part of the Turkish Empire. The Christian subjects were severely persecuted by their Mohammedan rulers. For several centuries these Christian people lived in fear of oppression under the Mohammedan rule. They tolerated all the ill-treatment meted out to them waiting for a chance to revolt. An opportunity soon presented itself to them with the fresh wave of nationalism and liberalism sweeping over the Western part of Europe in the 19th century. The Christian subjects of the Balkan Peninsula took up arms to free themselves from the tyranny of the Turkish Sultans.

The delegates who assembled in the Congress of Vienna in 1815 failed to realise the aspirations of the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire and the peace makers decided not to disturb the latter's territorial sovereignty. It was in one of the meetings of the later Congresses that Czar Nicholas described the Turkish Empire as the "Sick Man of Europe". Ever since the days of ***Peter the Great***, Russia had been eager to bring about the downfall of the Turkish Empire and looked out for opportunities to take steps in this direction. However, there were other European powers, especially Britain and France, who were eager to thwart the Russian attempts to bring about the liquidation of the Turkish Empire. They wanted to maintain the delicate balance of power in Europe. Britain was concerned about the threat of Russia's further expansion of her dominions towards South Asia. So, three aspects dominate what is popularly called the Eastern Question. These are:

- The decline of the Ottoman Empire,
- The rise of the Christian nations in the Balkans against their Turkish master, and
- The conflicting ambitions of the Big Powers and their intrigues.

After the conclusion of the Treaty of London of 1827, England, Russia, and France demanded a self-governing state for the Greeks. But the demand was refused by Turkey. As a result, a naval battle took place between the Western Powers and the Ottoman Empire, which resulted in the destruction of the Turkish fleet. The following year, Russia declared war upon Turkey. The war lasted over a year and ultimately, the Sultan was obliged to sign the Treaty of Adrianople. In 1829, the Sultan of Turkey was compelled by England, France and Russia to recognise the independence of Greece. All these events led to the independence of Greece. Consequently, Greek nationalism emerged triumphant.

The next phase in the Eastern Question began in the 1840s. The decay of the Ottoman Empire attracted the attention of Czar Nicholas who regarded Turkey as "the sick man of Europe". Besides, the control of the Black Sea and also the vast territories of Turkey motivated Russia to launch an attack on Turkey. In 1844, the Russian Czar proposed to British statesmen to divide the Ottoman Empire amongst them but he got no response as Britain was eager to maintain the balance of power in Europe and she did not want to see Russia growing stronger at the expense of Turkey. Therefore, Russia decided to go alone ostensibly to safeguard the Christian subjects from the control of the Sultan. Russian troops occupied the Danubean principalities.

As a result, a war broke out between the two powers, Russia and Turkey in 1853. Russia expected the war to be confined between them. But, England, France and ***Piedmont*** came for the support of the Turks. Thus, Russian aggression was opposed by three powers. England joined the war because she feared the Russian aggression towards India, France because Emperor Napoleon III wished to take revenge and pay back old grudges against Russia, and Piedmont went to war merely to win the support of England and France for Italian independence. The result was the Crimean war which broke out in 1854.

The war was chiefly fought in the Crimea. This was important as Crimea was a peninsula in Southern Russia, jutting out into the Black sea and Russia had constructed a great naval arsenal for the Russian army at

the Ottoman Empire. The Serbian revolution can be divided into two periods.

i) The period between 1804 and 1815, during which Serbia managed to free herself from the Ottoman Empire. It can be referred to as the national and social revolution of the Serbian people. As a result, Serbia emerged as a sovereign European nation state.

ii) The period between 1815 and 1833, marked by intense negotiations, between the government at Belgrade and the Ottoman Empire.

While the first phase of the revolution (1804–1815) was in fact a war of independence, the second phase (1815–1833) resulted in official recognition of a suzerain Serbian state by the Porte (Ottoman Emperor), thus bringing the revolution to its end. These events marked the foundation of modern Serbia.



LET US KNOW

The term Serbian Revolution was used by a famous historian Leopold Von Ranke in his book *Die Serbische Revolution*, published in 1829. Leopold von Ranke was a German historian, considered one of the founders of modern source-based history.

The Eastern Question once again became a major European issue when the Greeks declared independence from the Sultan in 1821. In 1821, the Greeks rose into revolt as their spirit was less disposed towards bending before Turkish arrogance, but they were unable to gain any pronounced advantage.

The death of Czar Alexander I in 1825 made Nicholas I the Czar of Russia. He decided that he would no longer tolerate negotiations and conferences. He made up his mind to intervene in Greece. The United Kingdom soon became involved in imposing its will on a newly formed Greek state to prevent it from becoming a wholly Russian vassal. The spirit of Romanticism that was then dominant in Western European cultural life also extended support towards Greek independence, making it politically viable. France also aligned herself with the Greeks, but Austria (still worried about Russian expansion) did not.



LET US KNOW

The Congress of Vienna (1814-15) was the assembly which met immediately after Napoleon's defeat in 1814 to decide the territorial readjustment of Europe. All the European states attended the Congress except for Turkey. But it was mainly England, Russia, Austria and Prussia which took the decisions. The Congress was presided over by the Austrian Prime Minister Metternich. Gentz, the secretary of the Congress described it as a "meeting of the victors to divide the spoils of the conquered". The Turkish Question was not attended upon and it was then considered as Russia's internal issue.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 1: What does the Turkish word "Balkan" mean?

.....

Q 2: In which year did the Turks occupy Istanbul?

.....

13.4 EUROPEAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE MIDDLE EAST

The Eastern Question occupies an important position in the diplomatic history of Europe. Every big power of Europe had an interest and political ambitions in the Eastern Question. We are now going to discuss the attitude of the major European Powers towards the Eastern Question.

- **Russia**

The ambition of Russia at the expense of Turkey was a constant factor of concern in the Eastern Question from the days of Peter the Great to the war of 1914. The Czar claimed the right of protecting the Slavic races from Turkish misrule on the pretext of sharing the ties of religion and race. But behind the Czar's benevolent intention and sympathy there was the

transparent motive of securing the much desired access to the Mediterranean. Russian policy in the Near East had two aims, namely to dismember Turkey and to seize Constantinople as the prize, and if that would prove impossible, to dominate Turkey by forcing upon the Sultan a number of unequal treaties that would keep Turkey in a state of *vassalage* under Russian overlordship. Several such treaties were concluded like Katchuk-Kainardji (1774) and Bucharest (1812).

- **England**

The British policy towards Turkey was to thwart Russian designs upon Turkey. England saw in the Russian aggrandisement a serious menace to her interests in the East. She feared that the establishment of Russian control over Constantinople would greatly endanger the British hold upon India. Thus, over the Eastern Question there developed something like chronic antagonism between Great Britain and Russia. Throughout the 19th century England stood forth as the champion of Turkey against Russian aggression. British policy aimed at checking Russian advance by preserving the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Palmerstone was the chief exponent of this policy. He believed in the possible regeneration of Turkey. It should be noted that England was successful in holding Russia in check but she could not prevent the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. Ironical as it may seem, while posing as the champion of the integrity of Turkey, England managed to pocket a valuable share of Turkish spoils to offset Russian gains and preserve the balance of power.

- **Austria**

Austria's interests in the Balkan region were perhaps more vital than those of Russia and Great Britain. A land-locked country as she was, with only a short coastline at the head of the Adriatic, her position was not safe. Hence, economically it was essential for Austria to have a secure outlet to the sea and expand in the direction of the ports. As the great volume of her commerce passed along the Danube Valley, it was in her interest to make every attempt in checking the growth of Russian supremacy at the mouth of the Danube. Austria attempted to counter Russia's claims in the area with the doctrine of legitimate dynasties. But after the expulsion of Austria

from Italy and Germany, she turned towards the Eastern affair to find compensation at the expense of Turkey. Moreover, the growth of the Pan-Slavic movement in the Balkans was encouraged by Russia and was stirring the race consciousness of the Slavs. Austria became apprehensive of losing the loyalty of her subjects in her Southern dominions. Therefore, in order to curb the growing national consciousness among the Slav subjects, Austria aimed at a policy of restricting and crippling the leading Slav state in the Balkans, namely, Serbia

- **France**

France was involved more on commercial and religious reasons than political in the Eastern Question. Being a traditional ally of Turkey and having befriended her on many occasions, she had obtained special trading privileges and she was mainly interested in developing them, especially in Syria and Egypt. France was also the traditional protector of the Roman Catholic Christians in Egypt. But in spite of these traditional ties, France never championed the cause of Turkey nor was she interested in the Eastern Question. To her the Eastern Question was mainly one which concerned her naval and commercial position in the Mediterranean.

- **Germany**

For Germany, the affairs of the Near East had no appeal till the last quarter of the 19th century. Bismarck held himself aloof from Balkan complications and remarked that "the whole Eastern Question was not worth the bones of a single *Pomeranian grenadier*". But in 1878 at the Congress of Berlin he posed as an "honest broker" and administered a check to Russia in order to befriend Austria. Henceforth Germany began to develop greater diplomatic activities in the East, fraternising with Turkey, drilling her army and securing permission for German capitalists to build the Berlin-Baghdad Railway.

The conflicting interests of the European Powers in the Eastern question along with their political ambitions only resulted in many wars. The Crimean War was fought during 1854-1856 between Russia and a group of nations that included England, France, Turkey and Sardinia. The Serbians were the first to rise under the leadership of Kara George against

Pomeranian- From Pomerania, a region of Central Europe.
Grenadier- A soldier armed with grenades.

Spain in the 16th-17th century was ruled by the Habsburg dynasty (1516-1700). Under the Habsburgs, Spain dominated Europe politically and militarily for a great part of the 16th-17th century. It began to decline gradually under the later Habsburg kings during the second half of the seventeenth century.

14.3 CAUSES

- **Background**

The death of Charles II of Spain marked the end of the Habsburg dynasty and the coming of the Bourbon dynasty of France. Louis XIV of France declared his grandson as king of Spain, as Philip V, the first Bourbon king of Spain. Under the Bourbon monarchy, Spain was forced to get involved in a succession of wars- first in the war of Polish Succession, second, the war of Austrian succession and the third in 1761, in the Seven Years war. In 1793, Spain made an attempt to revolt against republican France, but with little success. Spain was occupied by France and Napoleon was successful in installing his brother, Joseph, on the throne of Spain. By 1810 French forces established control over most of the north and central Spain.

Spain was entangled in a political turmoil during this period while the Spanish nationalism was emerging side by side. The rule of Ferdinand in Spain unleashed an era of reactionary Regime where liberal ideas were crashed and this led to a series of civil wars. This period marked the rise of Carlism.



LET US KNOW

Carlism: Royalist in nature, Carlism was a popular reactionary movement against liberalism. It aimed at preserving the old traditional and order. It had begun to lose its cause in 1820s and it met its end by 1876. Carlism was formed as a party towards the end of the reign of Ferdinand VII owing to his trouble regime. Carlism stood for a national unit under monarchy and Catholicism. The motto of Carlism was, “God, Country and King”.

The Treaty of Paris named them as two separate states with two separate constituencies, with the utmost concession that they could be known as the ‘United Principalities’ with their affairs jointly taken care of by a joint commission. Taking advantage of the disturbed state of affairs of Europe, Moldavia and Wallachia won their unification. When the two principalities had to choose their respective heads, both chose one man, who was “*Alexandru Loan Cuza, the first Prince of Romania”*.

Alexandru united the two parliaments and declared a nation of Rumania to be founded. Since Europe was busy with her own affairs at home, this declaration was not opposed. Thus the unification of Wallachia and Moldavia resulted in one single nation- Romania with Bucharest as its capital.

Thus the new ruler of united Wallachia and Moldavia, which came to be known as Romania proved, to be a very remarkable ruler. He initiated many reforms which were secularization of church-lands, introduction of a modern land tenure system which freed the peasants of feudal burdens and the introduction of a free and compulsory education for the masses.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 3: Which Balkan State first did rise against the misrule of Turkey?

.....

Q 4: In which year did Greece declare her independence?

.....

Q 5: When did the Crimean War break out?

.....

13.5 TREATY OF SAN STEFANO

The Sultan again commenced his tyranny upon the Christian subjects. So, Russia once again took uo the cause of of protecting the Christian subjects from the barbarous rule of Turkey. She began to encourage a

national movement among the Balkans known as *Pan-Slavism*, to bring about the overthrow of Turkish rule. As a result, in 1875, the Eastern Question once again entered upon an acute phase. In the summer of that year, an insurrection broke out in Herzegovina, a Turkish province. For many years the peasants of that province had suffered from the gross misrule of the Sultan. The oppression became so barbarous and inhuman that the peasants finally revolted. These peasants were Slavs and they were supported by the Slavs of Bosnia, Serbia and Bulgaria. Then insurrection spread to Bulgaria whose inhabitants also revolted against the Sultan. The Sultan sent troops to quell these revolts and the Turks carried out large scale massacre of the Christian subjects. In the valley of the Maritiza at Bulgaria, fifteen villages were destroyed. In Batak, five thousand out of seven thousand inhabitants were savagely slaughtered with indescribable treachery and cruelty. These atrocities filled all Europe with horror. Public opinion was aroused against the atrocities of the Sultan.

In July, 1876, Serbia and Montenegro declared war against Turkey, and thus the insurrection became general. The people of Russia became intensely excited in their sympathy with their co-religionists and fellow-Slavs. They forced the Russian government to declare war upon Turkey. Thus, the Russo-Turkish war began and it ended with the defeat of the Sultan. The Treaty of San-Stefano was concluded between Russia and Turkey on March 3, 1878. According to this Treaty, the Sultan recognised the independence of three Balkan nations, Montenegro, Serbia and Rumania. A new state of Bulgaria emerged which Russia expected to control as it was her creation. Russia got additional territories from Turkey.



LET US KNOW

The Treaty of San Stefano was concluded between Turkey and Russia. It was imposed upon the Sultan of Turkey by Russia. The provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano were:

- Reforms were to be introduced in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Russia was to acquire Batum and Kars in Asia and Bessarabia

UNIT 14: THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives
14.2 Introduction
14.3 Causes
- Background
- Causes of the Revolution

14.4 Constitution
14.5 Failure
14.6 Let Us Sum Up
14.7 Further Reading
14.8 Answer to Check Your Progress
14.9 Model Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the causes that led to the outbreak of the Spanish Revolution in the 19th century
- discuss the Constitutional history of Spain since 1812 till 1878
- discuss the outcome of the Spanish Revolution.

14.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous Unit, we discussed the rise of the Eastern Question and the conflict of power in the Balkans. We also discussed the attitude of the European powers towards the Eastern problem and the consequences of the power struggle over the region.

In this Unit, we will discuss at length on the history of Spain. The Unit will also focus on the Spanish Revolution. As we read this Unit, we will be looking into the events leading to the breakout of the Spanish Civil War and the failure of the Revolution. The Unit will also highlight the Constitutional development in the Spanish history.



13.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (Answer within 50 Words)

Q 1: In which year was the Treaty of Paris signed?

Q 2: In which year was the Treaty of London signed?

Q 3: In which year did the first phase of Serbian Revolutions take place?

Q 4: Name two States which acquired their independence by the Congress of Berlin.

Q 5: Who was the first ruler of Romania?

B) Short Questions (Answer within 150-300 Words)

Q 1: What do you mean by the Eastern Question?

Q 2: What do you mean by *'Pan-Slavism'?*

Q 3: Write short notes on:

a) The Treaty of Paris

b) The Crimean War

c) The Congress of Berlin

C) Long Questions (Answer within 300-500 Words)

Q 1: Trace the development of the Eastern Question and the attitude of the European powers

Q 2: Discuss the revolutions of Serbia and Greece.

Q 3: Discuss the Congress of Berlin and its inpact.

*** ***** ***

in Europe.

- Rumania was to be recognised as independent and was to receive Dobruja as compensation for the loss of Bessarabia.
- Bulgarian territory was to be increased extending from the Danube to the Aegean and from the Black sea to Albania.

The "Big Bulgaria" was to be an autonomous state tributary to Turkey.

This treaty caused a great panic among the major European Powers like Britain, Austria, France and Germany. They objected to the solution of the Eastern Question without their consent. England demanded that the Treaty of San-Stefano be submitted to a general Congress of European Powers. Austria also joined the protest, wishing a part of Turkey's territories for herself. Disraeli, the British Prime Minister threatened war with Russia if she would not accept the demand of the revision of the Treaty. Russia agreed to their proposal as she was not prepared for another war. The Treaty of San Stefano was a great triumph for Russia. It wiped out her humiliation of the Crimean War and promised her once again predominance of the Balkans.

13.6 THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

Bismarck, the iron Chancellor of Germany offered to play the host and convened a Congress of the European Powers at Berlin in 1878. He declared himself to be "an honest broker". The delegates from England, Austria, and Germany took part in the Congress. And they signed the document on 13th July, 1878.

The main provisions of the Treaty of Berlin were:

- Montenegro, Serbia and Rumania, were declared independent of Turkey and Serbia was placed under the nominal guardianship of Austria and two-thirds part of Dobruja was given to Rumania in place of Bessarabia.
- Austria was awarded the right to administer over Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- Bulgaria was divided into three parts- Macedonia, Eastern Roumelia

and Bulgaria. The first part, Macedonia was handed back to Turkey. A Christian governor was appointed at Eastern Roumelia which was still to be under the Sultan control. The third part of Bulgaria got the right to appoint their Prince, but was not independent from the control of Sultan.

- Russia was given Bessarabia and some parts of Batum and Armenia and a number of territories in Asia Minor.
- England secured the control of Cyprus by a separate treaty with Turkey. The Sultan of Turkey wanted a British army there for the protection of the regions of Turkey in Asia.

However, the nationalistic conflicts continued in the Balkan region despite the settlement at Berlin Congress.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 6: When did the Russo-Turkish battle take place?

.....

Q 7: When was the treaty of Berlin signed?

.....

Q 8: Into how many parts Bulgaria was divided by the treaty of Berlin?

.....

Q 9: Name the States that achieved their independence by the treaty of Berlin?

.....



13.7 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit you have learnt-

- The problems and issues of the Slav people of the Balkan regions. Partly, it was the result of the rise of a feeling of nationalism among the Balkan people and partly, it was also the problem of the declining Turkish Empire,
- The different stages of the development of the Eastern Question and the designs the great European Powers like Britain, Russia, France, Italy and Austria had on the soil of Balkan Peninsula.
- The Congress of Berlin tried to solve the Eastern problems, but could not succeed permanently.



13.8 FURTHER READINGS

1) Hayes, C. J. H. (1963). *Modern Europe to 1870*. New York, NY: MacMacmillian.

2) Ketelbey, C. D. M. (1994). *A History of Modern Times from 1789*. New Delhi, India : OUP



13.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1 : Mountains

Ans to Q No 2 : 1453

Ans to Q No 3 : Serbia

Ans to Q. No 4 : 1829

Ans to Q No 5 : 1856

Ans to Q No 6 : 1877-78

Ans to Q No 7 : July 13, 1878

Ans to Q No 8 : Three

Ans to Q No 9 : Montenegro, Serbia, Rumania

14.4 CONSTITUTION

Considered as the Magna Carta of the Spanish history, the Constitution of 1812 marks the continued perseverance of a small group of Deputies who worked to rebuild what had been laid to waste by the Napoleonic forces and the Old Regime. The Constitution of 1812 (La Pepa) emerged from Cadiz and it had a progressive character. It laid the foundation of a constitutional structure which upheld the rights of the citizens. The 1812 Constitution enlisted many democratic articles which were later removed by the Deputies while drafting the Constitution of 1837. The right of the King to an absolute veto was curtailed and his veto power could be over-ruled by majority power of the Deputies. The Constitution proclaimed Catholicism, Roman and Apostolic as the state religion. The Constitution of 1812 attempted to initiate a uniform administrative system, elimination of old economic order, abolition of feudal privileges, suppression of Inquisition and religious censorship etc.

The Constitution of 1837 was drafted by Deputies (nine) who had been living a life of exile and were the leaders of the Progressive party. It was a concise document with 31 articles. The 1837 Constitution of Spain strengthened monarchy by establishing a bicameral system. The Legislature was divided into two separate bodies comprising of the Senate and the Congress of Deputies, the latter being of a stable character. The Constitution of 1837 focussed on “modernisation” and “reconciliation” among the political parties. The Spanish Constitution of 1837 was somewhat similar to the Constitution of France and Belgian.

The Constitution of 1837 eliminated all regulations of the Constitution of 1812 and direct election was initiated. Thus, the propertied class were empowered to vote in the elections. The power of the King was increased. The creation of a Parliament with two bodies became a topic of debate between Sancho and Gorozarri. While Vicente Sancho supported the bicameral system, Gorozarri stood for the strengthening of a single National Assembly. By a majority vote, the decision went in favour of the supporters of Sancho. Another major point of debate was the absolute veto power of

The wave of liberalism was ushered in by the Cortes of Cadiz (1810-1814). The Spanish liberals looked forward to a gradual change in the current political and socio-economic order which would result in the establishment of sovereignty that would reside in the nation. However, in 1823, the absolute monarchy took over the reign from the liberals. There was a growing rift between the Carlists and the liberals.

The death of the monarch Ferdinand VII in 1833 was followed by the reign of the Regent Cristina. The new ruler faced much opposition and a wave of protest grew against the monarchy. The middle and the lower class liberals took active part in it.

The Spanish Revolution of 1868 was not merely a military revolt that overthrew Isabel II. For the first time, it ushered a political changes which deeply transformed the political foundations of the Spanish political system. From being a parliamentary monarchy, Spain became a democratic monarchy; it subsequently became a federal republic; which was again replaced by a military dictatorship with a republican form. The period ended with the return of the Bourbons, which signaled a return to a monarchic system that suppressed democratic proposals.

The revolt of the Spanish fleet in the port of Cadiz on September 17, 1868, was the beginning of a revolutionary process that was to usher in the first democratic political experience in the history of Spain.

- **Causes of the Revolution**

During the second part of the 1860s, Spain was engulfed in a precarious economic situation and a deep political crisis. In the field of urban development, Spain in 1868 was a century behind other European power like England and France. Spain was economically an agricultural country and the condition of the peasantry was only slightly developed than the peasantry of the Western Europe. Under the economic domination of the landholder and the spiritual authority of the church, the peasantry was politically indifferent and socially ignorant. After the economic liberalisation that began in 1854, Spanish capitalists had invested their money in the newly developing sectors: banks and railways. However, neither of the sectors was able to meet its obligations to its shareholders.

While railway construction was underway, it employed a large number of people. But the end of construction work, resulted in mass unemployment. The crisis had an impact on the commerce also. On the other side with the fall in the number of those employed, consumer capacity also fell. The citizens were bearing the brunt of indirect taxation, which taxed their basic consumption need. Hence opposition to this type of tax became a factor for mobilising the citizens against the government.

Meanwhile the state took no steps towards the alleviation of their problems. Rather, the state spent 70% of the revenues in non-productive activities like state debt, pensions, defence, the police etc. ignoring the development and modernisation of agriculture, the country's main economic activity. A bad harvest in 1968 worsened the already difficult situation of the population.

The church, the army, and the nobility still held power. The Spanish church was the epitome of traditional reaction, and its position as a strong support of the throne was marked during the reign of Isabel II. In Isabel II, the Spanish clergy found a defender of their interests. The church leaned more heavily on the crown than in past centuries, for its once great wealth had been lost to the state by a series of expropriations and nationalizations begun by Charles III (I759-I788). Stripped of its economic independence, the church by the Concordat of I85I, became the ward of the government, which supported it financially and maintained its monopoly. The Church had a great influence on the educational system.

The army was heavily overstaffed with military officers who nurtured high ambitions for career advancement and social prestige. During the reign of Isabel II, the leaders of government were almost universally military- Espartero, Narvaez, Gonzalez Bravo, O'Donnell. Of the four most prominent figures in the group that overthrew the queen two, Prim and Serrano, were generals and one, Topete, was an admiral. Queen Isabel II, tried to buy their allegiance by appointing them in high civil and military posts. It was chiefly for this reason that such a large number of civil positions was held by them.

A political crisis was also broke out in the second half of the 1860s.

most radical version of federalism into practice; and the Carlists, supporters of establishing a traditionalist monarchy, as opposed the new democratic regime in parliament.



LET US KNOW

Cantonalism : The movement to establish independent cantons which was triggered by the federalist sentiments under the First Republic. There were large number of casualities due to murders and lynchings of officers.

Amongst the political instability and civil and colonial wars, parliament restarted its sessions on January 2 1874. But on the morning of January 3, Don Emilio Castelar, the leader of the Federalist, supported by the Captain-General of Madrid, Don Manuel Pavía, dissolved parliament, opening a period of formally republican dictatorship. Thus the First Republic came to an end. The new government dissolved all the republican representative institutions: the parliament and the provincial and municipal councils, and started to repress republicanism and deport republican politicians to the overseas colonies: Cuba, the Philippines and the Mariana Islands. Towards the end of 1874, Spain had returned to monarchical rule under the Bourbons.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 1: Who led the coup in 1874?

.....

Q 2: In which year was France declared a Republic?

.....

Q 3: Who was Topete?

.....

Q 4: What was the motto of Carlism?

.....

Q 5: What is the Concordat of 1851?

.....

church and a segment of the nobility. Beyond this there was no agreement, nothing but an open field for all contenders. The Revolutionary Committees gave way to a Provisional Government that concentrated power in its own hands in the absence of the queen. The new regime got international recognition. Constituent elections were held where 23 percent of the parliamentarians were republican, facing a monarchist majority.

Along with political transformation process of extending political rights to the citizens had also began. The right to vote was extended and more spaces for political participation that had until then been restricted were opened.

The Constitution of 1869 introduced a new element, universal male suffrage, which transformed the monarchy into a democratic one. The constitution established that sovereignty resided in the nation and was therefore not shared with the king. The Revolution of 1868 gave recognition to the rights and liberties which included the press.

With the approval of the constitution, Spain became a monarchy without a king. The vacuum in the leadership of the state was covered by General Serrano as regent, supported by General Prim as head of government. Amadeo of Savoy, Duke of Aosta and son of Vittoio Emanuele II of Italy was elected by the Cortes as the monarch of Spain in 1870.

The lack of support for the Spanish monarchy and the political instability of the period resulted in the abdication of Amadeo I, on February 11, 1873, giving rise to a new crisis. In this situation, the Congress and the Senate meeting in the National Assembly reassumed all powers and proclaimed Spain as a Republic. The Republican government dissolved the two chambers and called new unicameral constituent elections. However, the Republic lasted for less than mere two years.

The weak state of the Republic was due to diverse factors, on the one hand, there was a fragmentation within republicanism that weakened the new republic and on the other, the Cuban War, which had started in 1868 under the rule of Isabel II, represented a significant factor that materially and politically undermined all the governments

Then there was the Cantonalist movement that sought to put the

There were two chief political blocs that played a leading role in the Revolution. These were, on the one hand consists of moderate monarchists who supported a ‘moderate revolution”, and on the other hand there was group consists of Democrat Party and the republicans, who sought a deeper change. As there was no way for a peaceful transition, therefore a *coup* became the only instrument for bringing a change in the government. The other factors like slow signs in the process of Spanish nation building put the monarchy of Isabel II under serious trouble and a whole lot of questions were raised.

There were two different national projects, one promoted by the Progressives and the other by the Moderates. On the other hand, the Spanish liberal state was politically and economically weak and it was suffering from a high degree of administrative inefficiency and regional inequalities.

On the other hand, the process of Italian unification and the question of Rome had a deep impact on the Spanish politics. Spain’s recognition of the kingdom of Italy in 1865 deprived the monarchy of the support of the more conservative liberal Catholics, who were offended and henceforth put forward electoral candidacies under a Catholic banner. With the fall of Isabel II, many of these *neo- Catholics* offered their support to the Carlists, who sought to win the Spanish throne for the Duke of Madrid.

Besides the above factors, a growing opposition to the increasingly weak regime brought together the revolutionary political elites who were distancing themselves from the regime of Isabel II. Spain’s aristocrat class was not politically predominant because of the fact that the Revolution of 1812, absolutism of Ferdinand VII, and the Constitution of 1837 had deprived them of their power. A majority of the leading politicians during the reign of Isabel belonged rather to newly created nobility who never fully identified with their old counterpart. There was also a very few example of a commoner rising to prominence in military positions.

Among the parties which came together to overthrow Isabel in I868, there were numerous title-holders among the progressive and liberal group. The support of members of the aristocracy was welcomed by Madrid’s political leaders, due to their influence.

Political consciousness was increasing more rapidly in the professional class than within the bourgeoisie, and it was from the former that a new leadership was rising to challenge the incompetence and anachronism of the existing regime. More numerous was the mass of the peasantry and the steadily increasing working class. The peasantry composed the great majority the Spanish nation. Regarding the working class, like all Western Europe, political articulation within the working class was becoming highly developed. The labor union movement became a factor of significance during the 1860's, partly due to its ardent support of republicanism.

Although there was no effective socialist organization in Spain prior to the revolution of I868, indoctrination had begun a generation before. The theories of Cabet, Fourier, Blanc, and Lasalle were well distributed before I850 among the intellectuals and had begun seeping downward. The propagandist work of early socialists in Cadiz, Madrid, and Barcelona bears direct relation to the growth of the workers' movement in those focal centers.

As long as Isabel II remained on the throne her own fervent Catholicism and the predominance in her councils of the clerical party made any curtailment of Catholic prerogatives impossible. Her opponents well knew that should she go, with her would go the church's hegemony in Spain. The dissidence spread mildly even to the peasantry, where to some degree it was the problem which, after landholding, interested them most. The heart of anticlericalism was mainly in the cities, where it was part of the pattern of dissatisfaction with the status quo and accompanied the rising demand for political and social change. The tension was gradually magnified and a crisis became inevitable. Spanish moderates and liberals chose English parliamentary system as the model for their political goal, combined with the French revolutionary concepts of popular sovereignty, in accordance with the transformations occurring about them in western and central Europe.

There was a growing unrest especially in the army and navy which proved most fatal. The repressive measures of the government since I866 combined with a harsh tax policy resulted in a fiscal crisis and serious uneasiness in industry and commerce. Low rate of production, rising prices

of commodities, and growing unemployment which had reached wide proportions by I868, further discredited the regime.

Moving beyond the stage of a military uprising the revolution of 1868, in real terms it acquired the character of an anti-dynastic revolution, inspired by a liberal movement with a markedly democratic character, in which the supporters of the republic played a fundamental role.

The revolt that brought the downfall of the Queen, Isabel II, opened the way to a convulsive period of political changes. With the fall of the Bourbon monarchy there created a power vacuum which was filled by the creation of Revolutionary Committees [*Juntas Revolucionarias*] throughout the Spain formed with remarkable unity among the revolutionary factions.

Within a few days the insurrection was over, except in a limited number of localities in the north-east where resistance continued until the end of September. By this time Isabel and her family had crossed over into France to receive the condolences of Napoleon

This popular fervour in support of the 1868 Revolution became a republican fervour in 1873 that found expression in street demonstrations, the spread of associations and the expressions of republican sociability, all of which emerged strongly within the new framework of liberties. The leaders of the revolution were surprised by the speed and ease with which it had been accomplished. However, the more difficult task at their hand was to replace the fallen regime with one which could guarantee stability to the country and at the same time fulfill the aspirations of those who had fomented the revolt.

As proved later on, the questions of replacing the regime led the country in a state of disorder, economic calamity, and civil war, and also incidentally served as the occasion for the Franco-Prussian war. This was the crux of the problem whose solution was to take six years, plunge the country in a disorder, economic calamity, and civil war, and incidentally to serve as the occasion for the Franco-Prussian war. The only accord between the groups that had joined to organize the revolt had been their mutual desire to end the arbitrary rule of the Bourbons and to drive from the throne a woman whose conduct and policies had alienated all the nations save the

deemed indispensable, liberalism believes in each citizen's right, by himself or through his representative, to consent it freely and to know the uses to which it is put and of determining the proportion, basis, collection and duration of such taxes.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 1: Which English philosopher is credited with founding liberalism as a distinct philosophy?

.....

Q 2: What is *laissez faire*?

.....

Q 3: Who wrote *The Wealth of Nations*?

.....

- **Social Aspect of Liberalism**

Liberalism staunchly advocates social egalitarianism. The liberal philosophy believes that all men are born free and equal in rights. Social distinction can be founded only on the common good. All human beings are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood. As a natural corollary to this idea of social egalitarianism liberalism inspired various movements against slavery and slave trade throughout the world. At the same time, it also fuelled the movements demanding gender equality.

Yet another important social philosophy propagated by liberalism is freedom of expression. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen stated that 'the free communication of thoughts and of opinions is one of the most precious rights of man: any citizen thus may speak, write, print freely, except to respond to the abuse of this liberty, in the cases determined by the law' (Article XI). It further emphasized that no one might be disturbed for his opinions, even religious ones, provided that their manifestation did not trouble the public order established by the law (Article X). Thus, inherent to freedom of expression was the advocacy for religious

the king. The issue of religious tolerance also became a point of conflict with a majority of the deputies voting against it.

The new Constitution faced much criticism from the radical leaders. Led by Fermin Caballero, the radicals objected to the rule by authoritarian principle, however they were heavily outnumbered and the new Constitution was adopted.

The Constitution of 1845 reaffirmed the power of the Executives over the Cortes and the Congress lost its power of legislation to the Senate which comprised of the nobility favourable to the Crown. Catholicism was pronounced the state religion and individual rights were curtailed by the new Constitution.

In the mid 1854 a new Constitution was drafted but it never came into force.

In 1869, after the Revolution a liberal wave had blown and it was in that spirit that the Cortes promulgated a new Constitution was drafted. In 1876, with the restoration of the monarchy, a new Constitution was drafted. The idea of constitutional monarchy and the sovereignty of the nation served as a backdrop of the Constitution. The bicameral system continued with an equal number of deputies and senator. The constitution made an attempt at ensuring the rights of the citizens to vote, form associations, worship any faith etc. The Cortes and the monarchy shared the sovereign power. The Congress and the Senate were renewed every five years. Catholicism was announced as the state religion, but religious tolerance was also ensured to the people. The Constitution was conservative in character unlike the Constitution of 1812 and 1837 which were more progressive. The Constitution was in force till1923.

14.5 FAILURE

While Spain attempted to overthrow the cloak of French monarchy from the Spanish soil and establish a liberal Regime following the examples set by the French Revolution but every attempt made at bringing any changes in the Government turned out to be futile. In this section we will discuss the outcome of the several attempts made for the constitutional set up of Spain.

The Constitution of 1812 was too romantic in its ideals and hence could be easily abolished by Ferdinand. Despite its failure, yet the Constitution served as a landmark. According to Marx, the Constitution of 1812, "…was a genuine and original offspring of Spanish intellectual life…"

The Constitution drafted by the Cortes in a Post Revolution Spain in 1869 was a liberal one but it was short-lived which did not make any significant impact on the state or its people. During the entire period from 1812 to 1873, the Constitution that was written at various intervals varied in their political character and yet it failed to create a lasting impression on the political structure of the State.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 6: The Constitution of 1812 was popularly known by which name?

.....

Q 7: Who opposed the bicameral system?

.....

Q 8: On which issue did Caballero raise his objection?

.....



14.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, you have learnt that-

- Spain went through much trouble during the establishing of the First Republic.
- There was constant conflict between the liberals and the traditionalist resulting in the internal crisis.
- The Spanish Revolution marked the beginning of an attempt in bringing a democratic and constitutional change.
- The constitutional history of Spain was not a smooth course and yet it created a landmark for the successive era.

law is the expression of the general will. All the citizens have the right of contributing personally or through their representatives to its formation' (Article VI).

Separation of powers is yet another political doctrine advocated by liberalism. It was the 18th century French philosopher Montesquieu who emphasized such separation of powers among legislative, executive and judiciary in his work *The Spirit of Laws*. This doctrine of separation of powers was eventually exalted by both the Bill of Rights of USA and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of France. Liberalism put a lot of emphasis on making the government and state accountable towards the people.

- **Economic Aspect of Liberalism**

In the field of economy, liberalism advocates freedom of profession and economic activities. In this regard, the idea of *laissez faire* (or free trade) propagated by the English economist Adam Smith in his *The Wealth of Nations* (1766) became the key economic idea of liberalism. It criticizes any kind of state intervention in economy and believes in complete freedom of market forces (viz. theory of demand and supply). In other words, it abhorred artificial restrictions on economy which were there in the age of feudalism and mercantilism. Thus, liberalism, in many ways, promotes the economic ideas and concepts associated with capitalism.

Yet another key economic idea endorsed by liberalism is the right to property. Article XVII of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen stated that 'Property being an inviolable and sacred right, no one can be deprived of private usage, if it is not when the public necessity, legally noted, evidentially requires it, and under the condition of a just and prior indemnity'. In other words, there should not be artificial restriction on an individual to amass private property and no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

At the same time the philosophy of liberalism believes in making the government accountable towards its citizens in matters of public expenditure. While for the maintenance of the public force and for the expenditures of administration, common contributions such as taxes were

Locke is often credited with founding liberalism as a distinct philosophy. Locke in his *Two Treatises of Government* claimed that men were by nature free and he discarded the claims that God had made all people naturally subject to a monarch. As a corollary to this, Locke argued that each man had some natural rights such as the right to life, liberty and property which could not be violated by any government. Such natural rights became the central demands of liberal philosophy and subsequent movements.

- **Political Aspect of Liberalism**

Politically, the philosophy of liberalism advocates the contractual theory of state, representative democracy and welfare state. Contractual theory of state was popularized by the Enlightenment philosophers especially Rousseau. According to Rousseau, sovereign power rests with the people and through a social contract they have given the authority to wield this power to the state and the church. In other words, king and clergy are the creations of a social contract framed by the people for the promotion of their own welfare. Hence, laws drafted by king and clergy should be expression of 'general will'. He legitimized revolution if king and clergy violate 'general will' or deprive people of their natural rights.

Along with the contractual theory of state, representative democracy also became popular in the 19th century Europe. Liberalism emphasized on such participatory form of governance. In fact, voting rights became one of the key demands of the movements inspired by the philosophy of liberalism. An example of this can be seen in the liberal feminist movement of the 19th century which demanded voting rights for women.

Liberalism also emphasized upon granting several other political and civil rights to men, manifestations of which can be seen in the Bill of Rights of USA (1789) and Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of France (1789) – two fine specimens of liberal philosophy. Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen clearly stated that 'liberty consists of doing anything which does not harm others' (Article IV) and 'The law has the right to forbid only actions harmful to society. Anything which is not forbidden by law cannot be impeded, and no one can be constrained to do what it does not order' (Article V). At the same time it also stated that 'The



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14.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Don Emilio Castelar and Don Manuel Pavía

Ans to Q No 2: 1873

Ans to Q No 3: Military general

Ans to Q No 4: "God, Country and King"

Ans to Q No 5: By the Concordat of I85I, the Church assumed the role of the ward of the government, which supported it financially and maintained its monopoly.

Ans to Q No 6: La Pepa

Ans to Q No 7: Gorozarri

Ans to Q No 8: On the rule by authoritarian principle



14.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A. Very Short Questions (Answer each within 50 words)-

Q 1: What was the Cantonalist Movement?

Q 2: Who was Vincente Sancho?

Q 3: Mention any one cause for the outbreak of the Spanish Revolution of 1868.

Q 4: Which Constitution is termed the Magna Carta of Spanish history? Constitution of 1812?

B. Short Questions (Answer each within 100 words)-

Q 1: What was the opinion of Marx on the 1812 Constitution?

Q 2: Write a brief account of the Constitutional history of Spain?

Q 3: Why did the people rise against the rule of Isabel II ?

Q 4: Write a short note on-

a. The First Spanish Republic

b. The Carlists

C. Long Questions (Answer each within 300-500 words)-

Q 1: Discuss the factors that resulted in the outbreak of the Spanish Revolution of 1868.

Q 2: Critically discuss the influence of liberalism in the making of the Spanish Constitution.

Q 3: Analyse the condition of Spain during 1868-1878.

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UNIT 15: LIBERALISM IN EUROPE

UNIT STRUCTURE

15.1 Learning Objectives
15.2 Introduction
- Political Aspect of Liberalism
- Economic Aspect of Liberalism
- Social Aspect of Liberalism

15.3 Liberalism Spain, Portigal, Russia, Pritain, France
15.4 Let Us Sum Up
15.5 Further Reading
15.6 Answers to Check Your Progress
15.7 Model Questions

15.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the idea of Liberalism in Europe
- discuss the various aspects of Liberalism and
- discuss the key features of Liberalism and its impact on different countries of Europe.

15.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, we discussed on the Spanish Revolution. This unit will analyse the idea of Liberalism and its impact in Europe. Liberalism is not a coherent set of ideas but is broadly a collection of a wide range of philosophical views which appeared in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. Thus, liberalism carries within itself the thoughts of Enlightenment era, *laissez faire* (or free trade), social egalitarianism, capitalism, etc. The word liberalism has been derived from the Latin term ‘liber’, which means ‘free’. In other words, liberalism advocates freedom of various kinds whether in the field of polity, economy or society. Besides freedom, equality is yet another important tenet emphasized by liberalism. The 17th century English philosopher John

15.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: John Locke

Ans to Q No 2: *Laissez Faire* is the idea of free trade which criticizes any kind of state intervention in economy and believes in complete freedom of market forces (viz. theory of demand and supply).

Ans to Q No 3: Adam Smith

Ans to Q No 4: England

Ans to Q No 5: February Revolution

Ans to Q No 6: "Trienio Liberal" meant three years of Liberal Regime

15.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (Answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: Which two historic documents are the fine specimens of liberalism?

Q 2: Who was Castelar?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question within 150-300 words)

Q 1: Explain the 'contractual theory' of state.

Q 2: Difine the idea of social egalitarianism as enshrined in the philosophy of liberalism.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q 1: What are the key political ideas associated with the philosophy of liberalism?

Q 2: Delineate the economic aspect of liberalism?

Q 3: Trace the impact of liberal philosophy in various countries of Europe.

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freedom. Liberal philosophers believed that choice of religion was a matter of personal conscience and nobody should be compelled to follow a particular faith. Combining all such freedoms, the Bill of Rights of USA (1789) in the very opening article stated that the government should make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Liberalism advocates judicial freedom as well in its zeal of ensuring basic dignity and honour of all human beings. Article VII of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen states that no man can be accused arrested or detained but in cases determined by the law and according to the forms it has prescribed. Further, even when someone is arrested, he is to be presumed innocent until declared culpable by a competent authority. Simultaneously, liberal philosophy condemned any such punishment which put in jeopardy an individual's life or limb. Further, nobody should be punished twice for the same offence and one should have the right of fair trial.



LET US KNOW

When the constituent assembly of India was drafting the Constitution after Independence, it incorporated a lot of basic tenets of liberalism drawing from the Bill of Rights of USA and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of France. Most of them became the part of the Fundamental Rights as enumerated between Articles 12 to 35 of the Indian constitution. These are Right to Equality, Right to Freedom, Right against Exploitation, Right to Freedom of Religion, Cultural and Educational Rights and Right to Constitutional Remedies.

15.3 LIBERALISM IN ACTION

Liberalism instigated many movements and revolutions throughout Europe. Some of the landmark events which derived inspiration from liberal

philosophers have been discussed below:

- **Spain**

Liberalism became a dominant force in 19th century Spain as well. The Spanish liberals were led by people like Baldomero Espartero, Salustiano Olozoga, Juan Prim, Praxedes Sagasta and others. Although each of them led a separate faction of their own, all of them endorsed the basic tenets of liberalism. However, later on many liberal leaders such as Castelar and Canalejas turned conservatives and started supporting monarchy. Hence, in the 20th century many liberal parties started naming themselves as radical, democratic or republican to differentiate themselves from conservative liberal leaders.

Liberalism first marked its victory in Spain between 1820 and 1823 which is also known as the 'Trienio Liberal' or the 'Liberal Triennium' (viz. three years of liberal regime). During the Trienio Liberal, a liberal government ruled Spain after a military uprising which ended the absolutist rule of King Ferdinand VII. The background of this military uprising was laid down when the Spanish king Ferdinand VII refused to accept the liberal Spanish Constitution of 1812. Following this in January 1820, the Spanish soldiers staged a mutiny on the pretext of infrequent pay, bad food and poor quarters at the Spanish city of Cadiz which soon engulfed the entire country demonstrating widespread discontent. This forced Ferdinand VII to accept the constitution on March 9, 1820 and he granted powers to liberal leaders in his ministry which ushered the phase of Trienio Liberal. However, Ferdinand VII constantly tried to win the support of other absolutist monarchs of Europe and invoked them to apply the terms of the Congress of Vienna (which stressed upon restoring the political system prevailing in Europe prior to the French Revolution of 1789) on Spain. Eventually, France, the United Kingdom, Russia, Prussia and Austria came to the help of Ferdinand and a French army invaded Spain in 1823 restoring the absolute powers of the Spanish king which ended the Trienio Liberal. Nonetheless, liberal forces and leaders kept on pushing reforms in Spain throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

Q 4: In which year did the Glorious Revolution take place?

.....

Q 5: By what name was the liberal revolution in Russia known as?

.....

Q 6: What is "Trienio Liberal"?

.....



15.4 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, we have learnt that -

- Liberalism emerged as a philosophy in Europe in the18th and 19th centuries inspiring a wide range of thoughts and movements.
- Ideas and landmark events associated with liberalism made an inpact all across Europe.



15.5 FURTHER READING

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to new language and vocabularisation as well. Language became more charismatic and a new set of vocabulary was created in which terms like citizens, liberty, equality, etc. found new dimensions.

Thus, following the French Revolution, liberal philosophy was ingrained deeply in the French political and social life.

- **Belgium**

Liberalism in Belgium became an organized movement with the foundation of the Liberal Party in 1861. It advocated freedom and progress and emerged victorious in the 1848 elections and formed government. Following liberal principles, the Liberal Party of Belgium after coming into power considerably lowered taxes to ensure economic freedom. Furthermore, in order to secularize the school education in Belgium, an Education Act was passed on June 1, 1879 under the liberal leader Walthere Frere-Orban. It turned upside down the education law of 1842 which had necessitated teaching of Catholic religion and morality in primary education placed under the direction of the officials of the religious faith. This radical liberal law precipitated the First School War in Belgium between the conservative Catholic Party and the secular Liberal Party which lasted from 1879 to 1884 and eventually led to the defeat of the Liberal Party in the 1884 elections. This also resulted in factionalism in the Liberal Party when a few liberal leaders made a separate party of their own known as the Progressive Party with Paul Janson as its president. The Liberal defeat continued in the 1894 elections which were held on the basis of universal suffrage. However, the Liberal Party made a comeback in 1900 and remained dominant in 20th century Belgium.

The liberals wanted to institute constitutional monarchy as well; however, the popular mood in Russia disapproved the return of the Tsar in any form. The Bolsheviks or the soviet leaders also created mass support for more radical demands than the reforms intended by the liberal Russian leaders. Eventually, liberal revolution in Russia could not survive for long as the liberals were soon overthrown by a successful communist revolution under the leadership of Lenin in October 1917.

- **Portugal**

Portugal witnessed a liberal revolution in 1820 which initiated a constitutional rule in Portugal in 1822. It had a long term impact on the Portuguese society and political organization. Between 1807 and 1811, Napoleon, in his effort to control the entire continental Europe, attacked thrice on Portugal. Consequently, the Portuguese king John VI shifted the central site of Portuguese empire from Portugal to Brazil (a South American Portuguese colony). He ruled the transcontinental Portuguese empire for thirteen years from Brazil even after the defeat of Napoleon in 1815. However, movement had started in Portugal after Napoleonic defeat to bring back the Portuguese king. Nevertheless, the Portuguese king was aware of the fact that the liberal ideals of the French Revolution had spread throughout Europe and the Portuguese people desired greater self-rule. Hence, he showed reluctance in getting back to Portugal. Meanwhile popular unrest kept on increasing in Portugal and influenced by the concurrent Trienio Liberal Revolution of Spain, a liberal revolution was staged in Portugal as well. The revolutionaries demanded immediate return of the royal court to Portugal in order to 'restore the metropolitan dignity'. At the same time, following the liberal principles they demanded constitutional monarchy. Finally, John VI returned to Portugal in 1821 followed by secession of Brazil in 1822 and ratification and implementation of the Portuguese Constitution of 1822 which instilled liberal principles in the Portuguese political and social system.

- **Russia**

In Russia, liberalism developed with the promulgation of the constitution in 1905 following a political revolution known as the February Revolution of 1917 which constitutes the first phase of the Russian Revolution. It overthrew the tsarist autocracy and brought the liberal leaders and party into power. The Decembrist uprising and the abolition of serfdom and death of Nicholas I in 1855 was the beginning of Russian Liberalism.

- **Britain**

England witnessed the first ever revolution based on liberal philosophy. The Glorious Revolution of England in 1688 which established

parliamentary sovereignty and the right to revolution institutionalized the liberal philosophy. John Locke was an influential inspirational figure behind the Glorious Revolution. It established things like the Habeas Corpus Act which forbade unlawful detention; freedom of press; abandonment of cruel and unusual punishments; religious toleration; so on and so forth. Following the Glorious Revolution, England, in the 19th century, also witnessed the Chartist movement which was a movement for political reforms based on the philosophy of liberalism. Driven primarily by the working class population, the Chartist movement pushed for radical electoral reforms. It demanded universal manhood suffrage (i.e. for all men to have equal voting rights); voting by secret ballot; annual parliamentary elections (instead of once in five years); equal sized constituencies; abolition of property criterion for voting right; and optimum level of payment to the members of parliament (so that they do not have to think of earning livelihood and could invest their energy in the interests of the nation). Although the Chartist movement could not bring immediate reforms, it had long term impacts in liberalizing the political system of England.

In 1859, a liberal leader Henry John Temple went on to become the Prime Minister of England. However, it was during the tenure of William Ewart Gladstone who served as the British Prime Minister four times (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, and 1892-94) that England emerged as a bulwark of liberalism. In fact, Gladstone and liberalism became synonymous with each other often termed as 'Gladstonian liberalism'. He emphasized on all basic tenets of liberalism such as limited government expenditure, low taxation, free trade, freedom of choice, equality of opportunity, rule of law, and so on and so forth.

- **France**

Liberal philosophy manifested itself most glaringly during the French Revolution of 1789 subsequent to which the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was passed. No other revolution ingrained the liberal philosophy in the socio-political and economic life of Europe as done by the French Revolution of 1789. As argued by post-revisionist historians such as Francois Furet, Keith M. Baker, Roger Chartier, Robert Darnton, etc. the

French Revolution changed the outlook of human beings and a new kind of political culture emerged based on liberty, equality and freedom which had a long lasting impact on not just France but entire Europe and subsequently the whole world. As discussed in the preceding sections the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen gave proper shape and terminology to the hitherto vague sets of liberal philosophy. Robert Darnton in his article 'What was Revolutionary about the French Revolution' argues that in the revolutionary decade (i.e. 1789-1799) people became more secular and democratic in their outlook which is clear from the following examples:

- A new calendar was adopted which began with 22nd September – the date when monarchy was completely abolished in France in 1792. Furthermore, while old holidays were based on religious connotations and had monarchical symbols, holidays in the new calendar were based on civic qualities like virtues, genius, opinion, rewards so on and so forth.
- Secular outlook of people could be seen in new connotations of certain days such as November 22, which was formerly devoted to Saint Cecilia, and now became the day of the turnip; November 25, formerly Saint Catherine's Day became the day of the pig, etc.
- Almost 1400 streets in Paris received new names because the old ones contained reference to some king, queen, or saint. Similarly, the 'queen bee' was renamed as 'laying bee'.
- The Revolutionaries even named and renamed themselves and their newly born sons and daughters. For instance, in the line of newly emerging liberal political culture in France, the immediate foreign minister during the French Revolution – Pierre Henry Lebrum – named his daughter as 'Civilization-Temappes-Republique'. Even the chess pieces were renamed because a good revolutionary having liberal bent of mind could no longer play with kings, queens, bishops and knights. Similarly, kings, queens and jacks of the playing cards were renamed as liberties, equalities and fraternities respectively.
- According to Lynn Hunt (*Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution*, 1789), new political awareness in the French society led



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