

Chapter 25: The Age of Nationalism, 1850-1914

1. Napoleon III in France
 - a. While early nationalism was liberal and democratic in goals, Napoleon III in France used it for authoritarian purposes.
 - b. The Second Republic and **Louis Napoleon**
 - i. The reasons for Napoleon's election include middleclass and peasant fears of socialism and a disgust with class politics.
 - ii. Many people wanted a strong national leader who would serve all the people and help them economically.
 1. Louis Napoleon wrote popular pamphlets on this subject. (**Napoleonic Ideas and The Elimination of Poverty**)
 2. He was elected president of France in 1848.
 - iii. Louis Napoleon believed the state had an obligation to provide jobs and stimulate the economy and to represent both rich and poor.
 - iv. He believed that parliaments and political parties simply represented middle-class interest groups, not the people. Instead, he wanted a strong, even authoritarian, national leader who was elected through direct democracy.
 - v. Napoleon cooperated with the conservative National Assembly, but it refused to change the constitution so he could run for another term.
 - vi. Therefore, he seized power in a *coup d'état* in 1851 and dismissed the Assembly; these actions were approved overwhelmingly by the voters.
 - c. Napoleon III's Second Empire
 - i. Napoleon III's greatest success was improving the economy of France.
 1. His government encouraged new investment banks and massive railroad construction.
 2. The government also sponsored an ambitious program of public works, including the rebuilding of Paris.
 3. He granted workers the right to form unions and to strike.
 - ii. His political system allowed only limited opposition, until the 1860s.
 1. He restricted the Assembly and tied reform to support of his candidates.
 2. In the 1860s, he allowed the Assembly greater power and gave the opposition more freedom.
 3. He granted France a new constitution which combined a **parliamentary regime with a hereditary emperor**.
2. Nation building in Italy and Germany
 - a. Napoleon's success demonstrated that the urban classes would rally to a strong and conservative national state.
 - b. Italy to 1850: a battleground for great powers
 - i. Italy prior to 1860 was divided.
 - ii. Between 1815 and 1848, the goal of national unity began to appeal to Italians.
 - iii. Three approaches to nationalism:
 1. **Giuseppe Mazzini's** radical idealistic democracy with universal male suffrage.
 2. **Vincenzo Gioberti**, a Catholic priest who wanted a federation of existing states under the presidency of a progressive pope.
 3. **Sardinia** could be the leader in the nationalist movement, just like Prussia in Germany.
 - iv. Pope Pius IX opposed nationalism and other modern ideas in **Syllabus of Errors**.

1. He proclaimed the Pope as infallible.
 2. denying that "the Roman pontiff can and ought to reconcile and align himself with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization."
 - a. Led Bismarck to declare Kulturkampf
- c. Cavour and Garibaldi in Italy
- i. **Count Cavour**, the liberal minister of Sardinia, built Sardinia into a liberal and economically sound state.
 1. He was a moderate nationalist who sought unity only for the northern and perhaps central areas of Italy.
 2. He worked in the 1850s to consolidate Sardinia as a liberal state capable of leading northern Italy.
 - a. He had a program of highways, railroads, civil liberties and opposition to clerical privilege.
 - ii. Cavour used France to engineer a war with Austria to further his plans for unification.
 1. However, Napoleon III did not want a strong Italy and was being criticized by the French Catholics for supporting the pope's enemy, so he made the **Peace of Villafranca**, which only gave Italy Lombardy.
 - iii. Central Italy joined with Sardinia in 1860 to form a united northern Italian state under Cavour.
 - iv. **Garibaldi** "liberated" southern Italy and Sicily, and Italy was further unified.
 1. Garibaldi was a romantic revolutionary fighter with a private army called the "**Red Shirts**."
 - a. Cavour convinced him to take over the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, thinking it would be a suicide mission.
 - b. Garibaldi succeeds however and wants to march to Rome, but that would have angered Louis Napoleon III who wanted to appear a good Catholic
 - c. Cavour waits for a popular revolt in the papal lands, then uses his armies to stop Garibaldi from taking over Rome under the pretext of keeping peace.
 2. He introduced educational and social reforms in the south and took the property of the Jesuits.
 3. Cavour got the south to join Sardinia to form the Kingdom of Italy, a parliamentary monarchy.
 - v. This new kingdom expanded to include Rome and Venice in 1870.
 1. However, there were strong class divisions and only a few men could vote.
 2. There was also a strong cultural-economic gap between the industrializing northern and agrarian southern areas.
- d. Germany before Bismarck
- i. In the aftermath of 1848, the German states were locked in a political stalemate.
 - ii. The Zollverein became a crucial factor in the Austro-Prussian rivalry, because Austria was not included.
 1. Austria's economy needed to be heavily protected and couldn't handle the low internal tariffs under the Zollverein.
 - iii. **William I of Prussia** wanted to double the size of the army, but he was opposed by the parliament, which rejected the military budget in 1862.
 1. The parliament was mostly middle class, wanting the army to be responsible to Prussia's elected representatives, not the king.
- e. Bismarck and the Austro-Prussian War, 1866.

- i. **Bismarck** was a Junker politician whose goal was to secure power for himself and Prussia.
 - ii. He became the chief minister of Prussia in 1862.
 1. He was opposed to middle-class parliamentary opposition, and argued that "blood and iron" would be the way to solve Germany's questions.
 2. Prussian voters opposed him by sending large liberal majorities to the parliament.
 3. Bismarck ignored parliament, continuing to collect taxes.
 4. Prussia's attempted annexation of Schleswig-Holstein led first to an alliance with Austria in a war against Denmark (1864) and then to a war with Austria in 1866.
 - a. He skillfully neutralized Russia and France, making the **Austro-Prussian War of 1866** localized.
 - b. Austria paid no reparations nor ceded any territories, because Bismarck wanted an ally for his upcoming plans.
 5. The German Confederation was dissolved and a new (Protestant) North German Confederation without Austria, led by Prussia, was formed. The Catholic states of the south remained independent while forming alliances with Prussia.
 6. As a result, Bismarck's goal of Prussian expansion was being realized.
 - f. The taming of Parliament
 - i. Bismarck believed the liberal middle class could be led to prefer national unity to liberal institutions.
 - ii. He created a constitution for North Germany that allowed for some local controls but with the king in control of the army and foreign affairs.
 1. Members of the lower house were elected by universal male suffrage.
 2. Ultimate power was in the hands of the king of Prussia and his army.
 - iii. Bismarck outmaneuvered the liberals in the parliament, and the middle class ended up supporting monarchical authority.
 1. "We thought that by agitation we could transform Germany. Yet we have experienced a miracle almost without parallel. The victory of our principles would have brought us misery, whereas the defeat of our principles has brought boundless salvation." -- **Hermann Baumgarten**
 - g. The **Franco-Prussian War** (1870-1871)
 - i. Bismarck used a patriotic war against France to bring southern Germany into the union.
 1. Louis Napoleon was captured and France was forced to accept harsh peace terms.
 - a. France was forced to cede **Alsace and Lorraine**, also known as the "Stolen Provinces," which was viewed as a crime, poisoning French-German relations.
 2. William I was declared emperor of Germany--in the palace of Versailles.
 3. The Franco-Prussian War was viewed as a Darwinian competition of nations made Germans feel excessively proud, imagining themselves the best race.
 - ii. As a result of military success, semiauthoritarian nationalism in Germany won out over liberalism.
3. The responsive national state, 1871-1914
- a. Characteristics of the new national state
 - i. Ordinary people felt increasing loyalty to their governments.

- ii. By 1914, universal male suffrage was the rule, and women were beginning to demand the right to vote, too.
 - 1. **Emmeline Pankhurst** fought for women suffrage.
 - iii. Nationalism (and militaristic policies) was a way that governments (mainly the elites) could create a sense of unity and divert attention away from class conflicts.
 - iv. Extreme nationalist politicians ("**demagogues**") found imaginary enemies, often Jews, as a way to whip up popular support for themselves.
- b. The German Empire
- i. The German Empire was a union of twenty-five German states in 1871, governed by a chancellor (**Bismarck**) and a parliament (the **Reichstag**).
 - ii. Bismarck and the liberals attacked the Catholic church (the **Kulturkampf**) in an effort to maintain the superiority of state over church, but abandoned the attack in 1878 for economic reasons.
 - 1. Unsuccessful because Catholics voted for the Catholic Center party, which blocked passage of national laws hostile to the church.
 - iii. Worldwide agricultural depression after 1873 resulted in the policy of economic protectionism in Germany.
 - 1. Cheap grain from the United States, Canada and Russia and improvements in shipping cut shipping costs, making it difficult for the European peasants to compete.
 - 2. Bismarck passed a protective tariff in 1879, gaining allies from the Catholic Center party and the Conservative party of the Prussian landowner, while maintaining the support of the National Liberals.
 - iv. Bismarck outlawed socialist parties in 1878.
 - 1. He was afraid of its revolutionary language and allegiance to a movement transcending the nation-state.
 - v. Bismarck gave Germany an impressive system of social-welfare legislation, partly to weaken socialism's appeal to the workers.
 - 1. He established national sickness and accident insurance, old-age pensions and retirement pensions-- a national social security system.
 - vi. William II dismissed Bismarck in 1890 to try to win the support of the workers, but he couldn't stem the rising tide of socialism.
 - vii. The Social Democratic party was a socialist party.
 - 1. In the elections of 1912, it became the largest party in the Reichstag.
 - 2. It became strongly nationalistic and patriotic, not revolutionary.
- c. Republican France (the Third Republic)
- i. The defeat of France in 1871 by the Austrians led to revolution in Paris (the **Paris Commune**), which was vaguely radical, wanting to govern Paris without conservative interference from the countryside.
 - ii. The Paris Commune was brutally crushed by the National Assembly, led by **Adolphe Thiers**.
 - iii. A new Third Republic was established and led by skilled men such as Gambetta and Ferry.
 - 1. **Gambetta** practiced mass politics and helped establish absolute parliamentary supremacy by the republicans.
 - iv. Under **Ferry**, the Third Republic passed considerable reforms, including legalizing trade unions and creating state schools, and it built a colonial empire.
 - 1. They hired married teachers too in an attempt to strengthen their new secular schools and to help increase France's low birthrate.

- v. The **Dreyfus affair** (1898-1899) weakened France and caused anti-Catholic reaction.
 - 1. Alfred Dreyfus was a Jew falsely accused and convicted of treason. There was a conflict between the anti-Semites + Catholics and the civil libertarians + republicans.
 - 2. Between 1901 and 1905, the government severed all ties between the state and the Catholic church.
 - 3. Catholic schools were put on their own financially and lost many students.
- vi. **Boulangier Affair--**
 - 1. coup d'etat
- d. Great Britain and Ireland
 - i. Britain is seen as the model country as it became a full democracy; all middle-class males won the right to vote in 1832.
 - ii. The reform bills of 1867 and 1884 further extended the franchise in Britain, and political views and the party system became more democratic.
 - 1. Nevertheless, some, like **John Stuart Mill** (*On Liberty*), explored the problem of safeguarding individual differences and unpopular opinions
 - 2. The conservative leader **Disraeli** supported extending the vote, because he hoped the working class would support the conservative party.
 - 3. The **Third Reform Bill of 1884** gave the vote to almost every adult male.
 - iii. Led by **David Lloyd George**, the Liberal party ushered in social welfare legislation like the **People's Budget** (increased spending on social welfare services) between 1906 and 1914 by taxing the rich and threatening to create new peers.
 - 1. The income paid for national health insurance, unemployment benefits, old-age pensions and other social measures.
 - iv. The issue of home rule (selfgovernment) divided Ireland into the northern **Protestant Ulsterites**, who opposed it, and the southern Catholic nationalists, who favored it.
 - 1. Liberal prime minister **Gladstone** supported home rule for Ireland in 1886 and 1893, but the bills failed to pass.
 - 2. The question of home rule was postponed because of war in 1914.
- e. The AustroHungarian Empire
 - i. After 1866, the empire was divided in two but shared a common emperor and central ministries for finance, defense, and foreign affairs.
 - 1. The nationalistic Magyars were allowed to rule Hungary.
 - 2. In Austria, the ethnic Germans were only one-third of the population; the rest were Czechs, Poles, and other Slavs--and so the question of a national language was an emotional issue.
 - ii. Austria suffered from competing nationalisms, which pitted ethnic groups against one another and weakened the state.
 - 1. In Hungary, the Magyar nobility used the constitution to dominate the peasants and ethnic minorities.
 - a. Laws promoting the Magyar (Hungarian) language in schools were resented and forced.
 - 2. Unlike in other countries, the Austro-Hungarian leaders could not use nationalism to strengthen the state.
- f. Jewish emancipation and modern anti-Semitism
 - i. In France in 1791, Jews began to gain equal civil rights.
 - ii. German Jews were given increased rights after 1848; the constitution of the new German empire abolished many of the age-old restrictions on Jews and Jewish life

like Jewish marriage, choice of occupation, place of residence, and property ownership.

- iii. Jews were still excluded from government, but anti-Jewish prejudice was on the decline by 1871.
- iv. By 1871 most Jewish people had improved their economic and occupational situations.
- v. But anti-Semitism reappeared in times of economic trouble--and was whipped up by conservatives and extremist nationalists, who resented Jewish achievement and "financial control."
- vi. Anti-Semites created political parties to attack and degrade Jews.
 1. In Vienna, the anti-Semite **Karl Lueger** and his "Christian socialists" won striking victories.
 2. As a response, **Theodore Herzl** advocated "**Zionism**"--the creation of a Jewish state.
 3. Lueger appealed to lower middle-class people, like the young Adolf Hitler.
 4. But before 1914, anti-Semitism was most oppressive in eastern Europe--where there was no Jewish emancipation and 4 million of Europe's 7 million Jews.
 5. Governments channeled popular discontent into violent attacks ("**pogroms**") on Jewish people.
 6. Millions of Jewish people left Europe as a result--many going to America.

4. Marxism and the socialist movement

a. The Socialist International

- i. A rapid growth of socialist parties occurred throughout Europe after 1871.
 1. German Social Democratic party was the largest party in the Reichstag.
- ii. With Marx's help in **Capital**, socialists united in 1864 to form an international socialist organization known as the **First International**; it was shortlived but had a great psychological impact.
- iii. The **Second International**--a federation of national socialist parties--lasted until 1914.

b. Unions and revisionism

- i. There was a general rise in the standard of living and quality of life for workers in the late nineteenth century, so they became less revolutionary.
- ii. Unions were gradually legalized in Europe, and they were another factor in the trend toward moderation.
 1. 1901 to 1906- British unions for all existed and were strong
 2. Germany was slow to gain unions, they were REvisionist
- iii. Revisionist socialists believed in working within capitalism (through labor unions, for example) and no longer saw the future in terms of capitalist-worker warfare.
 1. They wanted to *revise* Marxian doctrines.
 2. **Edward Bernstein** wrote in **Evolutionary Socialism**
 3. **Jean Jaures** was secretly a moderate, revisionist socialist.
- iv. In the late nineteenth century, the socialist movements within each nation became different from one another and thereby more and more nationalistic.
 1. German- reformism
 2. French- talked revolution but couldn't practice it
 3. England- gradual reform
 4. Spain and Italy- weak socialism