

Nationalism

FRENCH INFLUENCE

Liberalism

The Estates General commenced the French Revolution by signing a document, the "Declaration of Rights of Man and the Citizen," giving the French a taste of what life was like under a constitution. The grant of equal rights was then widespread when Napoleon conquered Europe and established constitutions similar to the one in France, otherwise known as the *Code Napoléon*. However, this came to an end shortly after Napoleon's defeat, and old rulers established themselves once again in a system of absolute monarchy. But the people did not forget the freedom they once had. They sought to re-establish the constitution they had lost, adopting the name of 'liberals' and taking on well-known symbols from the French Revolution to state their needs for rights. "Marianne" in France, as well as the Finnish Maiden, the Danish Mother, the Statue of Liberty, and the Dutch Maiden are all national personifications embodying the liberal ideals of a nation and its people.

Nationalism

Secondly, a new sense of union settled in people's mindsets. The idea that a group of people belonged to an imagined community, a nation, was a direct consequence of the Revolutionary wars. By sharing a language, geographical land and culture, people developed a sense of belonging and unification for the first time. Nations worked to feed into these beliefs, wanting to develop a sense of pride and protectiveness in their people's spirits. These patriotic citizens were the ideal of every government, because if a war were to erupt, they to be provided with soldiers willing to die for their country's sake. As Oscar Wilde once said, "Patriotism is the virtue of the vicious."

Revolution

1789 grew to be a sort of symbol, a proof, that collective revolution from middle class people was effective in obtaining real change. It began a multitude of revolutions across the continent, all seeking to achieve the same purpose as the French once had: radical social and political reform. The Enlightenment and its ideas concerning liberty became a widespread desire, and throughout the rest of the 19th century, revolutions would spread across Europe in attempt to change their nation's policies.

NAPOLEON

How did Napoleon encourage German and Italian unification?

Italy

- reorganised the Italian state system □ Italy was more united
- Savoy and Nice were annexed
- the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics were created
- later the Kingdom of Italy and the Kingdom of Naples were set up.
- Administrative systems copied more or less the French approach, the French civil law code, the *Code Napoleon*, was exported and customs regulations were simplified.
- clear that the reorganisations of states and the re-drawing of boundaries were carried out to serve the interests of France and Napoleon: the Italian provinces.

Germany

- the Holy Roman Empire disappeared in 1806
- the chaotic system of over 300 states, princedoms, ecclesiastical principalities and free cities was rationalised.
- new kingdoms were created (such as Westphalia) and some parts were absorbed directly into the Empire (such as the Rhineland).
- Older states were rewarded for their loyalty by expansion (as in Bavaria) and a new federation established (the Confederation of the Rhine). As in Italy the *Code Napoleon* was exported, administrative systems were reorganised as in France, and customs regulations were simplified.

Did nationalism also arise in resistance to Napoleon?

Spain

- long, sporadic war against France combined traditional loyalties to Church and King with resistance to paying French taxes.
- Priests since the 1790s had preached that the French revolutionaries were atheists and therefore to be detested and a foreign-imposed monarch and an army of occupation was less acceptable than Spain's hereditary monarchy, however flawed.

Italy

- sympathisers with the French Revolution who first defined the idea of a united Italy as an aim.
- nationalism found expression in the idea of an association of free citizens who were free from oppression.
- Italian intellectuals wrote essays on the form the new Italy should take □ a federation recognising regional differences or a single unitary Republic.

Germany

- there were signs of a developing national consciousness, at least among the educated elites, in the late eighteenth century.
- begun independently of the French Revolution but was given new momentum in reaction to it and the exploitation of Napoleon.
- cultural nationalism □ history and folk memory of the *Volk*, however, did not imply the development of a nation state.
- Unified hatred of the French
- German nation determined by a common language and culture

1815-1848

How far had nationalism developed in Europe by 1815?

- France: a sense of national consciousness had penetrated the masses, especially in the towns and cities.
- commitment to constitutional government
- constitution that guaranteed equality before the law and other rights
- national pride

- uniform systems of government and the centralised state helped to bind Frenchmen together.
- Outside France □ largely confined to the professional and educated middle classes and a few 'enlightened' members of the aristocracy.
- however limited, its presence amongst the articulate and progressive classes meant it represented a potentially powerful threat to the traditional authorities.
- Transformation of the political map in Europe due to Industrial Revolution (social classes), national identity (independent nations) and war (new borders)
- Congress of Vienna had tried to go back to the past.
- Holy Alliance of Russian, Austria and Prussia tried to extinguish the spirit of reform

Why did the 1830 and 1848 revolutions succeed in some parts of Europe and fail in others?

Holy Alliance suppresses and liberal countries freed them

- 1) Outside intervention. Ex: Netherlands 1830, Poland 1830, Italy 1830
- 2) Peasants/lack of support from masses: Poland 1830, Italy 1830, France 1848
- 3) Disagreements between countries: Germany 1848
- 4) Difference in revolutionaries: Austria 1848

Succeeded: France (Bourbon monarchy overthrown), Netherlands (intervention from the French)

Failed: Poland (no support from peasants or help from France and England), Italy (risings uncoordinated, lack of support from masses, military overpowering, no help from France), succeeded but failed in the long run in France because of most of the population being peasants.

Proximity to big powers suppresses them.

The 30s

Ottoman Empire

- Greek nationalism - Hellenism - was well developed.
- The struggle for Greek independence attracted support from romantics (famously Lord Byron) from all over Europe.
- **Greek nationalists** successfully gained their independence largely thanks to military support in 1827 from Britain, France and even Russia who saw the Ottomans as a threat.

Belgium

- Catholic Belgians who resented the enforced use of the Dutch language and submission to Protestant Dutch officials.
- 1830: riot in Brussels turned into a full-scale revolt when Dutch troops tried to restore order. provisional government was set up.
- The Dutch defeated the Belgians, so the French army marched north and by 20 August had driven the Dutch from Belgium. Not until May 1833 did the King of the Netherlands accept a truce.

Poland

- 1830, following the events in France, the Tsar prepared for intervention there by ordering a mobilisation of his army in Poland.
- Polish Warsaw garrison (liberalist, nationalist) disobeyed Russian orders and rose in revolt against Russian rule.
- Rebels enjoyed some early successes, but they failed to attract the peasants.
- These were more hostile to the Polish landowners who now led the rebellion, than to the Russians, who had treated them relatively leniently.
- The use of the Russian language was imposed and the separate Polish Diet, the army and universities were abolished.
- No help from France or Britain

Italy

- 1831: risings in Modena, Parma and the Papal States.
- In the expectation of French help against Austria, liberals in Modena pressed for constitutional reform and some form of Italian union in February 1831.
- However, the risings were uncoordinated and as in Poland not supported by the masses. Having first checked that the French would not intervene, the Austrian chancellor Metternich sent in the Austrian troops in March 1831.

The 48s

FRANCE

- When Louis-Philippe outlawed criticism of his government, people rebelled.
- Liberalists organized a provisional government, the Second Republic
- Universal male suffrage given---but the majority were peasants, and elections resulted in conservative gains.
- Complete when Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was elected president.

ITALIAN STATES

- Italians longed for an Italy unified under a republican constitution. This movement, or the *Risorgimento* (resurgence), was led by Giuseppe Mazzini (Right).
- Mazzini started Young Italy, a patriotic society that campaigned for the unification of Italy.
- 'tobacco strike' to prevent the tax revenue going to Austria.
- revolts forced Italian leaders to establish liberal constitutions.
- In March, Austrian troops were forced out of Milan and Venice.
- King Charles tried to drive the Austrians out of north Italy but was defeated at Custoza in 1848 and Novara in 1849 and abdicated.
- Revolutions elsewhere were suppressed, including one in Rome, where Mazzini had formed a short-lived republic.

GERMAN-STATES

- riots broke out as German people sought liberal constitutions.
- Frederick Wilhelm IV, was forced to agree to a democratic constitution and to support a move unify the German states.

- The Frankfurt Parliament established to draw up a constitution for the unification of Germany, but members of the Assembly began to argue over which territory to include in the new Germany
- dispute forced the Frankfurt Parliament into a compromise and a constitution that would accept Frederick Wilhelm IV to be the head of this new government.
- Frederick Wilhelm refused to take this position, delivering the famous line, 'I do not accept a crown from the gutter!', and had by this time gained control of the Prussian army once again and soon brought the demise of the Frankfurt Parliament.

AUSTRIAN EMPIRE

- rise in nationalism was particularly threatening to the multi-national empire which included Hungarians, Slovenes, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Ukrainians/Ruthenians, Romanians, Serbs, Italians, and Croats.
- Viennese liberals, students and workers joined together in street demonstrations.
- The Emperor reacted by sacking Metternich and promising constitutional reform.
- Across the empire, but especially in Budapest and Prague, nationalist demands for official language recognition combined with liberal demands for equality before the law and free press.
- However, the tide soon turned when differences among the revolutionaries gave the reactionary forces an opportunity to suppress the revolution.
- In the summer of 1848 Austrian troops retook Prague and then Vienna. In December 1848 Francis Joseph succeeded Ferdinand I as the emperor of Austria and, using 140,000 Russian soldiers, forced the Hungarian revolutionaries to surrender their independence in August 1849.

ITALIAN UNIFICATION

Piedmont-Sardinia and the rise of Camillo di Cavour

- After 1848: the remainder of Italy was once again under Hapsburg and Papal control.
- Italy was in parts: Genoese, Venetian, Sicilian, each with its own dialect, governments, traditions, etc..
- 1852: **Camillo di Cavour** came to power as the Prime Minister and began modernizing Piedmont-Sardinia
 - if Piedmont-Sardinia was to play a leading role in any future Italian nation-state, the region must first industrialise its economy and modernise its administration
 - expansion of international trade, agreements with European states, railway construction, textiles.

Crimean War (1854-56) broke the conservative balance of power constructed at the Congress of Vienna → resulting instability made possible the creation of modern Italy.

- **Ottoman Empire** controlled the key maritime route between Central Europe and the Mediterranean— the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. If Russia had designs on sea access to the west, it would have to control these two straits. When Russian forces occupied the Danubian principalities in July of 1853, The Ottoman Empire declared war. France and Britain supported the Turks against the Russians.
- If Piedmont-Sardinia was to draw other Italian states into a larger union, Cavour would need to have the backing of some of the major powers against Austria □ sought to gain the support of the French by supplying 18,000 soldiers. In contrast, the Crimean war drastically

weakened Austria's position in Europe. It had allowed foreign powers to decide issues on Austria's borders and shown it to be militarily too weak to intervene against Russia. Cavour had been at the peace negotiations at the end of the war and his modernised army had now had experience. Both Cavour and Napoleon III of France saw an opportunity in this new situation.

The War of 1859

- **Napoleon III** wanted to show himself as a moderniser of Europe against the old conservative version established at Vienna and now defended by the weakening powers of Russia and Austria. The nation-building ambitions of Cavour seemed an ideal opportunity.
- **July 1858:** At a **secret conference at Plombieres** Cavour and Napoleon concluded an alliance and a plan for the future war with Austria. The plan was to provoke a war, jointly defeat Austria in battle and construct a federal Italian nation-state. Napoleon would attempt to isolate Austria diplomatically and Cavour would provoke Austria into war. For her efforts, France would receive Savoy and Nice.
- The resulting war went well for Cavour: Austrians left Lombardy after French victories at Magenta and Solferino in June 1859.
- Concerned about the possible Prussian intervention Napoleon III concluded a separate peace with the Austrians at Villafranca in July 1859. Cavour was disappointed with the result: Lombardy would be given to Piedmont. Venetia would remain in Austrian hands. The Central Duchies of Tuscany, Modena, and Parma would also remain under their traditional leaders—the Hapsburgs. Savoy and Nice would remain with Piedmont.

The Central Duchies

- When the war of 1859 broke out, the rulers of the Duchies fled to Austria and were replaced by nationalist governments. French troops occupied the Duchies to supervise popular plebiscites (referenda) on the issue of annexation to Piedmont.
- For his trouble, Napoleon received the previously promised **Savoy and Nice**. After the results of the plebiscites were tallied in March 1860 it surprised no one that the duchies with the added Papal territory of Bologna had voted overwhelmingly to join Piedmont-Sardinia □ major success for Cavour: had only been denied Venetia and had unexpectedly won the Central Duchies and a portion of the Papal States.

Naples, Southern Italy, and the Papal States

- April 1860: Sicily rose once again in rebellion against its Bourbon rulers.
- The revolt was led by radical republicans for whom neither Cavour nor Napoleon III had any sympathy. The nationalist revolutionary **Garibaldi**, however, was sympathetic to the cause □ organised 1,000 volunteers from the north to join in the insurrection and liberate the island from its Neapolitan overlords.
- Cavour had to be careful: Garibaldi might provoke a **French or Austrian response** which would stop his plans to seize Venetia. Cavour did not actively support, nor did he interfere when Garibaldi first captured Palermo and then crossed to the mainland, conquering all of the **Kingdom of Naples** by September 1860. All that remained was the **Papal States**.
- In a bold move to regain the initiative, Cavour invaded the Papal States. Cavour's army reached the northern border of Naples and prepared to confront Garibaldi's popular army.

- As he faced the Piedmontese army Garibaldi also faced the ugly prospect of civil war. To avoid such a breach in Italian national unity, Garibaldi turned Naples and the Island of Sicily over to Victor Emmanuel the annexation of which was soon confirmed by plebiscite.
- There was, however, the vital question of those territories not included in the new Kingdom, Italia *Irredenta* (Unredeemed Italy), most importantly Rome and Venetia.

Garibaldi's visit to London in 1864

- In 1864, an estimated half a million people came on the streets of London to greet Garibaldi. He was the world's first popular celebrity, a genuine superstar made by the media.

Completing the unification

- **Italia irredenta** could not be solved with parliamentary motions or unilateral Italian military action. With Napoleon's garrison protecting Rome and the Austrian possession of Venetia, including these territories into the Italian state needed to involve one or more of Europe's major powers □ opportunity presented itself as **Prussia and Austria** drifted towards war in the period between 1864 and 1866.
- Prime Minister Alfonso Ferrero La Marmora turned, in 1866, to Prussia. **Otto von Bismarck**, the Minister President, hoped that an alliance with Italy would divert some Austrian troops to the south. In exchange for Italy's military support, Prussia would diplomatically support Italy's claim to **Venetia**. The war went poorly for the Italians, suffering defeat on both land and sea. Nevertheless, the Prussian victory over the Austrians was so complete that Venetia was ceded to Italy.
- Addition of **Rome** to the Kingdom of Italy was made possible by an impressive Prussian military victory: when Napoleon's forces were defeated by the Prussians at Sedan in September of 1870, the French garrison protecting the Pope was recalled to France. With the agreement of the major Catholic powers of Europe, the Italian army occupied Rome that same month. But would not be until 1929 that the Vatican would recognise the legitimacy of the Italian state.

Problems after unification-, 'we have made Italy; now we must make Italians.' Massimo d'Azeglio

- North and south remained divided, politically, socially and economically. Language, currency, weights and measures, legal codes, tax and tariff structures all varied from one end of the country to the other.
- **South:** they felt that they were second-class residents in an Italy dominated by the north □ resentment. Garibaldi's followers were now under the impression that they had simply traded Austrian domination for that of the Piedmontese.
- **North:** where many of the politicians and most of the civil administrators came from, there was a persistent feeling that they had done all the hard work in the creation of Italy and continued to drive the economy, supporting the inefficient and backward southern provinces: industry was centred in the north and the south remained reluctant to reform land ownership and agriculture. The north did dominate the political culture of the state to the resentment of southerners. Victor Emanuel II, of the northern House of Savoy, had moved seamlessly to the throne of a united Italy, creating some resentment in other parts of the peninsula.

- Deeply entrenched **localism and regionalism** meant that loyalties to this new creation called Italy often ran a distant third or fourth in the case of devout Catholics. Inadequate communication and transportation further exacerbated these divisions. Nationalism in Italy had been far more of an idea of middle-class intellectuals, than it had ever been a feeling deeply held by most of the peninsula's population.
- Italian-speaking **territories outside the Italian state**: made up most of the population in the Austrian controlled Trentino and along the Adriatic coast centred in the cities of Fiume and Trieste. More radical views of Italia irredenta also claimed several islands in the Adriatic and Mediterranean. In the years following unification, irredentism became an important plank in the platform of Italian nationalist parties.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

The German states before unification

- **39 states** that made up the German Confederation created in 1815 varied in size, government, economy, religion, influence and even dialect □ all manner of states generally ruled by some form of monarchy.
- **Industrialization** of German states accelerated rapidly after 1850 □ expansion of railways throughout the region (in 20 years, length tripled) □ made raw materials such as coal and iron available to industries far from their sources. Products that had once enjoyed limited local markets now found consumers throughout Germany.
- German Confederation experienced a 60% increase in **population** between 1816 and 1865.

Economic unification: the Zollverein

- In the early 1820s there had been efforts to take apart the many customs and tax regulations that restricted trade across Central Europe □ the creation in 1834 of a customs union called the Zollverein that encompassed 28 of the 39 states in which internal tariffs were abolished and a common trade policy with outside states was developed.
- Austria remained outside the Zollverein while Prussia emerged as the acknowledged leader.

The emergence of Prussia: Otto von Bismarck

- When Friedrich Wilhelm I came to the Prussian throne in 1860 there were several powerful forces on the move in both Germany and Prussia: demographic and economic changes have been noted. Ideologically there was resurgence in liberalism during this period.
- A renewed German nationalism that had been dormant in the aftermath of 1848. The power balance between Prussia and Austria also became strained in the years leading up to the accession of King Wilhelm I. Bismarck would come to epitomise an approach to politics known as **Realpolitik**. Principles mattered less than outcomes. Ideology mattered less than the exercise of power. Alliances were tools of policy and once they had served their purpose could be abandoned.
- He had no grand scheme for German unification, but rather responded to opportunities to strengthen Prussia. It was this Prussian focus that drew Bismarck to the conclusion that the future of Prussia depended on the exclusion of Austria from German affairs □ the inability of Prussia to play significant role in the Crimean War had illuminated the fact that the once fierce Prussian army, had fallen into neglect.

- This was to be rectified with the appointment of Helmut von Moltke to the position of army chief of staff in 1857 □ instituted a series of military reforms that were to transform the Prussian military into the model of a modern army.

The Danish War 1864

- When the new Danish king, Christian IX, came to the throne, he moved to absorb Schleswig into Denmark by way of a new Danish constitution. While this was met with great approval by Danish nationalists, German nationalists were outraged, and the German Confederation voted for armed intervention. When the Danes would not back down, a joint force of Austrians and Prussians moved into the duchies in early 1864. After eight months of fighting, the Danes capitulated □ Prussia annexed Schleswig and Austria Holstein.

The Austro-Prussian War 1866

- **Austria** had been fighting against growing nationalism within its borders since 1815 □ by the 1860s it had seen its European stature rocked first by the Crimean War and later by the chiselling away of some of its Italian influence.
- **Prussia**, on the other hand, had seen its fortunes, both within Germany and within Europe, rise in this period. Economically Prussia's mines and factories were consistently increasing production while the Zollverein increased trade revenues. Bismarck had as his goal the expansion of Prussian power and authority both within Germany and within Europe as a whole. By 1866, therefore, the German States had one major power in a slow decline and the other in ascendancy.
- While it was not necessarily inevitable that they would come to blows, the fact that the overall goals of the two powers were mutually exclusive made war likely.
- Before provoking war with Austria, Bismarck carried out a complex set of diplomatic negotiations to keep France out of the war □ the combination of effective troop movement and tactical advantage helped the Prussians deliver a crushing defeat on the Austrians at Sadowa on 3 July 1866.
- The **Treaty of Vienna** in August 1866 cemented Prussia as the dominant German power and banished Austria from a meaningful role in German politics □ annexed Hanover, Schleswig-Holstein, Hessen-Kassel, Nassau, and Frankfurt.
- The German Confederation was dissolved and replaced by a **North German Confederation**, which consisted of an expanded Prussia and 21 other northern German states.

The Franco Prussian War

- The **Treaty of Prague** left southern Germany in an unstable situation. The states were militarily allied to Prussia and economically part of the Zollverein, but politically independent. Public opinion in the southern states largely opposed any unification with the north.
- German nationalists, however, saw the exclusion of these states from the North German Confederation as an affront to national unity. Bismarck saw in them a potential ally for either France or Austria and as such a threat. The unlikely cause of war between France and Prussia was an argument over the **future king of Spain**.
- French opposition to the Prussian candidate, Leopold of Hohenzollern and Bismarck's manipulation of public opinion in France led to the declaration of war by France in July 1870 □ perceived French aggression was important to Bismarck's plans to frighten the south German states into seeking Prussian protection and consequent German union.

- The Prussian military machine quickly mobilised over a million soldiers and transported over 400,000 to her western frontier. Mobilising far more slowly, the French could bring only 250,000 troops to meet them. Moltke outmanoeuvred one of the main French armies and with Napoleon III in attendance encircled them at the Battle of Sedan on 1-2 September 1870.
- Peace talks eventually led to the **Treaty of Frankfurt** in May □ France pay an enormous war indemnity of five billion gold francs to the victorious Germans and annexation of the French frontier territories of Alsace and Lorraine by the new German Empire.
- For French: annexation of the territories was a constant reminder of the humiliation of 1871, their reclamation a matter of national honour □ outbreak of WWI would give them opportunity to reclaim it.

The German Empire

- the German princes had gathered in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles to proclaim the foundation of the German Empire.
- The independence objections of Bavaria and Württemberg were overcome by a combination of money and realism □ the two states would be no more meaningfully independent outside a strong Germany than they would be inside a strong Germany, perhaps even less so given the overwhelming economic, diplomatic, and military power that the new Germany would possess.
- **Popular opinion** within both states favoured joining the German union. The German Empire was basically an extension of the North German Confederation. Eighteen states, four kingdoms as well as the free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck were brought together in a federal structure. Alsace-Lorraine would be administered as a separate territory. Central Europe now had two empires.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE

The constitution

- **Executive:** The Emperor, the Chancellor and the cabinet.
- The **Bundesrat** (upper house) was based on state representation (could initiate and debate legislation), while the **Reichstag** (lower house) was based on representation by population selected by universal adult male suffrage (could debate policy and approve budgets).
- The executive retained a great deal of power and was responsible to the Crown rather than to the assembly.
- the **Crown** possessed immense power, from commanding the military, to interpreting the constitution. The German Empire was in theory a constitutional monarchy, but that constitution vested most of the power in the monarch.

1871-1878: Bismarck, Liberals and *Kulturkampf*

- 1870s: **National Liberal party** was the strongest party in the Reichstag and Bismarck set out to work with them □ both wanted a more centralised and unified state.
- For Bismarck such control was an extension of the **unity project**. For the liberals, such centralisation and rationalisation were necessary for a **modern industrial society** □ creation of national bank, the adoption of a single currency, the rationalisation of commercial and criminal law across the Reich and free trade, weakening of the influence of the Catholic Church.

- The Empire contained a significant Catholic minority, especially in the southern states and this interest group formed the core of the Centre Party that took seats in the Reichstag. Bismarck believed Catholics within the Reich were Germans first and as such owed primary allegiance to the Crown, not to Rome. When, in 1870, Pope Pius IX introduced the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, he seemed to be demanding the opposite from German Catholics and as such posed a direct challenge to the authority of the German state. To meet this challenge, Bismarck declared a legislative war against the Catholic Church in Germany, what liberals called a **Kulturkampf** a "cultural war" between the Church and the state. Schools were brought under the authority of the state. As in Switzerland the Jesuits were essentially expelled from Germany.
- When the Vatican responded by forbidding Catholics from observing these laws on the threat of excommunication, the German government outlawed most monastic orders within the Reich, imprisoning and exiling those who chose the authority of Rome over the German state.

1878-1890: Bismarck and the Centre (Catholic) Party

- By 1878 the situation in Germany had changed. Despite the persecution of Catholics, the conservative **Centre Party** was doing well in the elections. In addition, a worldwide depression and a flood of American and British goods into German markets meant that **protectionism**, rather than free trade, had become popular with Germany's major industrialists.
- The Centre Party was strongly protectionist and tariffs would also bring money into the state. Most importantly Bismarck was now looking for conservative ally to help him fight the **rising threat of socialism**.
- The rise of this working-class movement and its revolutionary threat to capitalism became an obsession for the ruling classes across Europe. After 1878 the abrupt end to the *Kulturkampf* allowed Bismarck to focus the repressive power of the state on Germany's socialists.
- Two failed attempts on the Kaiser Wilhelm's life gave Bismarck the reasons he needed. Socialist newspapers were banned, and meetings outlawed. The antisocialist laws were renewed regularly until 1890 by which time the growth of the German socialist movement had been curtailed. Bismarck also introduced a series of paternalistic laws designed to provide a basic social safety net for German workers. This net included a modest state pension plan, medical insurance and insurance against disability caused by industrial accidents.

Foreign Policy

- After 1871 Bismarck's diplomacy was focused on the maintenance of the new European order, he had created □ keeping France isolated diplomatically.
- The **Three Emperors League** created by Bismarck in 1873 brought Tsar Alexander II, Emperor Franz Joseph I and Kaiser Wilhelm I together in a vague agreement to co-operate in preserving the general European peace.
- As France recovered after the shock of 1870-1, the threat to Bismarck's new European order became apparent. The Three Emperor's League did nothing to limit French ambitions to reclaim her lost territories.
- The continued **decline of the Ottoman Empire** in the Balkans provided another test of the stability of the European peace. The southern European slavic nations' desire for independence from Turkish rule encouraged the support of Russia who declared war on the Ottomans in 1877. Austria and Britain prepared to defend the Ottoman Empire. The

Austrians saw an opportunity to their south to make up for their northern losses to the Prussians and the British feared Russian ambitions would threaten access to their Suez Canal. Bismarck had no interest in the Balkans, but he feared war would destroy his European order.

- He invited the powers to a **Congress at Berlin** in June 1878 which avoided war for now, but also lay the foundations for the war that finally would break out in 1914.

The long-term causes of the First World War

- The settlement that emerged out of the Congress of Berlin did not answer the '**Eastern Question**' which the decline of the Ottoman Empire had revealed. The Russians made some gains at Berlin, including independence for her Slavic allies Serbia and Montenegro, but the Tsar was disappointed not to have achieved more and blamed Bismarck for this.
- In turn, Bismarck established a closer '**Dual Alliance**' with the Austrians in 1879 and this was expanded into the Triple Alliance when Italy joined in 1882.
- His desire to keep the Russians on board survived the collapse of the Three Emperors League in 1886, when in 1887 Bismarck negotiated a secret '**Reinsurance Treaty**' with the Russians which guaranteed the neutrality of either side in the event of war with a third power.
- Whilst the rest of Europe 'scrambled for Africa', Bismarck's Germany expressed no apparent interest in imperial conquest. But when disputes between countries threatened European stability, Bismarck intervened and in 1884 once again called an international conference in Berlin to resolve the disputes
- The European powers divided Africa up amongst themselves and Germany acquired significant territories in southwest Africa and a collection of Pacific islands. Once again, war had been avoided.
- March 1888, Kaiser Wilhelm died. He was briefly succeeded by his son Friedrich III who also died within the year. This left the throne to 29-year-old Wilhelm II. Kaiser Wilhelm II and Bismarck soon disagreed on both domestic and foreign policy. The Kaiser opposed Bismarck's careful foreign policy, wishing instead to enlarge Germany's empire or "place in the sun". A series of disputes over domestic policy finally led to Bismarck's resignation in March 1890.

SWITZERLAND

Restoration and Regeneration 1815-1848

Restoration (1814-1830) attempts to restore the Swiss *Ancien Régime* (and cantonal authority) which reversed the changes imposed by centralist Helvetic Republic from 1798 and Napoleon's compromise Act of Mediation of 1803.

- Religion and region divided the country
- Ruling families returned to power (as result of the Congress of Vienna)
- Forced into supporting the Holy Alliance: restrictions in the freedom of press, end to political refugees
- 1816: economic depression because of Britain's textiles on the market made the Swiss hand-loomer's work hard
- Benjamin Constant wrote influential text for Swiss reform

Regeneration (1830-1847): **July revolution** in Paris was a catalyst for country-wide demonstrations, cantons obtained the right to change their constitutions.

- Ancien Régime was challenged by the liberal and nationalist movement.
- Feudal privileges removed, city walls pulled down, censorship ended
- Conservative vs reformers, disagreements within the groups
- Religious dimension pushed the Swiss cantons into civil war
- Catholic cantons formed their own alliance, the Sonderbund
- Liberals became more radical, radicals wanted educational reforms that intended to weaken the power of the Church
- Liberal majority of the Tagsatzung dissolved the Sonderbund and appointed Dufour as the leader of the confederate troops (Tagsatzung: assembly of cantonal representatives, made decisions on military and foreign policy for the whole confederation)
- Liberal cantons won
- 1848: Tagsatzung appointed a revision commission to make a new federal constitution
- Treaty of Vienna: countries could intervene on Swiss constitutional changes if deemed necessary (they didn't agree, so no one intervened, and this helped the liberals win)
- Civil War: 80k Sonderbund soldiers vs Dufour Liberal 50-100k, First offense Fribourg, then Lucerne, 27 days war ended, 130 soldiers killed, sonderbund cantons fined, neuchatel and Appenzell as well because they didn't send troops, LAST ARMED CONFLICT!

Swiss Federal Constitution 1848

- Constitution influenced by Americans
- Swiss citizenship, central authority, cantons could govern on local issues
- Executive branch was the Federal Council: 7 members elected by the Federal Assembly
- Bern as capital
- Referendums were obligatory for any amendment to the constitution
- Legal end to nobility
- Single weights and measures; postal service; Swiss Franc; Railway; Polytechnic Federal Universities; Roads; Canals
- Forbidden to send troops abroad except to the Vatican
- All Christians free to practice, but Jesuits expelled until 1973