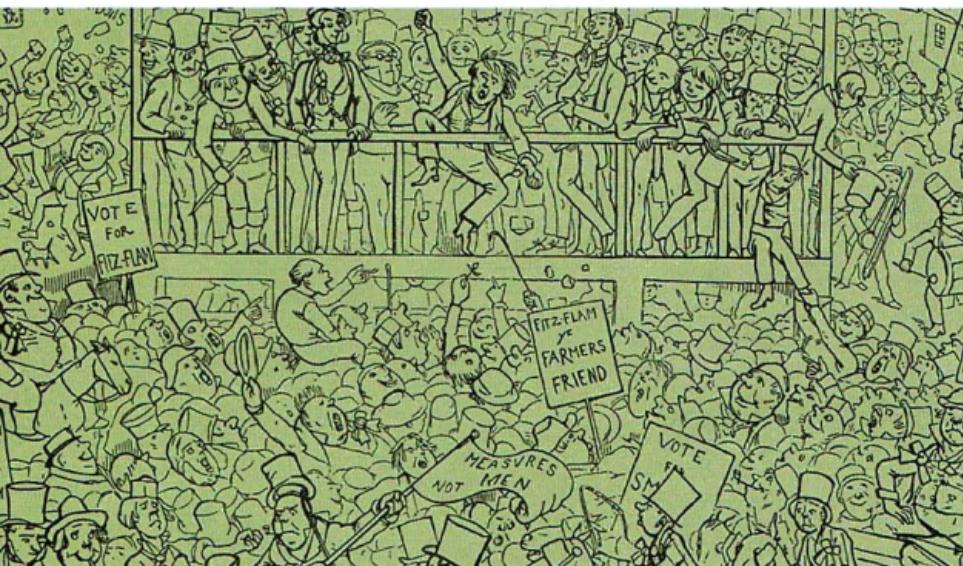


CHAPTER 20

The Growth of Nationalism and Democracy



CHAPTER 20 1848-1914

The right of every citizen to vote is considered a basic requirement for a modern democracy. One of the first European countries to grant universal manhood suffrage was England, where the tradition of democracy was so strong that social critics were free to lampoon some of its excesses. In the sketch above, the cartoonist pokes good-natured fun at the vigorous oratory of a vote-seeker.

On a July evening in 1870 in Berlin, three high-ranking Prussians sat gloomily eating their dinner. They were the prime minister, Otto von Bismarck; the war minister, General Albert von Roon; and the chief of staff, General Helmut von Moltke. Only the day before, Prussia had suffered a diplomatic defeat: France had forced the Prussian king, William I, to withdraw his support from a Hohenzollern prince (and distant relative) who had been asked to fill the vacant Spanish throne. Bismarck had advocated the candidacy in an effort to embarrass France, and now he felt so humiliated that he considered resigning.

At this moment a dispatch arrived from the king at the resort of Ems. The telegram described an interview with the French ambassador, who had demanded that William promise never to allow a Hohenzollern to accept the Spanish crown. Although irritated, the king had politely but firmly refused to make such a promise and had ended the interview.

Bismarck reflected a moment and then proceeded to condense this "Ems dispatch" so that it sounded as if the conversation between the Prussian monarch and the French ambassador had been discourteous. Then he released it to the press. The French public, in a warlike mood, regarded the telegram as an insult and demanded war. Prussia, with its powerful military machine, was only too happy to oblige.

Prussia won the Franco-Prussian War and much more besides, for out of it emerged a united German Empire under Prussian domination. Creation of this empire was Bismarck's greatest achievement, and the most significant nationalistic event in an age of rising nationalism. So strong was the tide of nationalism that by 1914 the political map of Europe was radically different from the map of 1815.

Along with the nationalistic tide ran the current of democracy. Considered revolu-

tional in 1815 and radical in 1848, by 1914 it was regarded as the most desirable form of government. Its progress was uneven, advancing fastest in western Europe and slowest in eastern Europe. Wherever it increased, however, it transformed political life and helped create a society based on active participation by the masses.

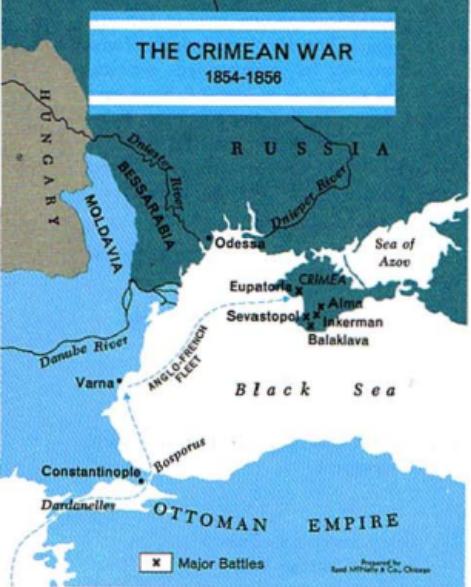
This chapter describes how:

1. Several nations clashed in the Crimean War.
2. Continental Europe was politically reorganized.
3. Democracy advanced in western Europe.
4. Southern and eastern Europe made little progress.

1 Several nations clashed in the Crimean War

Although in 1848 revolutions had swept through almost all of Europe, none of the major nations became involved in war with one another. This situation was due largely to England and Russia, the two powers that escaped revolution and followed a policy of careful restraint in their diplomacy. The revolutions, however, brought forward a new generation of politicians and statesmen who were willing to use any methods, including force, to advance their national interests. This new spirit in politics and diplomacy, known as *Realpolitik*, weakened the habits of cooperation among European nations, upon which the Concert of Europe had been based. An example of this new spirit was the Crimean War.

Disagreements arose over the Ottoman Empire. The first large-scale armed clash in Europe after 1815, the Crimean War, pitted France and Britain against Russia. All three nations had interests in the Near



East and were seeking advantages in the Ottoman Empire. When a dispute arose over whether France or Russia had the right to protect Christians living in the empire and those visiting the Holy Land, Sultan Abdul Mejid I sided with the French. This decision angered the Russian czar, Nicholas I, who tried to intimidate the Turks by sending Russian troops into the Turkish-controlled principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia (now part of Rumania). The British viewed this action as a move to seize control of the Dardanelles. The czar refused to withdraw his troops and the Turks declared war on Russia in 1853. The Crimean War began in March 1854, when Britain and France, determined to prevent any Russian penetration of the Near East, took up arms in support of the Turks.

Nicholas realized that he had overplayed his hand and evacuated his troops from the Turkish provinces. It was too late.

Public opinion in Britain was thoroughly aroused and bent on teaching Russia a lesson. As for France, Napoleon III saw an excellent opportunity to enhance his prestige with a short, victorious war.

Almost all of the fighting took place in the Crimea, a peninsula jutting out from Russia into the Black Sea. In September 1854, thousands of English and French troops landed at Eupatoria and began to march on Sevastopol, a Russian city on the Black Sea. They defeated the Russians at the river Alma on September 20 and moved on toward the city. The allies were victorious again at the battles of Balaklava on October 25 and of Inkerman on November 5, but they could not break through the Russian trenches at Sevastopol. Cold weather, disease, and lack of food and fuel during the eleven-month siege cost the allies heavy losses. A small but well-trained army from Sardinia joined the French and English forces in the summer of 1855 and, after the French succeeded in capturing a strategic position in September, the city finally yielded. Czar Alexander II, who had come to the Russian throne in March, was ready for peace.

The war had important results. In March 1856 the nations involved in the war gathered at Paris for a peace conference. The treaty that resulted imposed a number of restrictions on Russia: the czar had to cede Bessarabia to Moldavia, thus losing control of the mouth of the Danube River; Moldavia and Wallachia were declared self-governing principalities and became the nucleus of a future Rumania; Russia yielded its claim as exclusive protector of Christians in the Turkish Empire.

The most humiliating provision of all was the requirement that Russia must not maintain warships on the Black Sea. Although this provision applied to every nation, it affected Russia more seriously because it left this great power with an

undefended southern frontier. From then on the principal aim of Russian foreign policy was to revise the Black Sea clauses and regain military rights there. Russia could no longer be counted on to defend the existing balance of power as it had in the past, since this balance was not to its advantage.

Austria, which had wavered in its policy prior to the war, emerged weak and friendless. Britain had made a poor showing in the Crimea, and suffered a decline in military prestige. In such circumstances, ambitious men in France, Italy, and Prussia found opportunities to destroy the Vienna settlement of 1815.

Section Review

1. In what respect did the revolutions of 1848 bring about a change in international politics?
2. Why did the various powers clash in the Crimea?
3. What were the most important consequences of the Crimean War?

2 Continental Europe was politically reorganized

In the fifteen years following the Crimean War, the European political system was drastically reorganized. The changes were brought about by a remarkable group of vigorous and forceful statesmen, whose policies reflected the militant nationalism of the period.

France became a dictatorship. After his election as president of the Second Republic in 1848, Louis Napoleon worked to acquire greater and greater power for himself. He won the support of many Frenchmen by trading on the popularity of his uncle, Napoleon, and by stressing order and national prestige. He arranged a *coup d'état* in December 1851 to overthrow the

constitution. The following year the people were asked to vote on whether he should be emperor. They responded with an overwhelming affirmative, and he became Emperor Napoleon III.

Unlike his uncle, Louis Napoleon was neither a military genius nor a brilliant administrator, but essentially a shrewd politician. Unscrupulous in his methods, clever in cultivating and manipulating public opinion, Napoleon III was a forerunner of 20th-century dictators. Although a parliament existed in France, it had no real power. The government controlled elections and rigidly enforced censorship.

Napoleon III sugar-coated the pill of despotism with a program of economic advancement. Railroad construction expanded more than fivefold, iron ships were built to replace wooden ones, and in 1859 a French company began the ten-year task of building the Suez Canal. The French stock exchange did a brisk business. An energetic city planner, Baron Georges Haussmann, modernized Paris by creating broad, tree-lined boulevards, public squares and parks, and magnificent buildings and monuments. For the peasants Napoleon III established model farms, and for the workers he legalized strikes. Asylums and hospitals were built, and medicine was distributed free to the poorest classes.

Had Napoleon been content to concentrate on internal problems, he might have remained on the throne a long time. As the bearer of the Napoleonic name, however, he had a mystical belief in his destiny as a great figure in Europe and was determined to assert French power on the world political scene. In 1852 he had promised the French that the formation of the Second Empire meant peace, but by 1854 he had led France into the Crimean War, and other military adventures followed.

One of Napoleon's most disastrous projects was his intervention in Mexico. That

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY 1858-1870



nation, which had borrowed heavily from investors overseas, suspended payments on its foreign debt in 1861, and France, Spain, and Great Britain sent troops to compel President Benito Juárez to pay. Spain and Britain soon withdrew, realizing that Napoleon had ambitious plans. He sent additional troops to take Mexico City and in 1863 made the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, Francis Joseph's younger brother, emperor of Mexico. Maximilian, dependent on French troops to bolster his regime against a hostile populace, was little more than a puppet of Napoleon.

At that time the United States was involved in the War Between the States and could not protest effectively against the French. By 1866, however, the war was over and the Americans demanded that the French withdraw. Napoleon needed his forces in Europe because of involve-

ments there, and he deserted Maximilian, who in 1867 was captured and shot by Mexican soldiers.

Italy was unified. In 1859 Italy was still, as Metternich once remarked, a "geographical expression," divided into several large and small states. Ever since the French Revolution, however, Italian nationalism had been steadily growing. It expressed itself specifically in the writings of such ardent patriots as Giuseppe Mazzini and more generally in the *Risorgimento*, or resurgence, a movement among middle-class liberals who hoped for Italian unity.

The events of 1848 showed that brave men and noble dreams were not enough. Without the political, diplomatic, and military power to expel Austria, the dream of unity could not become reality. Count Camillo di Cavour appreciated this fact better than his countrymen. In 1852 he became prime minister of the Kingdom of Sardinia, politically and economically the most advanced state in Italy. A great admirer of England, he proceeded to make Sardinia a model of economic and political progress, and the natural leader in the movement for Italian unification.

Cavour was a shrewd political tactician who realized that Italy could not achieve unification without outside help. He deliberately involved Sardinia in the Crimean War, not because of any grievance against Russia, but because participation gave him a chance to publicize Italian grievances at the Paris peace conference.

Cavour then won the support of Napoleon III, who liked to think of himself as the champion of nationalism, and in 1859 cleverly maneuvered the Austrians into declaring war. The combined Franco-Sardinian armies easily overpowered the Austrians, and revolutions broke out all over northern Italy. Napoleon III, fearful that the movement had gone too far, infuriated Cavour by making a separate

peace with Austria. The revolutions continued, however, and in 1860 all of northern Italy except Venetia was united with Sardinia. Cavour in the meantime made peace with Austria.

There still remained the Papal States and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. At this point a fiery leader named Giuseppe Garibaldi took matters into his own hands. In May 1860, with a volunteer army of about 1100 men, he invaded the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and conquered it. Then he prepared to march on Rome. Afraid that such a step would incur the wrath of both France and Austria, Cavour hastily sent a Sardinian army southward, which seized a large area of the Papal States and prevented Garibaldi from carrying out his attack. Cavour then persuaded Garibaldi to permit the unification of the Two Sicilies with Sardinia. In 1861, only a few months before the death of Cavour, the Kingdom of Italy was formally proclaimed with Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia as king. The final steps in the formation of modern Italy were taken in 1866 and 1870, with the addition of Venetia and Rome, respectively.

Bismarck became chancellor of Prussia. Politically, the Germany of 1862 was not much different from the Germany of 1815—a hodgepodge of states within the framework of the loose German Confederation. Socially and economically, however, important changes had taken place. Under Prussian leadership, the *Zollverein*, a tariff union to regulate and standardize trade duties, was established in 1834; it eventually included most of Germany outside of Austria. The Industrial Revolution stimulated the growth of cities, the expansion of the business and working classes, and networks of railroad and telegraph lines. To many German nationalists, the increasing economic unity pointed up the advantages to be gained through political unification. Furthermore, the failure of the Frankfort

Assembly of 1848 had demonstrated that force, not words, was needed to hammer Germany into a single nation. The necessary power was available only in Prussia.

Prussia, however, was indifferent to the larger question of German nationalism. It wanted to increase its own strength and importance within the Confederation, especially at the expense of Austria. This goal required a strong army. The question of a military buildup led to a constitutional deadlock in 1862. King William I wanted to reform and expand the army. The liberal-minded parliament, however, was suspicious of the aristocratic Junkers, the landowning class that dominated the army, and refused to approve the necessary expenditures. To break the deadlock, the king appointed Otto von Bismarck, a prominent conservative Junker, as his prime minister, or chancellor, in 1862.

It was a fateful move. Bismarck was a man of indomitable will. Clever and unscrupulous, he was oblivious to public opinion but passionately loyal to the Prussian monarchy. He was an opportunist who knew how to take advantage of each situation as it came along. Like Cavour, Bismarck was a believer in *Realpolitik*, carefully weighing every factor and unswayed by sentiment or by principles. He simply ignored the liberal Prussian parliament and went ahead with the army reforms, ordering taxes collected without consent of parliament. The people of Prussia, obedient to authority, did not revolt and parliamentary protests went unheeded. Bismarck announced that the issues of the day would be decided not by speeches and votes, but "by blood and iron."

Three wars helped form the German Empire. Bismarck showed what he meant in a series of three short wars. The first, in 1864, occurred when Denmark tried illegally to annex the duchy of Schleswig. Seeing a chance to enlarge Prussian territory,

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY 1865-1871



Bismarck invited Austria to join Prussia in a war against Denmark, presumably on behalf of the German Confederation. After defeating the Danes, Prussia took over Schleswig, and Austria seized the neighboring duchy of Holstein.

Friction then developed because of Prussian-Austrian rivalry. Confident that Prussia could easily defeat its rival in a military struggle, Bismarck first made certain that Austria had no friends. Russia and France promised to remain neutral, the former out of gratitude to Bismarck for

his offer of help in a Polish revolt in 1863, the latter because of vague suggestions of territorial rewards. Italy was won over by the promise of Venetia. In 1866 Prussia declared war on Austria, a war known as the Seven Weeks' War because Prussia won in that time.

The peace treaty ended the German Confederation and provided, among other things, that several states in northern Germany were to be incorporated into Prussia, and that all states north of the Main River would join in a North German Confedera-

tion under Prussian leadership. Austria was also forced to turn Holstein over to Prussia.

Bismarck next turned his attention to southern Germany, where there was much opposition to Prussia. He felt that only war with France would bring the southern states into a closer relationship with the north, first in a military alliance and later in a political union. When the Spanish throne became empty in 1870, the Prussian chancellor saw an opportunity to exert pressure on France. He deviously persuaded Spain to offer the throne to a member of the Prussian ruling family. The French, worried by growing Prussian power, protested vigorously and even outmaneuvered Bismarck for a time when they prevailed upon the Prussian king to withdraw his support from the Hohenzollern candidate. However, the French were not content with this diplomatic success and made further demands through their ambassador. When William rejected these demands, Bismarck took advantage of the king's dispatch from Ems to precipitate a war with France, known as the Franco-Prussian War.

Once again it was a brief conflict. Three German armies invaded Alsace-Lorraine in August 1870 and immediately won several battles against the poorly prepared French. In September, Napoleon III surrendered with his army at Sedan. News of his capture led to a revolution in Paris, which overthrew the Second Empire and proclaimed a republic. Paris resisted a German siege for 130 days, but finally fell in January 1871. Preliminary peace terms awarded Prussia an indemnity of 5 billion francs, as well as the territories of Alsace and Lorraine. The French never forgave the Prussians for the annexation of their frontier provinces.

The south German states had joined Prussia in the war against France. On January 18, 1871, while Paris was still under

siege, the German Empire was formally proclaimed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, with William of Prussia as emperor. The new empire, which included the south German states, soon became the strongest power in continental Europe.

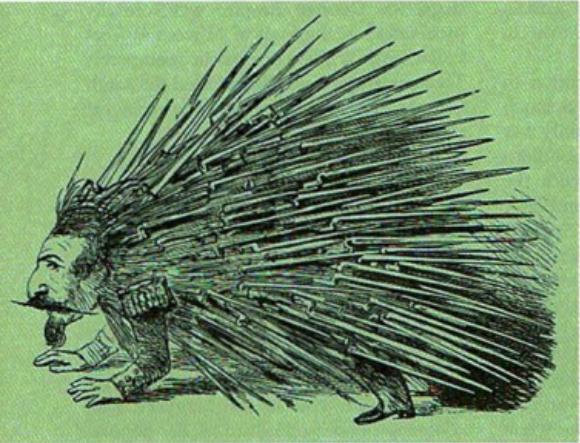
Austria created the Dual Monarchy. In both Italy and Germany, nationalistic movements led to political consolidation. In the Austrian Empire, nationalism worked in the opposite direction, weakening the central regime. No other result was possible where various nationality groups clamored, not for complete independence, but for more local self-government. This was especially true of the Magyars, who comprised about one third of the population of Hungary. Bitter over their defeat in the 1848 revolution, the Magyars grew increasingly resentful as the predominantly German-speaking Hapsburg government tried to strengthen its autocratic rule.

The climax came in 1867. Weakened by war against Italy in 1859 and against Prussia in 1866, the Hapsburg government worked out a compromise with the Magyars. The result, in 1867, was a Dual Monarchy, with two kingdoms, one Austrian, the other Hungarian. Both had one ruler in common (the Hapsburg emperor). But each kingdom had its own parliament and enjoyed independence in internal affairs. Only in the fields of foreign affairs, finance, and war were there common ministries.

This reorganization was a clever device for preserving Austria-Hungary as a major power in international affairs, but it left unsatisfied the numerous Slavic groups that also wanted internal autonomy.

Section Review

1. Describe the chief features of the rule of Napoleon III.
2. What were the principal steps taken by Count Cavour in unifying Italy?



3. How did Prussia profit from the 1864 war with Denmark? the Seven Weeks' War? the Franco-Prussian War?
4. What conditions and events led Austria to form the Dual Monarchy? How were governmental functions divided between the two kingdoms?

3 Democracy advanced in western Europe

In the years between 1871 and 1914, from the end of the Franco-Prussian War to the outbreak of World War I, the nations of western Europe enjoyed phenomenal growth. Industry, transportation, and communications expanded rapidly, as did cities and the population. Externally its power and influence spread to the farthest corners of the globe in the great age of imperialism. These advances were accompanied by the extension of democratic constitutional government and social reforms. Ideas about the nature of democracy were also undergoing a change. The movement

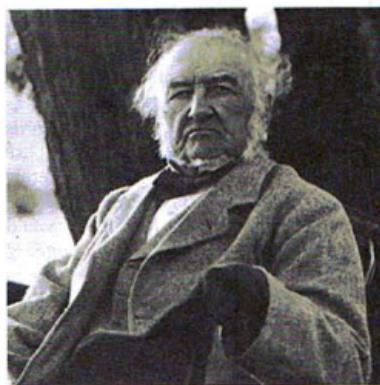
to extend voting privileges to ordinary people—not just the prosperous middle class—was gaining momentum, particularly in England. To be sure, pressing social, economic, and political problems existed. Yet the dominant tone in western Europe was one of continuing faith in progress and optimism about the future.

Britain adopted many reforms. The great model of material progress, orderly reform, and political stability in these years was once again Great Britain. For most of the period the reigning monarch was Queen Victoria, who became a symbol of an era characterized by far-reaching political power and great prosperity.

The Whig and Tory parties were transformed in the 1850's into the Liberal and Conservative parties, which were led by two outstanding figures, William E. Gladstone, a Liberal, and Benjamin Disraeli, a Conservative. The two alternated as prime minister from 1868 to 1880 and after Disraeli's death in 1881, Gladstone continued to dominate politics until he retired in

National Leaders

During the last half of the 19th century, national leaders used various methods to achieve power and prestige. Louis Napoleon hoped to re-create the grandeur that France had enjoyed under his uncle, Napoleon. His slogan, "The Empire is Peace," was mocked in an English cartoon, far left; the emperor is pictured as a porcupine, his body covered with bayonets. Chancellor Bismarck, left, was a skillful practitioner of Realpolitik, who found war to be a useful means of uniting Germany under Prussian leadership. The patriotic fervor of the revolutionist Garibaldi helped bring about Italian unity. In the cartoon below, he helps the new king, Victor Emmanuel, into a boot, the geographic symbol of Italy. Queen Victoria, during her long reign from 1837 to 1901, became the symbol of a stable and powerful British Empire. She is shown at right between the two political leaders on whom she depended for advice in most affairs of state: the Conservative Disraeli, above, and the Liberal Gladstone, below.



1894. Gladstone—deeply religious, eloquent, and serious—led a party composed chiefly of manufacturing and commercial interests. Witty and imaginative, Disraeli believed in the ruling mission of the landed gentry and aristocracy. He saw them as defenders of the common people against middle class business interests, and thus tried to promote a political alliance between the upper and lower classes.

Both parties, sensitive to continuing pressure to broaden the franchise, sponsored bills to extend voting rights, the Conservatives with the Second Reform Bill in 1867 and the Liberals with the Third Reform Bill of 1884. After 1884 most male adults had the right to vote. Under Gladstone and Disraeli, state-supported public education was adopted, the secret ballot was introduced, labor unions were given more freedom, and a workmen's compensation law was passed.

After 1900, important changes took place in British politics. The rise of the Labour party induced the Liberals, anxious to retain the working-class vote, to embark on a program of social welfare legislation. The Liberals, in control of the government from 1905 to 1916, and led by Herbert Asquith and David Lloyd George, enacted laws setting up old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, and minimum wages. In 1909, Lloyd George proposed a budget based on the idea that wealthy people should pay proportionately higher taxes than others, especially if their income was derived from rents. The House of Lords objected strenuously and in 1910 the House of Commons passed resolutions severely limiting the Lords' legislative functions. When it appeared that the Lords would defeat the resolutions, King George V threatened to create enough new peers to carry the vote. In 1911 the House of Lords reluctantly passed the Parliament Act abridging its own powers. Thereafter it wielded little real influence.

Southern Ireland became independent. Although England succeeded in bettering conditions for its own people, it could not seem to solve the so-called Irish Question. The Roman Catholic Irish objected to paying taxes for the support of the Anglican Church in Ireland. They also resented political control by England and a land system that kept them in perpetual poverty. Gladstone succeeded in abolishing tax support for the Anglican Church in Ireland with the Disestablishment Act of 1869. He also instituted a program of land reform, giving the peasants more rights in connection with the land they farmed. The passage of these economic measures benefited the Irish, but by this time agitation had shifted to political matters. The Irish responded enthusiastically to a strong nationalistic leader, Charles Parnell, who advocated Home Rule (self rule) for Ireland. Gladstone introduced two modified Home Rule bills, but neither carried Parliament.

Under Asquith, the Liberals again introduced a Home Rule bill, which was finally passed in 1914. This time the predominantly Presbyterian northern Irishmen of Ulster objected. During World War I the problem was put aside, but with the war's end violence broke out. In 1922 a compromise solution granted independence to southern Ireland (Eire) and allowed Ulster to remain within the United Kingdom.

A Third Republic was established in France. After the overthrow of the Second Empire and defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, the French held elections for a National Assembly, which would conclude peace with Germany and decide upon the form of government France would have. About one third of the deputies elected were republicans, the rest being monarchists of various kinds. Clearly the majority of the French still distrusted republicanism as being warlike and radical.

Paris, however, was a stronghold of republicanism. Unwilling to accept the harsh Prussian peace terms and deeply suspicious of the monarchist National Assembly meeting in Versailles, Parisians in March 1871 rose in rebellion against the Assembly and set up their own municipal council, the Commune. A bloody civil war raged in the streets of the capital for the next two months. The National Assembly finally subdued the Parisians and then carried out a fearful campaign of reprisal.

The fear of radical republicanism was so strong during this period that some form of monarchy could probably have been established if the monarchists had cooperated with one another. The two major factions, Bourbons and Orleanists, could not agree, however. The Assembly failed to adopt a constitution and instead passed three laws in 1875 which in fact amounted to the creation of a republic. The laws provided for a president and for a premier and cabinet responsible to the two-house legislature; the lower house (the Chamber of Deputies) was to be elected by universal manhood suffrage. This Third Republic, intended by the monarchists as a temporary expedient, lasted until 1940—longer than any regime since 1789.

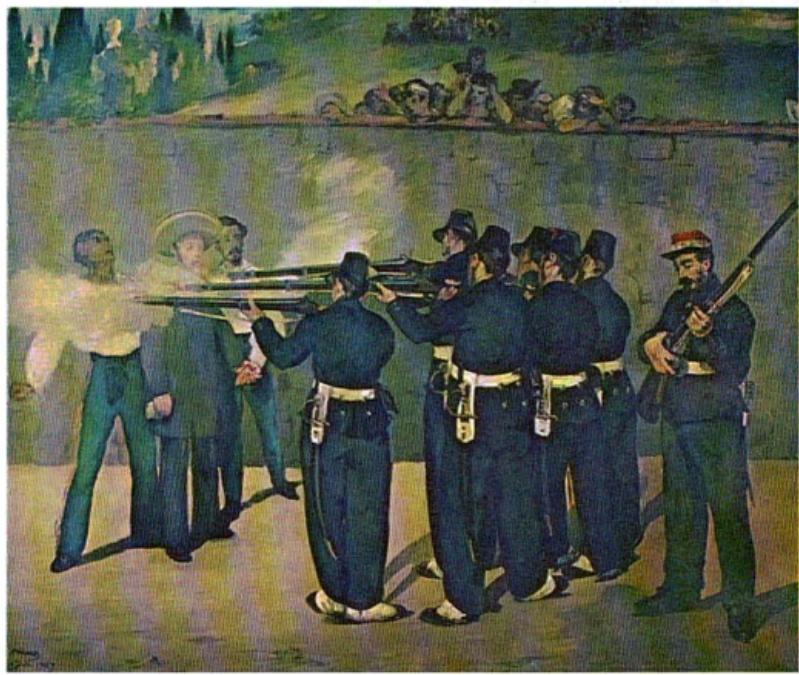
Because of its irregular constitution and uncertain beginnings, the Third Republic was particularly vulnerable to attacks from its unreconciled opponents. Every scandal and revelation of corruption became a threat to the very existence of the regime. The 1880's and 1890's were filled with crises, the climax coming with the Dreyfus affair. A Jewish army officer, Alfred Dreyfus, was convicted of treason by a military tribunal in 1894. When evidence later indicated that the real traitor was an officer of aristocratic Catholic background, public opinion divided sharply. Foes of the Republic—the officer corps, monarchists, and the Church—strongly opposed reopening the case, arguing that to do so would un-

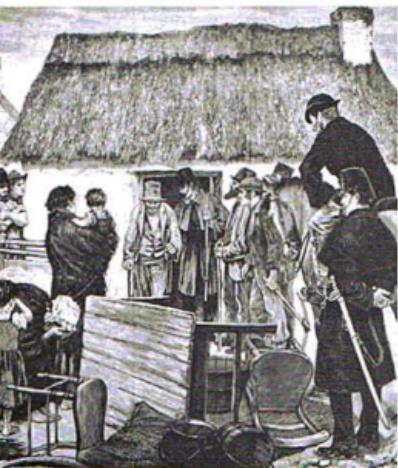
dermine military authority. Pro-Republic forces finally prevailed, however. A civil court pardoned Dreyfus in 1906, thus asserting the power of the civil government over the army. The second verdict served also as a vindication of the principle that any citizen, regardless of race or creed, could obtain justice in a democracy.

By 1914 the Republic, although it still had enemies, had gained the support of the vast majority of Frenchmen. It had shown itself able to maintain peace, security, prosperity, and a respect for civil liberties. French politics, however, was in a confused state. The existence of many political parties showed that public opinion was divided. Although government policy remained fairly consistent, ministries rose and fell with chronic regularity; there were fifty between 1871 and 1914. Other problems developed as a discontented laboring class sought social legislation.

Social reforms were promoted in Germany. The destiny of the German Empire in the first twenty years of its existence rested largely in the hands of Chancellor Bismarck. He built the empire as a union of monarchies in which Prussia would have the strongest voice. Although there was a constitution and a lower house (Reichstag) elected by universal manhood suffrage, real power remained in the hands of the chancellor and the aristocratic upper house (Bundesrat).

Bismarck's intense nationalism made him suspicious of Germans who did not subordinate themselves completely to the state. During the 1870's he launched a campaign against the Roman Catholic Church in Germany. This *Kulturkampf*, or "battle of civilization," sharply curtailed Catholic education and freedom of worship. The Jesuits were expelled, Catholic bishops were arrested, and others fled into exile. After a few years, however, Bismarck abruptly ended the *Kulturkampf*.





Crises in European Politics involved almost all the major powers in the late 19th century. International rivalries broke out in the Crimean War, described by one historian as "entered into without necessity, conducted without foresight." The scene above left shows a British encampment near Sevastopol, where troops spent a harsh winter trying to capture the city. Dreams of imperial glory prompted the intervention in Mexico of Napoleon III. At left, in a painting by Edouard Manet, the puppet emperor Maximilian meets his death at the hands of a firing squad. The Irish Question disrupted the British Isles for decades. One problem was that English landowners ruthlessly evicted Irish tenant farmers, as shown above. France underwent several critical situations. Above right, national guardsmen execute Parisians after the Commune uprising in 1871. Below, Dreyfus hears testimony at his espionage trial in 1894.



He felt that the Catholic Church was no longer a threat, and that Catholic support would be useful in his next campaign, the drive against socialism.

The phenomenal expansion of German industry led to the growth of a large German working class. Many workers became interested in socialism—a movement which advocated, among other things, state ownership of all means of production and distribution. When they organized a Social Democratic party in 1875, Bismarck became alarmed. Beginning in 1878, Germany passed law after law against socialism. Designed to exterminate the movement, these laws succeeded only in driving it underground. In the 1880s Bismarck tried to lure the workers away from socialism by initiating a comprehensive state program of social insurance covering sickness, accident, and old age. It was the most advanced program of its kind in Europe, but it did not kill socialism. In 1890 the chancellor quarreled with the new emperor, William II, about antisocialist legislation, which the latter considered too extreme. On the surface, it appeared that the breach between the two men was motivated by issues. But in reality, the clash was one of two strong-willed personalities. Bismarck, after almost 30 years of service, was forced to retire.

William II, who was twenty-nine when he became emperor in 1888, reigned until 1918. An ambitious man with exalted ideas about his own power, he instituted an aggressive foreign policy. In domestic affairs he abolished the antisocialist laws and broadened the system of social insurance, but refused to extend political democracy. The Social Democrats continued to gain strength, in 1912 becoming the largest single political party in the Reichstag.

Smaller countries shared in the reform movement. Of the smaller nations in western Europe, Belgium came closest to

paralleling developments in Britain. A constitutional monarchy, Belgium in the 1890s adopted universal manhood suffrage, initiated factory legislation, and instituted a program of social insurance. The Netherlands, less industrially advanced, moved more slowly toward political democracy. In the 1890s, less than 15 per cent of the population could vote, and universal manhood suffrage was not adopted until 1917.

The most advanced democracy in continental Europe was Switzerland, a federal union of cantons with a two-house legislature. Universal manhood suffrage was adopted in 1874 and was reinforced by a large measure of direct democracy, including the initiative and referendum. The former was the procedure by which people could propose new laws; the latter allowed them to pass on legislation already in existence.

In northern Europe, the constitutional monarchy of Denmark granted the right to vote to all men and most women in 1915. Norway and Sweden, united at the Congress of Vienna, separated peacefully in 1905. Both were constitutional monarchies and soon adopted universal suffrage. In 1907 Norway became the first sovereign state to grant women the right to vote.

Section Review

1. What groups made up the English Conservative and Liberal parties? Name some reforms adopted from 1867 to 1911. Name the chief steps by which Southern Ireland gained its independence.
2. Why did Parisians set up the Commune? Describe the kind of government that was established after its fall. What were the strengths and weaknesses of the Third Republic by 1914?
3. What steps did Bismarck take to strengthen Prussian nationalism in the German Empire and to combat socialism? In what respects did William II reverse Bismarck's policies?

4. Discuss the progress toward democracy made by Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Scandinavia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

4 Southern and eastern Europe made little progress

Beyond the inner industrial core of western Europe was an outer zone of less economically advanced nations, including Spain, Portugal, Italy, Austria-Hungary, the Balkans, and the Ottoman Empire. The economy of this outer zone was chiefly agricultural. Compared to the advanced industrial nations, this region had fewer large cities, railroads, and factories, and more extensive poverty, illiteracy, and disease. Class divisions between rich and poor were sharp, the middle class was small, and political life tended to be unstable.

Spain and Portugal lacked stability. Spain during the later 19th century was in a state of near anarchy. A revolution in 1868 deposed the corrupt Queen Isabella II, but there was no agreement on her successor. Monarchists were split into opposing factions, republicans sought to abolish the monarchy altogether, and both the army and the Roman Catholic Church continually intervened in politics. When the crown was offered to a Hohenzollern in 1870, it became an excuse for the Franco-Prussian War.

After a confused period, Spain in 1876 became technically a constitutional monarchy. The right to vote was limited to the propertied classes, however, and parliamentary rule was a sham. The government remained corrupt and ineffective. An unfortunate war with the United States, the Spanish-American War of 1898, resulted in a diminished empire and an empty treasury. Within Spain increasing discontent among peasants and workers led to the

growth of radical social doctrines. As the 20th century opened, Spanish political life was beset by a rising wave of violence, terrorism, and assassination.

Nor was violence any less marked in the neighboring monarchy of Portugal. Between 1853 and 1889 the country seemed to make some progress toward parliamentary government, but in the following twenty years government again reverted to the traditional pattern of reactionary absolutism. A revolution in 1910 overthrew the hated monarchy and Portugal became a republic. Instability continued, however, as political parties vied with one another for power.

Italy had serious problems. Unification did not automatically eradicate the traditional problems of Italy—sectional hatreds, widespread illiteracy, a backward educational system, an unjust land system and tax structure, and a lack of any strong tradition of self-government.

Although Italy was a constitutional monarchy, voting was restricted to men of education and property. Out of a population of 20 million, only 150 thousand had the right to vote. Elected politicians were more interested in gaining office than in enacting reforms. Economic distress became so acute in the 1890's that riots broke out in several Italian cities. In 1911 suffrage was granted to all men over age thirty, but this act merely stimulated the growth of mass-supported extremist parties. To escape the stifling economic and political conditions, thousands of young Italians emigrated to other countries.

Minority groups threatened Austria-Hungary. The greatest single problem facing Austria-Hungary in the years after 1870 was that of nationalities. In an empire of such diverse national groups, it was difficult, with nationalism on the rise, to find a common policy acceptable to all. The

DECLINE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE



unique compromise of 1867—the Dual Monarchy—had only temporarily satisfied the Magyars of Hungary. By the end of the century they began to agitate for complete independence from Austria. At the same time, their own policy within Hungary—where they constituted less than half the population, but controlled politics—was one of unremitting hostility toward the other subject nationalities, such as Romanians, Slovaks, and Serbs.

In Austria, Germans dominated political, economic, and cultural life. Although universal manhood suffrage was adopted in 1907, it did not solve the nationality problem. The Czechs in particular demanded autonomy for themselves, conscious of their proud history, cultural development, and rapid economic growth. But Emperor Francis Joseph was a weak-

willed man who never faced up to this problem. His failure to do so ultimately led to the collapse of the empire.

The Ottoman Empire grew weaker. The Ottoman Empire was even more complex than Austria-Hungary in its composition, being multireligious as well as multinational. The great majority of its people were Moslems, but there were also Jews and Christians, both Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox. Turks and other Moslems were the privileged groups, monopolizing army and government posts.

Lagging far behind western Europe in economic and political development, the Ottoman Empire for over two centuries had been the “sick man of Europe.” In the 16th century, it ruled an area from Algeria to the Persian Gulf and northward

to southern Russia and the Balkans. Internal weakness led to declining political control, and gradually peoples on the outer fringes of the empire broke away from Turkish rule, beginning with Hungary in 1699. This long process of territorial disintegration led to the so-called Eastern Question, which agitated European nations throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. In truth, the problem revolved around the rival ambitions of the Great Powers, each seeking to gain advantages for itself at the expense of the crumbling Ottoman Empire. The empire lasted as long as it did only because the competing European nations felt that its existence was necessary to maintain the balance of power.

By the end of the Crimean War, the Turks had lost effective control over southern Russia, the Crimea, Rumania, Serbia, Greece, Arabia, Egypt, and Algeria. Defeat in war glaringly revealed Turkish weakness and demonstrated the need for reform and reorganization. In 1856 the Turkish government issued an edict called the *Hatt-i Humayun*, the most important Turkish reform of the 19th century. It promised equality before the law, abolition of torture, a more equitable tax system, and the elimination of graft and corruption among public officials. In 1876 a con-

stitution was proclaimed providing for parliamentary government. These changes, however, encountered powerful resistance. Moreover, the ruling sultan from 1876 to 1909, Abdul Hamid II, was fiercely opposed to reform. He dissolved parliament and introduced a reign of terror.

In 1877 war broke out between Turkey and Russia, this time over Turkish possessions in the Balkans. Although the Turks were defeated, and lost more Balkan territory, Abdul Hamid's rule did not soften, and outbursts among the nationalistic peoples of the Balkans continued. A revolution in 1908 brought a reforming group, the Young Turks, to power. They restored parliament, but could not stem the rising tide of nationalism in the Balkans. (See Chapter 26.)

Section Review

1. What conditions in Spain led to political instability?
2. Why was it difficult for parliamentary government to function well in Italy?
3. What was the most serious single problem confronting Austria-Hungary in the late 19th century?
4. What was the Eastern Question? What efforts were made to better conditions in the Ottoman Empire?

Chapter 20

A Review

Section 1

The late 19th and early 20th centuries brought many political changes in Europe. Two chief factors behind these changes were militant nationalism and the growth of democratic institutions. The ideal of cooperation, fostered by the Concert of Europe, gave way to a new concept of power politics known as *Realpolitik*. An example of this spirit in action was the Crimean War.

Section 2

Aroit leaders schemed to take advantage

of international rivalries and realize their nationalistic ambitions. Emperor Louis Napoleon fostered prosperity within France but entangled his nation in unfortunate foreign schemes, including an ill-advised attempt to rule Mexico through a puppet emperor. Count Cavour, as prime minister of Sardinia, directed the movement for Italian unification and almost single-handedly created the Kingdom of Italy. Another accomplished statesman, Otto von Bismarck, led his beloved Prussia through wars with Denmark, Austria, and France; from these conflicts emerged a new

German Empire. Within the Austrian Empire, nationalistic movements led to the formation of the Dual Monarchy.

Section 3

Beginning about 1870, several progressive nations of western Europe made great social and economic progress. Victorian England, particularly under Gladstone and Disraeli, broadened the suffrage and adopted other democratic reforms; in the early 20th century, further liberal measures were enacted. One troubled area, southern Ireland, eventually gained its independence. Although politically unstable, France under the Third Republic provided peace and security for its people and managed to withstand pressures from internal enemies. Germany was unsuccessful in campaigns against the Roman Catholic Church and the socialists, but did confer many social benefits on its growing working class. Belgium, Switzerland, and Scandinavia grew increasingly democratic.

Section 4

Other European nations fared less well during this period. Corruption and oppression prevented Spain and Portugal from equaling the progress made in countries to the north, while Italy found it difficult to overcome serious economic and social problems. Austria-Hungary did little to appease the dissatisfied nationalities within its borders. In the decaying Ottoman Empire, an inept central government seemed helpless in the face of growing tension in the Balkans.

The Time

Indicate the period in which the events described in the following statements occurred.

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| (a) prior to 1848 | (d) 1871–1890 |
| (b) 1848–1860 | (e) 1891–1910 |
| (c) 1861–1870 | (f) after 1910 |
1. The Crimean War was fought.
 2. The Franco-Prussian War began with the invasion of Alsace-Lorraine.
 3. The *Zollverein* was established.
 4. Southern Ireland was granted its independence.
 5. The Third Republic of France was created.

6. The Young Turks came to power in Turkey.

7. Louis Napoleon became Emperor Napoleon III of France.

8. The Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed.

9. Louis Napoleon was elected president of the Second Republic of France.

10. Bismarck was appointed chancellor of Prussia.

11. The Seven Weeks' War broke out.

12. The German Empire was proclaimed.

13. The Dual Monarchy was formed.

14. Archduke Maximilian was made emperor of Mexico.

15. Cavour became prime minister of Sardinia.

16. The Third Reform Bill was passed in England.

17. William II became emperor of Germany.

The Place

1. Locate each of the following places on the map on page 448. Then tell which became part of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861: Kingdom of Sardinia; Kingdom of the Two Sicilies; Venetia; Rome. Locate each of the following places and tell when it came under the rule of the king of Prussia: Schleswig; Holstein; Alsace-Lorraine.

2. Locate Moldavia and Bessarabia on the map on page 446. What major transportation route did Russia lose when it ceded Bessarabia to Moldavia in 1856?

3. On the map on page 460, locate and name five cities that were still a part of the Ottoman Empire in 1914.

The People

1. What steps did each of the following men take to enhance the power and prestige of his nation?

Bismarck	Nicholas I
Napoleon III	Camillo di Cavour

2. Explain the role of each of the following men in the unification of Italy: Giuseppe Mazzini; Giuseppe Garibaldi; Victor Emmanuel.

3. Name the country and a significant fact associated with each of these rulers.

William I	Victoria
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Abdul Mejid I
Alexander II
Maximilian

4. What was Georges Haussmann's contribution to France during the Second Empire? Why is Alfred Dreyfus a significant figure in the history of the Third Republic of France?

George V
William II
Abdul Hamid II

Key Historical Terms

1. Explain what is meant by *Realpolitik*.
2. What was the *Zollverein*? How did it aid in the unification of Germany under Prussian domination?
3. What was the *Risorgimento*?

Questions for Critical Thinking

1. Compare and contrast the problems of Bismarck and Cavour in unifying their respective countries. Which country do you think faced the greatest problems? Explain.

2. How did the Crimean War affect the balance of power in Europe?

3. Although both Germany and Italy completed unification at approximately the same time, and had approximately the same number of inhabitants, Germany immediately rose to the position of a great power, whereas Italy quite evidently lagged behind. How would you explain this?

4. What were the accomplishments of the Second French Empire? For what reasons did it ultimately collapse?