Chapter 22

The Age of Nation-States
(1850–1914)
Nicholas I and the Crimean War, 1853-1856

Turning point in nineteenth-century Europe

In Russia: Восточная война - Vostochnaya Voina

In Britain: "Russian War"
Crimean War, the Combatants

- Russian Empire: 700,000 troops
- Bulgarian legion: 7000 troops
- Ottoman Empire: 300,000 troops
- British Empire: 250,000 troops
- French Empire: 400,000 troops
- Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont: 30,000 troops
- Total: 980,000 troops
Russia as defender of Balkan peoples

- Christian Orthodox
  - Serbs
  - Greeks
  - Roumanians
  - Bulgarians
- Slavs (Slavdom)
  - Serbs
  - Bulgarians
  - Slovenes
  - Croats
Ottoman Empire: “Sick Man of Europe”
Outbreak of war

• 1690: Ottoman Sultan gave Roman Catholic Church authority over churches of Nazareth, Bethlehem and Jerusalem

• 1740: Franco-Turkish treaty solidified RCC’s authority, but not many Catholics to protect.

• By 1840s Nicholas and Russian Orthodox Church basically controlled and assumed authority

• Orthodox and Catholic priests actually fought over control of these churches.

• 1844: Nicholas visited Britain, talked with Lord Aberdeen about the Ottoman Empire.
Outbreak of war (continued)

• 1849: Louis Napoleon elected President of France

• 1851: Louis made himself Napoleon III

• 1852: France seized control of the Holy Places

• January 1853: Nicholas to British Ambassador Seymour: “We have a sick man on our hands, a man gravely ill, it will be a great misfortune if one of these days he slips through our hands, especially before the necessary arrangements are made.” (NB: Seymour did not disagree.)

• 1853: Nicholas sent Menshikov to negotiate in Istanbul.
Outbreak of war (continued)

- 2 July 1853: Russian forces occupied Wallachia and Moldova, bullying or brinkmanship?

- Vienna note: Russia agreed; the Sultan thought too vague, and felt snubbed.

- 3 October 1853: Encouraged by British and French, Sultan Abdülmeclid I declared war on Russia.
Endgame

- March 2, 1855: Nicholas I died
- Alexander II vowed change
- Armistice signed Feb. 29, 1856
- Treaty of Paris March 30, 1856:
  - Black Sea became neutral territory, no warships
  - Ottoman independence and territorial integrity were to be “respected.”
  - Ottomans had to proclaim Muslims and non-Muslims equal before the law.
  - Moldavia and Wallachia back under nominal Ottoman rule
  - Russia lost territory it had been granted at the mouth of the Danube
  - Russia forced to abandon its claims to protect Christians in the Ottoman Empire in favour of France.
Death toll

**Allies:**
- 374,600 total dead
- **Turks**: total dead and wounded: 200,000 est. total dead est. 50,000
- **French**: 100,000, of which 10,240 killed in action; 20,000 died of wounds; ca 70,000 died of disease
- **British**: 2,755 killed in action; 2,019 died of wounds; 16,323 died of disease
- **Sardinians-Italians**: 2,050 died from all causes

**Russians:**
- (estimates vary):
  - High: ca 522,000 killed, wounded and died of disease
  - Medium: 256,000 killed, wounded and died of disease, of which dead 60,000 to 110,000
  - Low: ca 143,000 dead and 81,000 injured, of which 25,000 killed in action; 16,000 died of wounds; 89,000 died of disease
Consequences

- Great Reforms in Russia (1860s)
  - serfdom abolished in 1861
  - Army reformed
- Isolation of Austria
- War correspondents change warfare
- Nursing professionalized
- Britain and France on same side
During the Crimean War, Florence Nightingale transforms modern nursing.
Nicolas I of Russia dies—his son Alexander II immediately makes peace.
Obstacles to Italian Unity

For centuries, Italy had been a battleground for ambitious foreign and local princes. Frequent warfare and foreign rule had led people to identify with local regions.

The Congress of Vienna divided Italy up among Austrian rulers, Hapsburg monarchs, and a French Bourbon king.

Nationalist attempts to expel Austrian forces from northern Italy were repeatedly crushed.
Mazzini’s Young Italy

- In the 1830s, Giuseppe Mazzini founded the secret nationalist society, Young Italy.

- The goal was “to constitute Italy, one free, independent, republican nation.”

- In 1848, Mazzini helped set up a revolutionary republic in Rome.

- French forces soon toppled it and Mazzini spent much of his life in exile.
The Struggle for Italy

After 1848, leadership of the Risorgimento, or Italian nationalist movement, passed to the kingdom of Sardinia, under constitutional monarch, Victor Emmanuel II.

CAVOUR

Prime minister who believed in *Realpolitik* and improved the economy by improving agriculture, building railroads, and encouraging free trade.

Wanted to end Austrian power in Italy and annex its provinces of Lombardy and Venetia.

Led Sardinia to provoke a war with Austria. With help from France, Sardinia defeated Austria and annexed Lombardy.

GARIBALDI

Long-time nationalist leader who wanted to create an Italian republic.

Recruited a force of 1,000 red-shirted volunteers and accepted weapons and 2 ships from Cavour.

Captured Sicily and Naples and turned them over to Victor Emmanuel. Shortly afterward, Victor Emmanuel II was crowned king of Italy.
Unification of Italy, 1858–1870

Garibaldi and Cavour making Italy in a satirical cartoon of 1861.
What Challenges Faced the New Nation of Italy?

- Italy had no tradition of unity. Strong regional ties left Italy unable to solve critical national issues.

- An enormous gap existed between the north, which was richer and had more cities, and the south, which was poor and rural.

- Hostility between Italy and the Roman Catholic Church further divided the nation.

- In the late 1800s, unrest increased as anarchist radicals on the left struggled against a conservative right.

- Italy did develop economically, despite its problems, after 1900, though the country lacked natural resources. Many people flocked to the cities to find jobs while many others sought emigration to the United States, Canada, and Latin American nations.
Decline of the Austrian Empire

Austrian rulers upheld conservative goals against liberal forces. Austria, however, could not hold back the changes that were engulfing the rest of Europe.

The Habsburgs presided over a multinational empire, yet continued to ignore the urgent demands of nationalists.

After Austria was defeated by France and Sardinia in 1859, Emperor Francis Joseph made some limited reforms. The reforms failed to satisfy the many nationalist groups that wanted self-government.
Austria’s defeat in the 1866 war with Prussia brought renewed pressure for change from Hungarians within the empire. This pressure led to the creation of a new political power known as the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary.

Under the Dual Monarchy:

- Austria and Hungary were separate states with their own constitutions and parliaments.
- **Francis Joseph** ruled both, as emperor of Austria and king of Hungary.
- The two states shared ministries of finance, defense, and foreign affairs, but were independent of each other in all other areas.
Questions for Discussion

1. What actions did Francis Joseph take to maintain power in Austria-Hungary?

   He set up Austria and Hungary as two separate states, each with its own constitution and parliament. He ruled both and they had shared ministries of finance, defense, and foreign affairs.

2. What problems did this create in the empire?

   Slavic groups, especially the Czechs in Bohemia, resented the Dual Monarchy and called for Slavs to unite claiming that “only through liberty, equality, and internal solidarity” could Slavic peoples fulfill their “great mission in the history of mankind.”

3. How else might he have responded to nationalist demands?
The Ottoman Empire in Decline

By the early 1800s, the Ottoman empire faced serious challenges.

- Ambitious pashas, or provincial rulers, had increased their power.
- As ideas of nationalism spread from Western Europe, internal revolts weakened the multiethnic Ottoman empire.
- European states sought to benefit from the weakening of the Ottoman empire by claiming lands under Ottoman control.
- Attempts at westernization by several Ottoman rulers, especially Selim III and Mahmud IV, increased tensions. Many officials objected to changes that were inspired by foreign cultures.
Balkan Nationalism

A complex web of competing interests contributed to a series of crises and wars in the Balkans.

Serbia and Greece had won independence in the early 1800s. However, there were still many Serbs and Greeks living in the Balkans under Ottoman rule.

The Ottoman empire was home to other national groups, such as Bulgarians and Romanians.

During the 1800s, various subject people staged revolts against the Ottomans, hoping to set up their own independent states.

European powers stepped in to divide up Ottoman lands, ignoring the nationalist goals of various Balkan peoples.
Continued Internal Tensions

- A reform group called the **Young Turks** fought for a constitutional monarchy and eventually overthrew the sultan.

- They held off the collapse of the empire by winning last-grasp military victories and playing the hostile European countries off each other during WWI.

- Nationalist tensions triggered a brutal **genocide** of the Armenians, a Christian people in the eastern mountains of the empire in the 1890s by Turkish nationals, who accused the Armenians of supporting the Russians against the Ottomans.

- When Armenians protested oppressive Ottoman policies, the sultan had tens of thousands of them slaughtered.

The first congress of the Ottoman opposition (1902) in Paris
For Discussion

Do you think that either the Habsburgs or the Ottoman Turks could have built a modern, unified nation from their multinational empires? Explain.
More Upheaval

- Deep differences between the liberal middle-class and socialists divided the new government from the start.
- Socialists forced the government to set up national workshops to provide jobs for the unemployed.
- By June, upper- and middle-class interests won and the workshops were removed.
- Workers took to the streets in “June Days” crying out “Bread or Lead!”
- The National Assembly then issued a constitution setting up a Second Republic with a president, one-house legislature, and suffrage for all adult men.
- **Louis Napoleon** is elected president overwhelmingly.
- Once in office he used his popularity to declare himself emperor, becoming Napoleon III.
- Like his uncle, Napoleon Bonaparte, he ruled during a time of rapid economic growth.
Napoleon III

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<th><strong>DOMESTIC POLICIES</strong></th>
<th><strong>FOREIGN POLICIES</strong></th>
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<td>Issued a new constitution that extended democratic rights.</td>
<td>Unsuccessfully tried to turn Mexico into a French satellite.</td>
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<td>Promoted investment in industry and large-scale ventures.</td>
<td>Helped Italian nationalists defeat Austria and gained Nice and Savoy.</td>
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<td>Legalized labor unions, extended public education to girls, and created a small public health program.</td>
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Challenges of the Third Republic

- In 1871, an uprising broke out, as rebels set up the Paris Commune. The government violently suppressed the Paris Commune, leaving bitter memories that deepened social divisions within France.

- In the first ten years of the Third Republic, 50 different coalition governments were formed and fell.

- A series of political scandals shook public trust in the government.

*The Representatives of Foreign Powers Coming to Greet the Republic as a Sign of Peace, 1907* painting by Henri Rousseau
The Dryfus Affair

In **Dryfus affair**, a Jewish officer was falsely accused of treason to cover up corruption in the military. The controversy scarred French politics and society for decades.

- Royalists, ultranationalists, and Church officials charged Dreyfus supporters with undermining France and he was wrongly convicted of spying for Germany.

- Dreyfus supporters upheld ideals of justice and equality in the face of massive public anger.

The Dryfus affair reflected the rise of **anti-Semitism** in Europe.

It also helped to stir Theodor Herzl to call for a Jewish state.
Reforms in France

France achieved serious reforms in the early 1900s.

- New laws were passed regulating wages, hours, and safety conditions for workers.
- A system of free public elementary schools was created.
- A law was passed to separate church and state.
- The women’s rights movements made some gains, but women were not granted suffrage until after World War II.
How did Bismarck Unify Germany?

In 1862, Otto von Bismarck was made chancellor, or prime minister, of Prussia. Within a decade, Bismarck had united the German states under Prussia.

- Bismarck was a master of *Realpolitik*, or realistic politics based on the needs of the state. He valued power over principles.
- Bismarck strengthened the army in preparation for pursuing an aggressive foreign policy.
- In 1864, Bismarck formed an alliance with Austria. Together, they seized the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark and divided up the spoils.
- In 1866, Bismarck attacked and defeated Austria in the Austro-Prussian War, and then annexed, or took control of, several north German states.
- Bismarck dissolved the Austrian-led German Confederation and created a new confederation dominated by Prussia.
- In 1870, Bismarck provoked France into the Franco-Prussian War and quickly claimed victory.
The Franco-Prussian War
The Franco-Prussian War Was the Start of Modern Warfare

"The War: Defence of Paris—Students Going to Man the Fortifications"—one of the iconic images of the Siege of Paris.

The Prussian 7th Cuirassiers charge the French guns at the Battle of Mars-La-Tour, 16 August 1870.
The German Empire

William I of Prussia was given the title kaiser, or emperor. In 1871, German nationalists proclaimed the birth of the Second Reich, or empire.

Bismarck drafted a constitution with a two-house legislature:

- The Bundesrat, or upper house, was appointed by the rulers of the German states.
- The Reichstag, or lower house, was elected by universal male suffrage.

Because the Bundesrat could veto any decision of the Reichstag, real power remained in the hands of the emperor and his chancellor.
Unification of Germany, 1865–1871
The German Industrial Giant

By the late 1800s, German chemical and electrical industries were setting the standard worldwide. German shipping was second only to Britain’s among the European powers.

Germany possessed several characteristics that made industrialization possible:
- Ample iron and coal resources
- Disciplined and educated work force
- Rapidly growing population

In the 1850s and 1860s, Germans had founded large companies and built many railroads.

German industrialists were the first to see the value of applied science in developing new products such as synthetic chemicals and dyes.
The Iron Chancellor

Called the Iron Chancellor, Bismarck applied ruthless methods to achieve his goals.

**Foreign policy goals:**
- Bismarck wanted to keep France weak and isolated while building strong links with Austria.
- Later, Bismarck competed with Britain for colonies to expand Germany’s overseas empire.

**Domestic goals:**
- Bismarck sought to erase local loyalties and crush all opposition to the imperial state.
- In his *Kulturkampf*, “battle for civilization,” he targeted the Catholic Church and the socialists, both of which he saw as a threat to the new German state.
When William II came to power, he wanted to put his own stamp on Germany. During his reign, he

- asked Bismarck to resign, believing that his right to rule came from God and that “there is only one master in the Reich.”
- resisted efforts to introduce democratic reforms.
- provided services, such as programs for social welfare, cheap transportation, and electricity.
- spent heavily on the German military machine.
- launched an ambitious campaign to expand the German navy and win an overseas empire.
Anton von Werner's depiction of William's proclamation as Emperor in the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles; Wilhelm's son Friedrich (top step, with hand raised) leads the cheering. Bismarck can be seen in the centre-right wearing white.
Reforms of Alexander II

- In 1861, **Alexander II** issued a decree to emancipate the serfs.
  - Former serfs had to buy the land they had lived on for years.
    - Many couldn’t afford it, forcing them to move to the cities.
    - Other bought farms too small to support their families.
  - He also set up a system of local government using **zemstvos**, elected assemblies, responsible for local issues, such as road repairs, education, and agriculture.
  - He introduced trial by jury, eased censorship, and tried to reform the military.
- But peasants had freedom, but not land.
Reaction to Alexander II’s Reforms

- In the 1870s, young educated Socialists tried to incite the peasant to riot unsuccessfully, so some radicals, calling themselves “People's Will,” turned to violence.

- In March 1881, terrorists threw bombs at the czar’s carriage killing him.

- Czar Alexander III responded to his father’s assassination by returning to the harsh methods of Nicholas I.
Crisis and Revolution

- War broke out between Russia and Japan.
- The Russians suffered repeated military defeats.
- News of the military disasters unleashed pent-up discontent created by years of oppression.
- The czar’s troops fired on protesters on “Bloody Sunday,” destroying the people’s trust and faith in the czar.
- Discontent and revolution spread throughout Russia.
- Czar Nicholas was forced to announce sweeping reforms. In the October Manifesto, he agreed to summon a Duma, or elected national legislature.
Results of the Revolution

- The **October Manifesto** won over moderates, leaving socialists isolated.

- In 1906, the first Duma met, but the czar dissolved it when leaders criticized the government.

- Czar Nicholas appointed a conservative prime minister, Peter Stolypin, who instituted arrests, **pogroms** (violent mob attacks on Jews), and executions.

- Stolypin later instituted limited reforms which did not meet the broad needs of most Russians.

- By 1914, Russia was still an autocracy, simmering with unrest.
Problems of Industrialization

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Russia finally entered the industrial age.

- The drive to industrialization increased political and social problems. Nobles and peasants opposed economic growth, fearing the changes brought by the new ways.

- Industrialization created social ills as peasants flocked to the cities to work in factories.

- Radicals preached revolutionary ideas among the new industrial workers.
While the continental nations became unified and struggled toward internal political restructuring, Great Britain continued to symbolize the confident liberal state.

The Reform Act of 1867, passed by the Conservatives under the leadership of Disraeli, expanded the electorate well beyond the limits earlier proposed by the Liberals.

In the long run, this secured a great deal of support for the Conservative party, but the immediate result was Gladstone's election as Prime Minister.
Gladstone as Prime Minister

- Gladstone's ministry of 1868–1874 witnessed the culmination of British liberalism.
- It saw, among other things, passage of the **Education Act of 1870**, which created the first national system of schools.
- After a period of Conservative leadership, Gladstone returned to office in 1880.

William Ewart Gladstone
The Irish Question

- The major issue of the next decade was Ireland.
- The Irish leader for a just land settlement and for home rule was Charles Stewart Parnell.
- The Irish question remained unsolved until 1914 and directly affected British domestic politics.