

HIST 3355

SPRING 2020

UNIT ONE

1848–1871

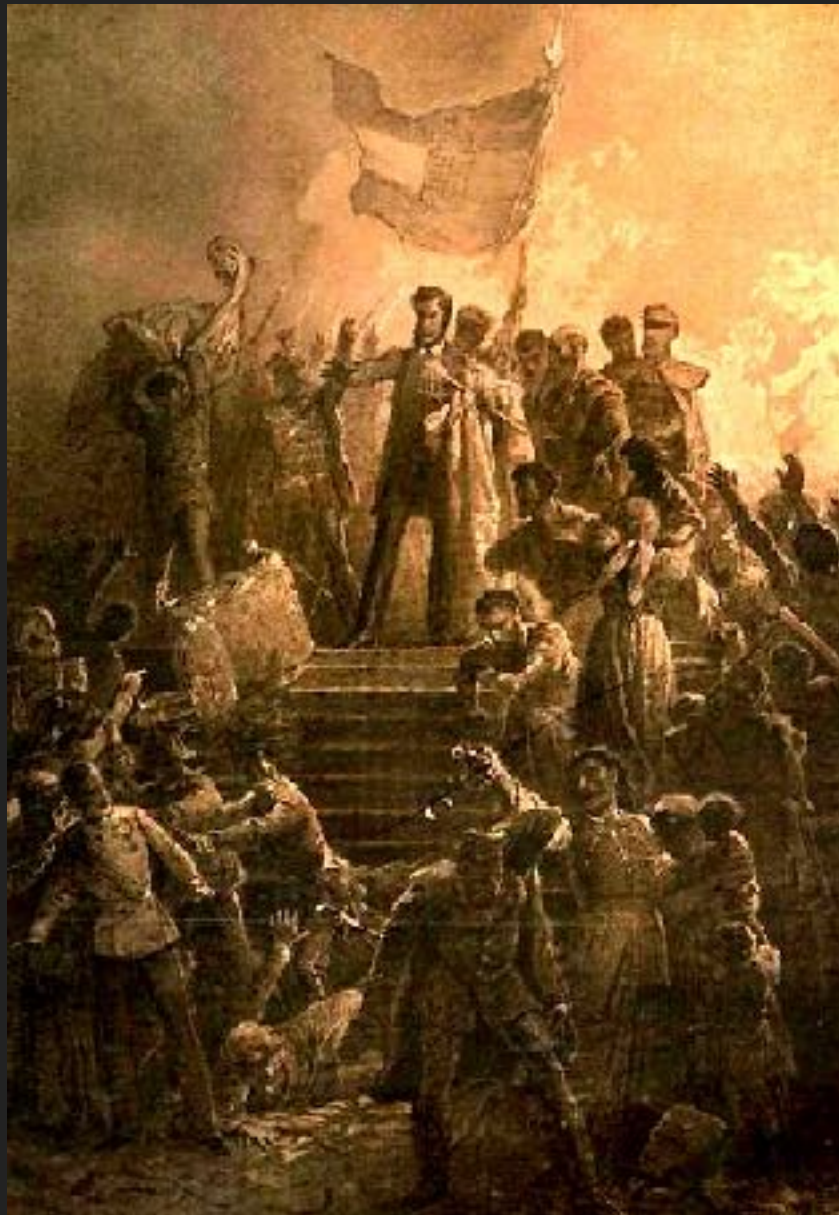
THE MODERN–NATION STATE

INTRODUCTION

- ▶ We have been talking about nations & nationalism (often indirectly) since this course began.
- ▶ As with so many things, it all goes back to the French Revolution. Remember that one of the most important changes of the Revolutionary era was a new way of thinking about **sovereignty** and the right to rule.
 - ▶ **Before** the Revolution: Monarchs are sovereign because of tradition, and by divine right (God).
 - ▶ **After** the Revolution: A new idea that **the people** are sovereign and have a right to rule (either on their own or through their representatives).
- ▶ This new idea, that the people are in power (a.k.a. “popular sovereignty”) is also based on the idea that all people (men) are equals, who have so much in common with one another (a shared history, language, religion, territory). Together they form a large community, or a **nation**.
- ▶ The important thing to remember about “the nation” is that it is a **political community**. By the beginning of the 19th century, revolutionaries and/or liberals are dedicated to making **the nation** the source of political authority. This is why **conservatives** hate nationalism in the early 19th century. They want things to remain as they were (traditional monarchies, who rule by divine right). Nationalism before 1848 is mainly a **liberal ideology** and a phenomenon of the **left**.
- ▶ **THIS WILL ALL CHANGE after 1848** as conservatives realize that nationalism is not going away.

EXAMPLES OF NATIONALISM THAT WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN

The Belgian Revolution of 1830, in which Belgians sought independence from the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. Belgians (who spoke a different language, had different traditions, and were mostly a different religion than the Dutch) wanted to be an independent Nation, rather than one of several Dutch provinces.



The Hungarian Revolution in 1848, in which Hungary sought independence from the Austrian Empire, temporarily setting up a Republic. Remember though, that after establishing their Republic, the ethnic majority in Hungary (Magyars) began discriminating against all of the ethnic minority groups. This reminds us that as much as Nationalism can be a force for good – bringing people together and providing a sense of identity – it is also always **exclusionary**. "Nations" are always being defined **against others**.

CONNECTIONS TO OTHER MODERN POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

- ▶ What is the relationship between nationalism and liberalism?
 - ▶ Liberals believe in national self-determination: just as individuals should be free, so should nations. Examples of liberal nationalist movements that we have already talked about in class include the Hungarian Revolution in 1848 (in which Hungary sought independence from the Austrian Empire) and the Belgian revolution of 1848, in which Belgium sought independence from the Netherlands.
- ▶ What do socialists and communists think of nationalism?
 - ▶ Socialists and communists are **internationalists**, not nationalists. While Marx thinks that proletarian revolutions may begin within each nation, socialism is fundamentally international. Remember: the ties that unite workers across international borders are stronger than the ties binding them to the bourgeoisie within their country.

THE 1848 REVOLUTIONS WERE ALL ABOUT NATIONALISM!

- ▶ In **France**, nationalism is perhaps the best explanation for the successful campaign of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte (later, Napoleon III). Why did so much of the population vote for someone who had no political, military, or diplomatic experience? Because he reminded them of a time when France had been **great** and **powerful** under the leadership of Napoleon I (his uncle). As your textbook states (on page 188), "Many voted yes, not to Louis-Napoleon, nor to authoritarianism in the abstract, but to the music of the 'Marseillaise' [the French national anthem], the cannon of Austerlitz [a symbol of Napoleon I's military victories] ... to all the intangible glories of France."
- ▶ In **German states** and in **Italian states** there were attempts to create united nation-states (Germany and Italy). While these failed, the attempts show how powerful nationalism had become by 1848.
- ▶ In the **Austrian Empire** there were several independence movements among large ethnic/linguistic minority groups – the Revolution in **Hungary**, or the Pan-Slavic congress in **Prague** – all advocating the right to national self-determination and independence from the Austrian empire. These were also largely unsuccessful, but show the growing power of nationalist sentiment across the European continent.
- ▶ The image on the next slide by the French painter Frédéric Sorrieu and is an excellent visual depiction of nationalism in 1848. Note the **flags** that everyone is carrying (a powerful - and **new** - symbol of the nation) and the broken crowns of kings (a symbol of the old political order, not based on national sovereignty) under the feet of the nations.



NATIONALISM AFTER 1848

- ▶ After 1848, it is obvious to conservative governments in Europe that they cannot allow Nationalism to come from below (discontented, revolutionary people!): so they decide to co-opt Nationalism and take control of it from the level of the state. Your textbook describes this as “**the state’s gradual appropriation of nationalism**” on page 183.
- ▶ The best examples of a top-down application of Nationalism in this period is from the Unification of Italy, led by the Prime Minister of Piedmont-Sardinia, **Camillo di Cavour**, and the Unification of Germany, led by the Prime Minister of Prussia, **Otto von Bismarck**. These are very clear examples of states aggressively and deliberately trying to *build* nations. But, we will get to that in a second.
- ▶ First let’s look at how authoritarian nationalism played out under France’s newly elected president, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte (remember, he was elected by an overwhelming majority of the population in the fall of 1848 to be the president of France’s **Second Republic**.)



A political cartoon of L-N Bonaparte riding in a hat reminiscent of his uncle's.

FRANCE'S SECOND EMPIRE

Napoleon III

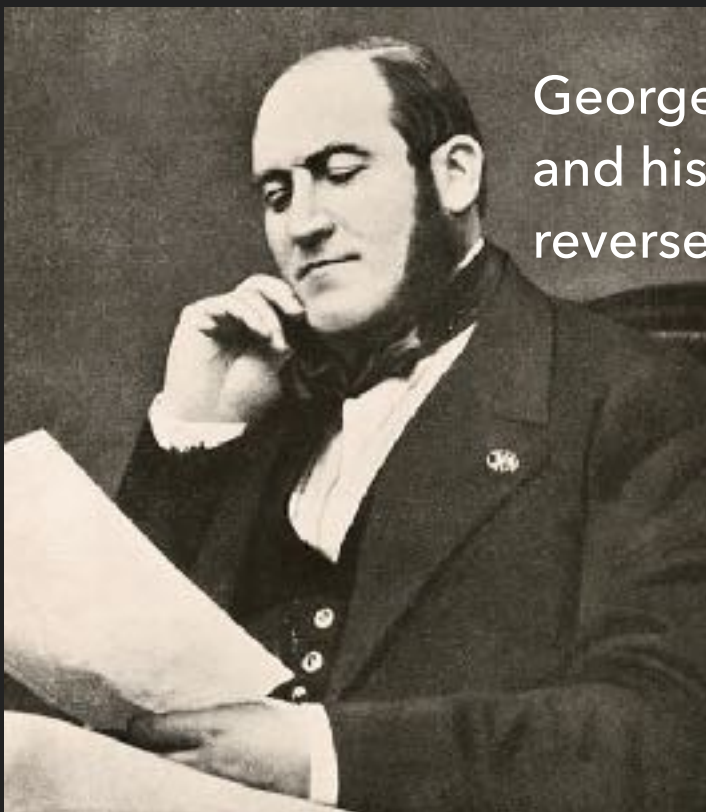
- ▶ Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte does not remain “president” for long. By 1852 he had declared France to be an Empire, with himself as Emperor for life. So much for democracy!
- ▶ Napoleon III's regime is usually divided into two halves: the 1850s and the 1860s (he will fall from power in 1869). The 1850s are generally much more authoritarian, restrictive, and conservative. Things relaxed more in the 1860s, when Napoleon III eased back into liberalism (he had been a liberal in his youth). By the end of his regime, France was **basically** a constitutional monarchy again. Pay attention to the details of how his domestic and foreign policy shifted in the 1860s (pages 188-192).
- ▶ One of the things that Napoleon III remains *most* well known for (other than making himself an Emperor) was the total renovation of France's capital city: Paris. This is all described on pages 189-191 of your textbook. Napoleon III worked hand-in-hand with one of his top administrators, a guy named Baron **Georges Haussmann** to give Paris a complete makeover. This process is referred to as **Haussmannization**.



L. PIERSON, PHOT.

THE “HAUSSMANNIZATION” OF PARIS

- ▶ The Haussmannization of Paris was the process by which “old” Paris was destroyed. The narrow, winding, medieval streets at the center of the city were widened, old buildings were torn down, and even a river (the Bièvre) was covered up and forced underground.
- ▶ Haussmann and Bonaparte (neither of whom had any sentimental or personal attachment to Paris as it had been) were ruthless and relentless with their desire to “modernize” Paris. They wanted to make it clean, easy to navigate (and hard to block off with barricades!), and attractive – especially to the growing European bourgeoisie.



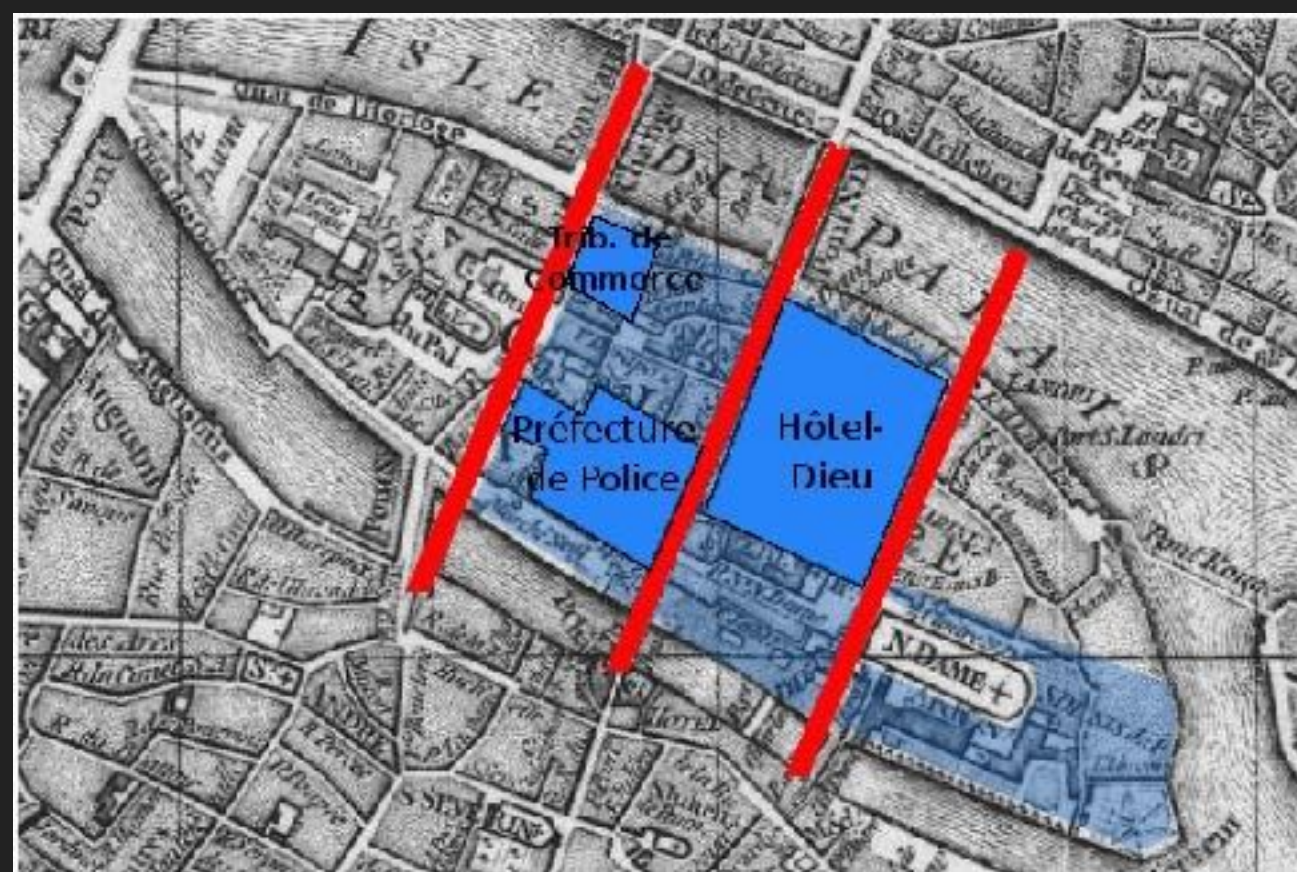
Georges Haussmann
and his strange
reverse-goatee.



The kind of densely-
populated
neighborhood
(around Nôtre-Dame)
that Haussmann and
Napoleon III just
hated.

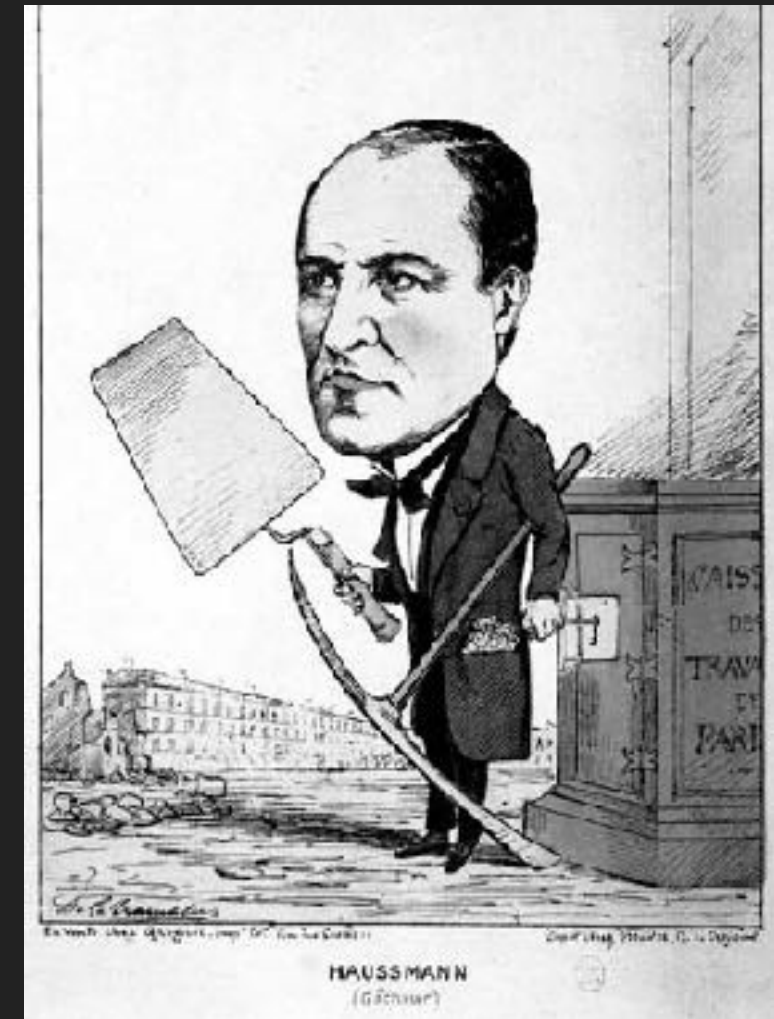
THE “HAUSSMANNIZATION” OF PARIS, CONTINUED...

- ▶ Haussmann changes Paris, by essentially cutting through it's very center. The oldest and most densely-populated part of the city was on an island (île de la cité), and Haussmann had almost all of the residences demolished, and replaced them with administrative buildings (like the headquarters for the Paris police, or the main hospital for the city, Hôtel Dieu). The people who had lived in that neighborhood were forced to move to the outskirts of Paris. A total of 350,000 people were displaced from their homes because of Haussmannization.



Île de la Cité. The red lines are large boulevards and bridges that Haussmann built to make it easier to cut through this part of Paris.

Describing his demolition of “old Paris,” Haussmann said:
“It is easier to cut through the center of the pie than through the crust.” Cool.



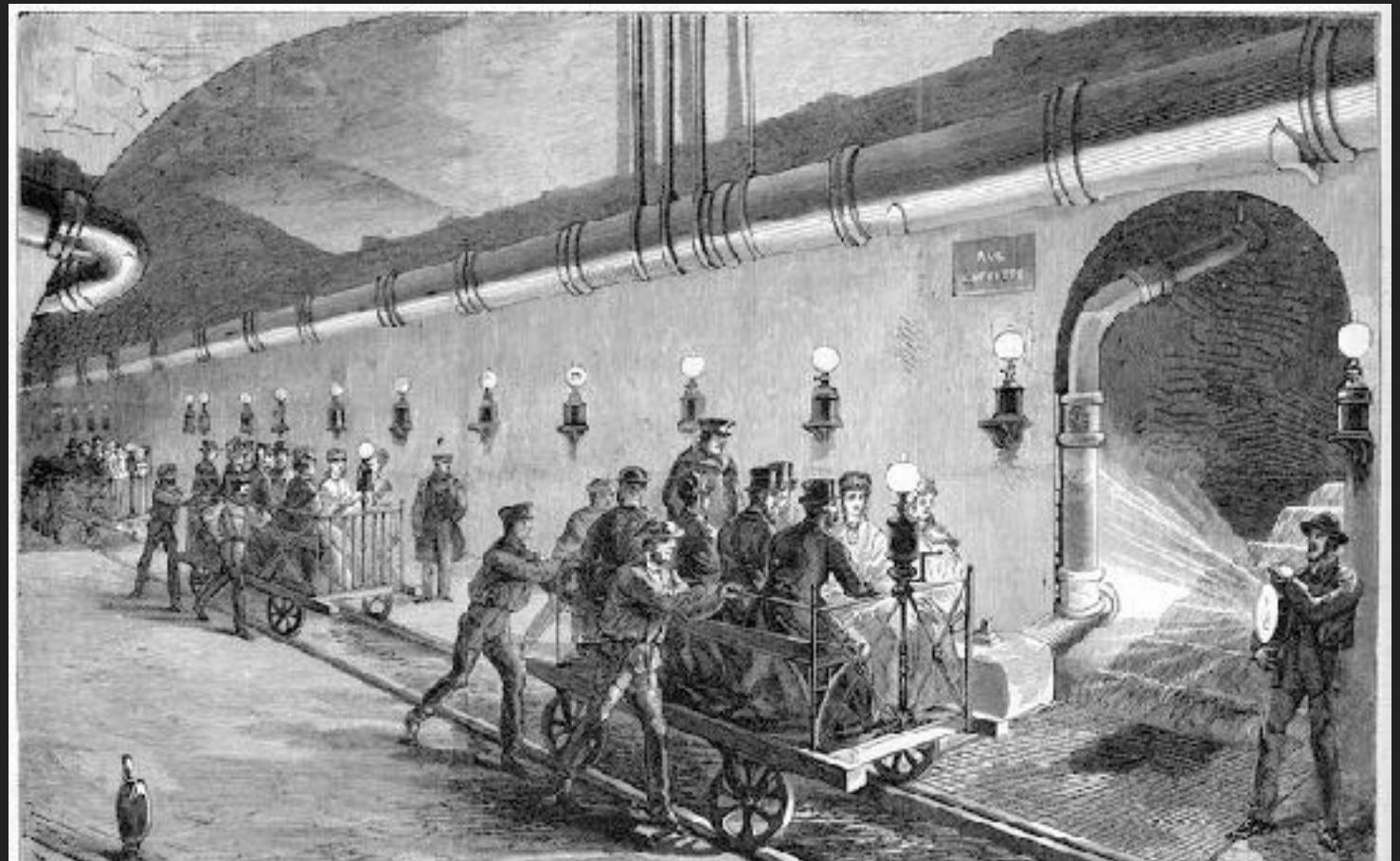
Île de la cité before (top) and after (bottom) Haussmann's renovations



OTHER URBAN PROJECTS



Parks! Napoleon III thought Paris needed “lungs” to help purify the city air. Before the Second Empire Paris had 47 acres of Paris. By the end of the Second Empire, Paris had 4500 acres of parks!



Sewers! Under Napoleon III the sewers of Paris were expanded and transformed from a gross, scary underworld to a clean, modern space that even offered tours to interested tourists! Hot tip: you can still tour the Paris sewers and it’s surprisingly interesting (and not at all smelly).



Urinals! Napoleon III and his administrators wanted people to stop peeing in the streets.

ENOUGH ABOUT FRANCE.

HOW DOES TOP-DOWN
NATION BUILDING PLAY OUT
IN THE REST OF EUROPE?

ITALIAN WARS OF UNIFICATION (1859-1861)

- ▶ The process of Italian unification is described in your textbook (pp. 192-197). It is not led by Romantic nationalists like Mazzini, but by the conservative Prime Minister of Piedmont-Sardinia (P-S), **Camillo di Cavour**.
- ▶ Cavour believes in **realpolitik** (realism in politics: do what you need to do to meet your end goal and don't get hung up on ideology)
- ▶ Italy unifies via a series of small conflicts:
 - ▶ 1859: war against Austria & France, which results in **Lombardy** being ceded to P-S
 - ▶ 1860: P-S annexes a bunch of smaller Italian states in the north and center of the peninsula. Also in 1860 Savoy & Nice (up north) are ceded to France to pay off debts and placate France.
 - ▶ Also in 1860 Southern Italy, under the influence of **Giuseppe Garibaldi** gets in on things, and supports P-S.
- ▶ By 1861 a "Kingdom of Italy" is officially proclaimed, with Florence as its capital. At this point, **Rome** is excluded from Italy. It is still part of the Papal States, and is being protected by **France**.



This map is in your textbook on page 193

GERMAN WARS OF UNIFICATION

▶ German unification similarly happens via a series of wars, orchestrated by the powerful Prussian statesman, **Otto von Bismarck**. Like Cavour in Italy, Bismarck was a real believer in **Realpolitik**.

▶ The unification of Germany takes place in three major phases:

▶ **Phase One:** A war of Prussia and Austria against Denmark in 1864, over the territories of Holstein and Schleswig.

Results: Schleswig to Prussia and Holstein to Austria.

▶ **Phase Two:** A war between Prussia and Austria in 1866.

Results: This is a decisive victory for Prussia and more German-speaking territory is annexed to Prussia (Hanover, Holstein, and several smaller states). The "German Confederation" that was created after the fall of Napoleon I in 1815 is dissolved and a new **North German Confederation** is created, with the Prussian king as its president.

▶ **Phase Three:** The Franco-Prussian war of 1870, between France under Napoleon III and Prussia.

Bismarck hopes that this war will "**enflame nationalist sentiment**" in the South against their enemy, France. **IT DOES**, and the Southern German states join with the Northern German Confederation.

Results: France is defeated in a swift (and humiliating) **six weeks**. The Second French Empire collapses (so long, Napoleon III!) and the **German Empire** is declared with the Prussian King as Emperor and Bismarck as Chancellor of the German Parliament, called the **Reichstag**.



Otto von Bismarck



The Unification of Germany, 1866-1871

SO WHAT HAPPENS TO FRANCE AFTER THIS DECISIVE LOSS?

- ▶ The French Empire collapses, Napoleon III goes into exile, and a **Third Republic**, with a temporary (provisional) government is declared in France. But there's a problem: **Paris refuses to surrender to the Germans.**
- ▶ There is a short, but momentous **siege of Paris** in the Autumn of 1871. By Christmas, the Germans allow for a cease-fire so France can hold elections to its National Assembly (which has relocated to **Versailles**). The newly-elected Third Republic government (which is very conservative in its makeup) makes peace with Germany, but it's a punitive peace and France has to give up a lot. Most notably they have to cede two territories on France's eastern border – **Alsace and Lorraine** – to Germany. They also have to let the German troops march victoriously through Paris!
- ▶ **PARISIANS ARE ENRAGED.** They also hate the new, conservative government that has been elected and they basically declare their independence from and opposition to the rest of France. They seal themselves off from the rest of the country and declare Paris to be a self-governing, left-leaning (kind of socialist, kind of liberal, kind of anarchist, there are all sorts of ideologies floating around!) self-sufficient state. The center of municipal power is called the **Paris Commune.**
- ▶ The Paris Commune only lasts about six weeks until the French army invades Paris and kills about 20,000 Parisian rebels (referred to as **Communards**) in one week. This is known as **the week of blood**. During this week of fighting, many buildings in Paris burn to the ground.



The burnt out remains of the Hôtel de Ville (city hall) in Paris after the Paris Commune (and the week of blood that ended it).

AFTER 1870...

- ▶ Pages 206-228 in your textbook run through all the ways that nation-building plays out across Europe after 1870. To guide your reading of these chapters, focus on the following:
 - ▶ What characteristics now define a united **German Empire**? This is discussed on pages 206-208. What does it mean to be "German" after 1870? What role does Bismarck continue to play?
 - ▶ How do old problems resurface in places like the **Austrian Empire**? Specifically, how does Austria deal with the many ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups living within its borders? How does this fit with "National Identity?"
 - ▶ We haven't mentioned the UK yet. What is the **Cult of Progress** that the textbook discusses (pages 224-228)?