UNIT 4: LIBERALISM AND NATIONALISM

AMERICAN REVOLUTION: THE BIRTH OF A REPUBLIC

MAIN IDEA: Enlightenment ideas helped spur the American colonies to create a new nation.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW: the revolution created a republic, the United States of America, that became a model for many nations of the world.

SETTING THE STAGE Philosophs such as Voltaire considered England’s government the most progressive in Europe. England’s ruler was no despot, not even an enlightened one. His power had been limited by law. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 had given England a constitutional monarchy. However, while the English monarch’s power was being limited at home, the power of the English nation was spreading overseas.

BRITAIN AND ITS AMERICAN COLONIES When George III became king of Great Britain in 1760, his Atlantic coastal colonies were growing by leaps and bounds. Their combined population went from about 250,000 in 1700 to 2,150,000 in eightfold increase. Economically, the colonies thrived on trade with the nations of Europe.

Along with increasing population and prosperity, a new sense of identity was growing in the colonists’ minds. By the mid-1700s, colonists had been living in America for nearly 150 years. Each of the 13 colonies had its own government, and people were used to a great degree of independence. Colonists saw themselves less as British and more as Virginians or Pennsylvanians. However, they were still British subjects and were expected to obey British law.

In the 1660s, Parliament had passed trade laws called the Navigation Acts. These laws prevented colonists from selling their most valuable products to any country except Britain. In addition, colonists had to pay high taxes on imported French and Dutch goods. However, colonists found ways to get around these laws. Some merchants smuggled in goods to avoid paying British taxes. Smugglers could sneak in and out of the many small harbors all along the lengthy Atlantic coastline. British customs agents found it difficult to enforce the Navigation Acts.

For many years, Britain felt no need to tighten its hold on the colonies. Despite the smuggling, Britain’s mercantilist policies had made colonial trade very profitable. Britain bought American raw materials for low prices and sold manufactured goods to the colonists. And despite British trade restrictions, colonial merchants also thrived. However, after the French and Indian War ended in 1763, Britain toughened its trade laws. These changes sparked growing anger in the colonies.
AMERICANS WIN INDEPENDENCE In 1760, when George III took the throne, most Americans had no thoughts of either revolution or independence. They still thought of themselves as loyal subjects of the British king. Yet by 1776, many Americans were willing to risk their lives to break free of Britain.

During the French and Indian War, Great Britain had run up a huge debt in the war against France. Because American colonists benefited from Britain’s victory, Britain expected the colonists to help pay the costs of the war. In 1765, Parliament passed the Stamp Act. According to this law, colonists had to pay a tax to have an official stamp put on wills, deeds, newspapers, and other printed material.

American colonists were outraged. They had never paid taxes directly to the British government before. Colonial lawyers argued that the stamp tax violated colonists’ natural rights. In Britain, citizens consented to taxes through their representatives in Parliament. Because the colonists had no such representatives, Parliament could not tax them. The colonists demonstrated their defiance of this tax with angry protests and boycott of British manufactured goods. The boycott proved so effective that Parliament gave up and repealed the Stamp Act in 1766.

Growing Hostility leads to war. Over the next decade, further events steadily led to war. Some colonial leaders, such as Boston’s Samuel Adams, favored independence from Britain. They encouraged conflict with British authorities. At the same time, George III and his ministers made enemies of many moderate colonists by their harsh stands. In 1773, to protest and import tax on tea, Adams organized a raid against three British ships in Boston Harbor. The raiders dumped 342 chests of tea into the water. George III, infuriated by the “Boston Tea Party”, as it was called, ordered the British navy to close the port of Boston. British troops occupied the city.

In September 1774, representatives from every colony except Georgia gathered in Philadelphia to form the First Continental Congress. This group protested the treatment of Boston. When the king paid little attention to their complaints, all 13 colonies decided to form the Second Continental Congress to debate their next move.

On April 19, 1775, British soldiers and American militiamen exchanged gunfire on the village green in Lexington, Massachusetts. The fighting spread to nearby Concord. When news of the fighting reached the Second Continental Congress, its members voted to raise an army under the command of a Virginian named George Washington. The American Revolution had begun.

Enlightenment ideas influence American colonists. Although a war had begun, the American colonists still debated their attachment to Great Britain. Many colonists wanted to remain part of Britain. A growing number, however, favored independence. They heard the persuasive arguments of colonial leaders such as Patrick Henry, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin. These leaders used Enlightenment ideas to justify independence. The colonists had asked for the same political rights as people in Britain, they said, but the king had stubbornly refused. Therefore, the colonists were justified in rebelling against a tyrant who had broken the social contract.

In July 1776, the Second Continental Congress issued the Declaration of Independence. This document, written by Thomas Jefferson, was firmly based on the ideas of John Locke and the Enlightenment. The Declaration reflected these ideas in its eloquent argument for natural rights.

Since Locke had asserted that people had the right to rebel against an unjust ruler, the Declaration of Independence included a long list of George III’s abuses. The document ended by breaking the ties between the colonies and Britain. The colonies, the Declaration said, “are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown”.

Success for the Colonists. When war was first declared, the odds seemed heavily weighted against the Americans. Washington’s ragtag, poorly trained army faced the well-trained force of the most powerful country in the world. In the end, however, the Americans won their war for independence.

Several reasons explain their success. First, the Americans motivation for fighting was much stronger than that of the British, since their army was defending their homeland. Second, the overconfident British generals made several mistakes. Third, time itself was on the side of the Americans.
The British could win battle after battle, as they did, and still lose the war. Fighting an overseas war, 3000 miles from London, was terribly expensive. After a few years, tax-weary British citizens clamored for peace.

Finally, the Americans did not fight alone. Charles III of Spain and Louis XVI of France had little sympathy for the ideals of the American Revolution, but Louis XVI was eager to weaken France’s rival, Britain. French and Spain entry into the war in 1778 was decisive. In 1781, combined forces of Americans, Spanish and French trapped a British army, commanded by Lord Cornwallis near Yorktown, Virginia. Unable to escape, Cornwallis surrendered. The Americans were victorious.

AMERICANS CREATE A REPUBLIC Shortly after declaring their independence, the 13 individual states recognized the need for a national government. As victory became certain, in 1781 all 13 states ratified a constitution. This plan of government was known as the Articles of Confederation. The Articles established the United States as a republic – a government in which citizens rule through elected representatives.

FRENCH REVOLUTION

**MAIN IDEA:** economic and social inequalities in the Old Regime helped cause the French Revolution

**WHY IT MATTERS NOW:** throughout history, economic and social inequalities have at times led peoples to revolt against their governments.

SETTING THE STAGE. In the 1700s, France was considered the most advanced country of Europe. It was the center of the Enlightenment. It had a large population and a prosperous foreign trade. France’s culture was widely praised and emulated by the rest of the world. However, the appearance of success was deceiving. There was great unrest in France, caused by high prices, high taxes, and disturbing questions raised by the Enlightenment ideas of Rousseau and Voltaire.

THE OLD REGIME In the 1770s, the system of feudalism left over from the Middle Ages – called the Old Regime – remained in place. The people of France were still divided into three large social estates.

**The Privileged Estates.** Two of the estates had privileges, including access to high offices and exemptions from paying taxes, that were not granted to the members of the third. The Roman Catholic Church, whose clergy formed the First Estate, owned 10 percent of the land in France. The Second Estate was made up of rich nobles, much of whose wealth was in land. Although they made up only 2 percent of the population, the nobles owned 20 percent of the land. The majority of the clergy and the nobility scorned Enlightenment ideas as radical notions that threatened their status and power as privileged persons.
The Third Estate. About 98 percent of the people belong to the Third Estate. The three groups that made up this estate differed greatly in their economic conditions.

The first group, the bourgeoisie, were merchants and artisans. They were well-educated and believed strongly in the Enlightenment ideals of liberty and equality. Although some of the bourgeoisie were as rich as nobles, they paid high taxes and lacked privileges like the other members of the third Estate.

The workers of France’s cities formed the second group within the Third Estate, a group poorer than the bourgeoisie. Paid low wages and frequently out of work, they often went hungry. If the cost of bread rose, mobs of these workers might attack carts of grain and bread to steal what they needed.

Peasants formed the largest group within the Third Estate (80 percent of France’s 26 million people). Peasants paid about half their income in dues to nobles, tithes to the church, and taxes to the king’s agents.

THE FORCE OF CHANGE In addition to the growing resentment of the lower classes, other factors were contributing to the revolutionary mood in France.

Enlightenment Ideas. New views about power and authority in government were spreading among the Third Estate. The people began questioning long-standing notions about the structure of society and using words like “equality, liberty, and democracy”. The success of the American Revolution inspired them, and they discussed the radical ideas of Rousseau and Voltaire.

Economic Woes. France’s once prosperous economy was failing. The population was expanding rapidly, as were trade and production. However, the heavy burden of taxes made it impossible to conduct business profitably within France. The cost of living rose for everyone. In addition, bad weather in the 1780’s caused widespread crop failures, resulting in a severe shortage of grain. The price of bread doubled in 1789, and many people faced starvation.

During this period, France’s government sank deeply into debt. Extravagant spending by the king and queen was part of the problem. Louis XVI, who became king in 1774, inherited part of the debt from his predecessors. He also borrowed heavily in order to help the American revolutionaries in their war against Great Britain (France chief’s rival) thereby nearly doubling the government’s debt. When bankers, in 1786, refused to lend the government any more money, Louis faced serious problems.

A Weak Leader. Louis XVI was indecisive and allowed matters to drift. He paid little attention to his government advisers, preferring to spend his time hunting or tinkering with locks rather than attending to the details of governing.

Louis XVI had married Marie Antoinette because she was a member of the royal family of Austria, France’s long-time enemy, she became unpopular as soon as she set foot in France. As queen, Marie spent so much money on gowns, jewels, and gifts that she became known as Madame Deficit.

Rather than cutting expenses and increasing taxes, Louis XVI put off dealing with the emergency until France faced bankruptcy. Then, when he tried to tax aristocrats, the Second Estate forced him to call a meeting of the Estates-General, an assembly of representatives from all three estates, to get approval for the tax reform. He had the meeting, the first in 175 years, on May 5th, 1789, at Versailles.
REVOLUTION DAWNS  Under the assembly’s rules, each estate’s delegates met in a separate hall to vote, and each estate had one vote.

**The National Assembly.** The Third Estate delegates, mostly members of the bourgeoisie whose views had been shaped by the Enlightenment, were eager to make changes in their government. They insisted that all three estates meet together and that each delegate have a vote. This would give the advantage to the Third Estate, which had as many delegates as the other two estates combined.

The King ordered the Estates-General to follow the medieval rules. The delegates of the Third Estate, however, became more and more determined to wield power. So on June 17th, 1789, they voted to establish the National Assembly, in effect proclaiming the end of absolute monarchy and the beginning of representative government. This was the first deliberate act of revolution. Three days later, the Third Estate delegates found themselves locked out of their meeting room. They broke down a door to an indoor tennis court, pledging to stay until they had drawn up a new constitution. Their pledge was called the Tennis Court Oath.

**Storming the Bastille.** In response, Louis XVI tried to make peace with the Third Estate by yielding to the National Assembly’s demands. At the same time, sensing trouble, the king stationed his mercenary army of Swiss guards in Paris, since he no longer trusted the loyalty of the French soldiers.

In Paris, rumors flew that foreign troops were coming to massacre French citizens. People gathered weapons in order to defend Paris against the king’s foreign troops. On July 14th, a mob tried to get gunpowder from the Bastille, a Paris prison. The angry crowd overwhelmed the king’s soldiers, and the Bastille fell into the control of the citizens. The fall of the Bastille became a great symbolic act of revolution to the French people.

A GREAT FEAR SWEEPS FRANCE  Before long, rebellion spread from Paris into the countryside. From one village to the next, wild rumors circulated that the nobles were hiring outlaws to terrorize the peasants.

A wave of senseless panic called the Great Fear rolled through France. When the peasants met no enemy bandits, they became outlaws themselves. Waving pitchforks and torches, they broke into nobles’ manor houses, tore up the old legal papers that bound them to pay feudal dues, and in some cases burned the manor houses as well.

In October 1789, approximately 6000 Parisian women rioted over the rising price of bread. Their anger quickly turned against the king and queen. Seizing knives and axes, the women and a great many men marched on Versailles. They broke into the palace and killed two guards. The women demanded that Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette come to Paris. Finally, the king agreed to take his wife and children to Paris.

CONFLICTING GOALS CAUSE DIVISIONS  For two years, the National Assembly argued over a new constitution for France. By 1791, the delegates had made significant changes in France’s government and society.

**A Limited Monarchy** The National Assembly created a limited constitutional monarchy. The new constitution stripped the king of much of his authority and gave the Legislative Assembly the power to create French law. Although the king and his ministers would still hold the executive power to enforce laws, France’s assemblymen would be the lawmakers in the country.

In September 1791, the National Assembly completed its new constitution, which Louis reluctantly approved, and then handed over its power to a new assembly, the Legislative Assembly. This assembly had the power to create laws and to approve or prevent any war the king declared on other nations.

Factions Split France Despite the new government, old problems, such as food shortages and government debt, remained. Angry cries for more liberty, more equality, and more bread soon caused the Revolution’s leaders to turn against one another. The Legislative Assembly split into three general groups, each of which sat in a different part of the meeting hall:
WAR AND EXTREME MEASURES In 1792, the French were faced not only with reforms at home but also with a disastrous foreign war. Monarchs and nobles in many European countries feared the changes that were taking place in France. They worried that peasant revolts similar to the ones in France could break out in their own countries.

**War with Austria** French radicals hoped to spread their revolution to all the peoples of Europe. When Austria and Prussia proposed that France put Louis back on the throne, the Legislative Assembly responded by declaring war on Austria in April 1792. On August 10, about 20,000 men and women invaded the Tuileries, the royal palace where Louis and his family were staying. The mob brutally massacred them and imprisoned Louis, Marie Antoinette, and their children in a stone tower.

**Radicals Execute the King** During the frenzied summer of 1792, the leaders of the mobs on the streets had more real power than any government assembly. Although the mobs were made up of the poor, their leaders came from the bourgeoisie.

Both men and women of the middle class joined political clubs. The most radical club in 1792 was the Jacobin Club, where violent speech-making was the order of the day. The Jacobins wanted to remove the king and establish a republic.

Faced with the threat of the Parisian radicals, the members of the Legislative Assembly dissolved their assembly, calling for the election of a new legislature. The new governing body, elected called itself the National Convention. The National Convention, meeting in Paris on September, quickly abolished the monarchy and declared France a republic. Adult male citizens were granted the right to vote and hold office. Despite the important part they had already played in the Revolution, women were not given the right to vote.

The delegates reduced Louis XVI’s role from that of a king to that of a common citizen and prisoner. Then, guided by radical Jacobins, they tried Louis for treason and found him guilty. By a very close vote, they sentenced him to death in the machine called the guillotine. Thousands died by the guillotine during the French Revolution.

**THE TERROR GRIPS FRANCE** Foreign armies were not the only enemies of the French republic. The Jacobins had thousands of enemies within France itself (peasants who were horrified by the beheading of the king, priests who would not accept government control, and rival leaders who were stirring up rebellion in the provinces. How to contain and control these enemies became a central issue. Maximilien Robespierre and his supporters set out to build a “republic of virtue”. They tried to wipe out every trace of France’s past monarchy and nobility. In the summer of 1793, Robespierre became the leader of the Committee of Public Safety. As head of the committee, he decided who should
be considered enemies of the republic. The committee often had people tried in the morning and guillotined the same afternoon. From July 1793 to July 1794, Robespierre governed France nearly as a dictator, and the period of his rule became known as the **Reign of Terror**. During the Terror approximately 40,000 people were killed. About 85 percent were peasants or members of the urban poor or middle class (common people for whose benefit the Revolution had supposedly been carried out).

**End of the Terror** By July 1794, the members of the National Convention knew that none of them were safe from Robespierre. To save themselves, they turned on him. A group of conspirators demanded his arrest and next day he went to the guillotine, on 28th of July.

In 1795, moderate leaders in the National Convention drafted a new plan of government. The third since 1789, the new constitution placed power firmly in the hands of the upper middle class and called for a two-house legislature and an executive body of five men, known as the **Directory**. The five directors were moderates, not revolutionary idealists. Some of them freely enriched themselves at the public’s expense. Despite their corruption, however, they gave their troubled country a period of order.

The Directory also found the right general to command France’s armies. This supremely talented young man was named Napoleon Bonaparte.

**NAPOLEON FORGES AN EMPIRE** On November 9th 1799, Napoleon’s troops (Napoleon was put in charge of the military) drove out the members of the chamber of the national legislature. The legislature voted to dissolve the Directory. In its place, the legislature established a group of three consuls, one of whom was Napoleon. Napoleon quickly assumed dictatorial powers as the first consul of the French republic.

At first, Napoleon pretended to be the constitutionally chosen leader of a free republic. In 1800, a plebiscite, or vote of the people, was held to approve a new constitution, the fourth in eight years. Desperate for strong leadership, the people voted overwhelmingly in favor of the constitution, which gave all real power to Napoleon as first consul.

But in 1804, Napoleon decided to make himself emperor, and the French voters supported him. On December 2nd, 1804, dressed in a splendid robe of purple velvet, Napoleon walked down the long aisle of Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris. The pope waited for him with a glittering crown. As thousands watched, the new emperor took the crown from the pope and placed it on his own head. With this arrogant gesture, Napoleon signaled that he was more powerful than the church, which had traditionally crowned the rulers of France.

**Napoleon rules France** Under Napoleon, France would have order and stability. The first order of business was to get the economy on a solid footing. Napoleon set up an efficient tax-collection system and established a national bank. In addition to assuring the government a steady supply of tax money, these actions promoted sound financial management and better control of the economy.

Napoleon also needed to reduce government corruption and improve the delivery of government services. He dismissed corrupt officials and, in order to provide his government with trained officials, set up **Lycées**, or government-run public schools. The students at the lycées included children of ordinary citizens as well as children of the wealthy.

Both the clergy and the peasants wanted to restore the position of the church in France. Napoleon signed a **concordat** (agreement) with Rome, spelling out a new relationship between church and state. The government recognized the influence of the church but rejected church control in national affairs.

Napoleon’s greatest work was his comprehensive system of laws, known as the Napoleonic Code. The code gave the country a uniform set of laws and eliminated many injustices, but it also limited liberty and promoted order and authority over some individual rights.

**Napoleon creates an Empire** Napoleon wanted to control the rest of Europe. During the first decade of the 1800s, Napoleon’s victories had given him mastery over most of Europe. By 1812, the only major European countries free from Napoleon’s control were Britain, the Ottoman Empire, Portugal and Sweden.

Napoleon controlled numerous supposedly independent lands in addition to those that were formally part of the French Empire. These included Spain, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and a number of
German kingdoms in central Europe. The rulers of these countries were Napoleon’s puppets; some, in fact, were brothers and in-laws. Furthermore, the powerful countries of Russia, Prussia, and Austria were loosely attached to Napoleon’s empire through alliances.

The Battle of Trafalgar was placed in 1805 in the southern coast of Spain. Here, Napoleon fought against his major enemy Britain. Napoleon lost this important battle. The destruction of the French fleet had two major results. First, it assured the supremacy of the British navy for the next hundred years. Second, it forced Napoleon to give up his plans of invading Britain. He had to look for another way to control his powerful enemy across the English Channel. In November 1806, Napoleon signed a decree ordering a blockade (a forcible closing of ports) to prevent all trade and communication between Great Britain and other European nations. Napoleon called this policy the Continental System because it was supposed to make continental Europe more self-sufficient. It was also intended to destroy Britain’s commercial and industrial economy. Unfortunately for Napoleon, his blockade was not nearly tight enough.

In 1813 Napoleon’s enemies: Britain, Austria, Russia, Prussia and Sweden joined forces against him in a Coalition. In the battle of Leipzig, October 1813, the allies cut Napoleon’s army to pieces. In April 1814, the defeated emperor gave up his throne and accepted the terms of surrender. The victors gave Napoleon a small pension and exiled, or banished, him to Elba, a tiny island off the Italian coast.

But Napoleon escaped from Elba and, on March 1st, 1815, landed in France. Thousands of French people welcomed Napoleon back. The ranks of his army swelled with volunteers as it approached Paris. In response, the European allies quickly marshaled their armies. The British army, led by the Duke of Wellington, prepared for battle near the village of Waterloo in Belgium. On June 15, 1815, Napoleon attacked and British army defended helped by Prussian army. Two days later, Napoleon’s exhausted troops gave way, and the British and Prussian forces chased them from the field. This defeat ended Napoleon’s last bid for power, called the Hundred Days. Taking no chances this time, the British shipped Napoleon to St. Helena, a remote island in the South Atlantic. There he lived in lonely exile for six years, writing his memoirs. He died in 1821 of a stomach ailment, perhaps cancer.
**THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA CONVENES**

**Main idea:** After exiling Napoleon, European leaders at the Congress of Vienna tried to restore order and reestablish peace.

**Why it matters now:** International bodies such as the United Nations play an active role in trying to maintain world peace and stability today.

**SETTING THE STAGE** European heads of government were looking to establish long-lasting peace and stability on the continent after the defeat of Napoleon. They had a goal of a new European order, one of collective security and stability for entire continent. A series of meetings in Vienna, knows as the Congress of Vienna, were called to set up policies to achieve this goal.

**METTERNICH RESTORES STABILITY** Most of the decisions made in Vienna during winter of 1814-1815 were made in secret among representatives of the five “great powers”. The rulers of the three of these countries: King Frederick William III of Prussia, Czar Alexander I of Russia, and Emperor Francis I of Austria, were themselves in Vienna. Britain and France were represented by their foreign ministers. However, none of these men were as influential as the foreign minister of Austria, Prince Klemens von Metternich.

Metternich distrusted the democratic ideals of the French Revolution. Like most other European aristocrats, he maintained that Napoleon’s expansionist dictatorship had been a natural outcome of experiments with democracy. Metternich wanted to keep things as they were and remarked, “The first and greatest concern for the immense majority of every nation is the stability of laws, never their changes”.

**GOALS AT CONGRESS OF VIENNA**

- Prevent future French aggression by surrounding France with strong countries:
  - The former Austrian Netherlands and Dutch Republic were united to form the Kingdom of the Netherlands.
  - A group of 39 German states were loosely joined as the newly created German Confederation.
  - Switzerland was recognized as an independent nation
- Restore a balance of power, no country in Europe could easily overpower another, so that no country would be a threat to others
- Restore Europe’s royal families to the thrones they had held before Napoleon’s conquests. That was possible thanks of the principle of legitimacy.
- Conservative Europe: the rulers of Europe were very jittery about the legacy of the French Revolution, especially the threatening revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Late in 1815, Russia, Prussia and Austria entered a league called the Holy Alliance. That agreement loosely bound them together. These nations would help one another if any revolutions broke out.
The Congress of Vienna left a legacy that would influence world politics for the next 100 years. The continent-wide efforts to establish and maintain a balance of power diminished the size and the power of France, while the power of Britain and Prussia increased. Nationalism began to grow in Italy, Germany, and other areas that the congress had put under foreign control. Eventually, the nationalistic feelings would explode into revolutions, and new nations would be formed.

Despite their efforts to undo the French Revolution, the leaders at the Congress of Vienna could not turn back the clock. The Revolution had given Europe its first experiment in democratic government. Although the experiment had failed, it had set new political ideas in motion. The major political divisions of the early 1800s had their roots in the French Revolutions.

**REVOLUTIONS DISRUPT EUROPE**

- **Main idea:** Liberal and nationalist uprisings challenged the old conservative order of Europe.
- **Why it matters now:** The system of nation-states established in Europe during this period continues today.

**SETTING THE STAGE** As revolutions shook the colonies in Latin America, Europe was also undergoing dramatic changes. Under the leadership of Austrian Prince Metternich, the Congress of Vienna tried to restore the old monarchies and territorial divisions that had existed before the French Revolution. On an international level, this attempt to turn back history succeeded. For the next century, Europeans seldom turned to war to solve their differences. Within these countries, however, the effort failed. Revolutions erupted across Europe between 1815 and 1848.

**NATIONALISM CHANGES EUROPE** In the first half of the 1800s, three forces struggled for supremacy in European societies. **Conservatives** (usually wealthy property owners and nobility) argued for protecting the traditional monarchies of Europe. In certain cases, as in France, conservatives approved of constitutional monarchies. **Liberals** (mostly middle-class business leaders and merchants) wanted to give more power to elected parliaments, but only to parliaments in which the educated and the landowners could vote. **Radicals** favored drastic change to extend democracy to the people as a whole. They believed that governments should practice the ideals of the French Revolution. This was still a radical idea, even 30 years after the Revolution.

- **The idea of the Nation-state.** As conservatives, liberals, and radicals debated issues of government, a new movement called nationalism was emerging. This movement would blur the lines that separated these political theories. **Nationalism** is the belief that one’s greatest loyalty should not be to a king or an empire but to a nation also had its own independent government, it became a **nation-state**. Nationalism was the most powerful ideal of the 1800s. Its influence stretched throughout Europe. Nationalism shaped countries. It also upset the balances of power set up at the congress of Vienna in 1815, and affected the lives of millions.
- **The Ideal of Nationalism** Nationalism during the 1800s fueled efforts to build nations-states. Nationalists were not loyal to kings, but to their people (to those who shared common bonds). These bonds might include a common history, culture, world-view, or language. Nationalists believed that people of a single “nationality”, or ancestry, should unite under a single government. People would then identify with their government to create a united nation-state.

**ITALY: CAVOUR UNITES ITALY** While nationalism destroyed empires, it also built nations. Italy was one of the countries to form from the territory of crumbling empires. After the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Austria ruled the Italian provinces of Venetia and Lombardy in the north, and several small states. In the south, the Spanish Bourbon family ruled the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

Nevertheless, between 1815 and 1848, increasing numbers of Italians were no longer content to live under foreign ruler. Amid growing discontent, two leaders appeared –one was idealistic, the other practical. They had different personalities and pursued different goals. But each contributed to the unification of Italy.

- **Piedmont-Sardinia.** The kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia was the largest and most powerful of the Italian states. The kingdom had also adopted a liberal constitution in 1848. So, to the Italian middle classes was an alternative.
In 1852, Piedmont-Sardinia’s King Victor Emmanuel II named Count Camillo di Cavour as his prime minister. Cavour worked tirelessly to expand Piedmont-Sardinia’s power. With careful diplomacy and well-chosen alliances, he achieved that expansion. Almost as a coincidence, he also achieved the unification of Italy.

At first, Cavour’s major goal was to get control of northern Italy for Piedmont-Sardinia. In 1858, a combined French- Piedmont-Sardinian army won two quick victories against Austria. So France helped Cavour expel the Austrians from the north. Piedmont-Sardinia succeeded in taking over all of northern Italy, except Venetia, from the Austrians.

**Cavour Looks South** As Cavour was uniting the north of Italy, he began to consider the possibility of controlling the south. He secretly started helping nationalist rebels in southern Italy. In May 1860, a small army of Italian nationalists led by a bold and romantic soldier, Giuseppe Garibaldi captured Sicily. In battle, Garibaldi always wore a bright red shirt, as did his followers. As a result, they became known as the Red Shirts.

From Sicily, Garibaldi crossed to the Italian mainland and marched north. In an election, voters gave Garibaldi permission to unite the southern areas he conquered with the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia. Cavour arranged for King Victor Emmanuel II to meet Garibaldi in Naples. “The Red One” willingly agreed to step aside and let the Piedmont-Sardinia king rule. In 1861 Victor Emmanuel ruled Italy as his king.

In 1866, the Austrian province of Venetia, which included the city of Venice, became part of Italy. In 1870, Italian forces took over the last part of a territory known as the Papal States.

The Roman Catholic popes had governed the territory as both its spiritual and earthly rulers. With this victory, the city of Rome came under Italian control. Soon after, Rome became the capital of the United Kingdom of Italy. The pope, however, would continue to govern a section of Rome known as Vatican City.

**THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY** Like Italy, Germany also achieved national unity in the mid-1800s. Since 1815, 39 German states had formed a loose grouping called the German Confederation. The largest state, Prussia, dominated the confederation. In 1834, the German Confederation had established a union-customs (Zollverein) between the German northern states. We can see it as economical union before the political one.

Prussia enjoyed several advantages that would eventually help it forge a strong German state. First of all, Prussia had a mainly German population. As a result, nationalism actually unified Prussia. Moreover, Prussia’s army was by far the most powerful in central Europe. Finally, Prussia industrialized more quickly than other German states.

In 1861 Wilhelm I arrived to the Prussian throne. Wilhelm chose a conservative prime minister, Otto Von Bismarck. Bismarck was a master of what came to be known as realpolitik. This German term means “the politics of reality”. The word described tough power politics with no room for idealism. With realpolitik as his style, Bismarck would become one of the commanding figures of German history.

By working to expand Prussia, Bismarck could satisfy both his patriotism and his desire for power. To sizable his powerful rival, Bismarck purposely stirred up border conflicts with Austria. The tensions provoked Austria into declaring war on Prussia in 1866. The Prussians used their superior training and equipment to win a smashing victory. They humiliated Austria. With its victory Prussia took control of northern Germany. In 1867 the states of the north joined a North German Confederation, which Prussia dominated completely.

**The Franco-Prussian War** By 1867, a few southern German states remained independent of Prussia. Bismarck felt he could win the support of southerners if they faced a threat from outside. He reasoned that a war with France would rally the south.

Bismarck was an expert at manufacturing “incidents” to gain his ends. He published an altered version of a diplomatic telegram he had received. The telegram gave a false description of a meeting
between Wilhelm I and the French ambassador. In the description, Wilhelm seemed to insult the French. Reacting to the insult, France declared war on Prussia on July 1870.

At once, the Prussian army poured into northern France and surrounded the main French force at Sedan. Only Paris held out against the Germans. For four months, Parisians withstood a German siege. Finally, hunger forced them to surrender.

The Franco-Prussian War was the final stage in German unification. Now the nationalistic fever also seized people in southern Germany. They finally accepted Prussian leadership.

On January 1871, King Wilhelm I of Prussia was crowned Kaiser, or emperor. Germans called their empire the Second Reich (The Holy Roman Empire was the first.).

IMPORTANT TERMS, PEOPLE, AND EVENTS

**Alexander I** Czar and Emperor of Russia from 1801 to 1825. For a time he allied with Napoleon by the Treaty of Tilsit, but ultimately he was a member of the alliance that defeated Napoleon.

**Bastille** A large armory and state prison in the center of Paris that a mob of sans-culottes sacked on July 14, 1789, giving the masses arms for insurrection. The storming of the Bastille had little practical consequence, but it was an enormous symbolic act against the Ancien Régime, inspired the revolutionaries, and is still celebrated today as the French holiday Bastille Day.

**Bourgeoisie** The middle and upper classes of French society who, as members of the Third Estate, wanted an end to the principle of privilege that governed French society in the late 1700s. The bourgeoisie represented the moderate voices during the French Revolution and were represented by delegates in both the Estates-General and the National Assembly.

**Committee of Public Safety** A body, chaired by Maximilien Robespierre, to which the National Convention gave dictatorial powers in April 1793 in an attempt to deal with France’s wars abroad and economic problems at home. Although the committee led off its tenure with an impressive war effort and economy-salvaging initiatives, things took a turn for the worse when Robespierre began his violent Reign of Terror in late 1793.

**Concordat** The French Revolutionary governments had treated the Catholic Church in France very badly, and the government had confiscated a great chunk of Church property. The Concordat, signed on July 15, 1801, represented a reconciliation between France and the Catholic Church. This prevented the Catholic Church from being a source of opposition to Napoleon's regime.

**Congress of Vienna** 1814 to 1815 conference of the European powers in which they decided how to repartition Europe after defeating Napoleon. The Congress was one of the most massive and significant treaties ever, and it created a Europe wherein the balance of power prevented a Europe-wide war for a hundred years.
**Consulate** French government from 1799 to 1804, set up by Napoleon and Sieyes after their overthrow of the Directory. Napoleon was First Consul. Set up as an oligarchy, Napoleon ended up becoming the sole dictator of the regime. In 1804, he replaced the consulate with the Empire.

**Continental System** - Napoleon's plan to stop all shipping of British goods into Europe. Announced by the Berlin Decree of 1806, the Continental System resulted in a British blockade of all European shipping, and ended up hurting France more than Britain. By trying to spread the Continental System into Spain, Napoleon and France had to endure the constant harassment of the disastrous Peninsular War.

**Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen** A document, issued by the National Assembly on August 26, 1789, that granted sovereignty to all French people. The declaration, which drew from the ideas of some of the Enlightenment’s greatest thinkers, asserted that liberty is a “natural” and “inseparable” right of man and that “men are born and remain free and equal in rights.”

**Directory** The new executive branch established by the constitution written during the moderates Thermidorian Reaction of 1794–1795. The Directory was appointed by the legislative assembly. However, after 1797 election results proved unfavorable to elements in the Directory, it orchestrated an overthrow of the assembly and maintained dubious control over France until it was overthrown by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1799.

**Duke of Wellington** British commander who, along with Blücher, took primary credit for defeating Napoleon at Waterloo. Earlier, Wellington had also led the British forces supporting the Spanish guerrillas in the Peninsula War. Wellington later entered British politics and served as Prime Minister.

**Estates-General** A medieval representative institution in France that had not met for 175 years before King Louis XVI reconvened it on May 5, 1789, to deal with the looming financial crisis. Consisting of three estates—the clergy, nobility, and commoners, respectively—the Estates-General was the only group that would be able to force the assented French parlements into accepting the controller general of finance Charles de Calonne’s tax decrees.

**Frederick William III** The Prussian king from 1797 to 1840. He was a fairly weak king, manipulated alternately by Alexander I and Metternich’s influences. Under him, advisors like Baron Stein and Hardenberg initiated important modernizing advances in the Prussian state.

**Grand Duchy of Warsaw** - Name Napoleon gave to the Polish state he created in 1807, and which lasted until 1815. Though technically independent, it was in reality under Napoleon’s control. Czar Alexander I of Russia was seriously upset by the recreation of the Polish state, since he wanted the territory badly.

**Great Fear** A period in July and August 1789 during which rural peasants revolted against their feudal landlords and wreaked havoc in the French countryside.

**Holy Alliance** - 1815 agreement promoted by Czar Alexander I, by which most European powers promised to uphold Christian virtues like peace and charity. Only Britain, Turkey, and the Pope refused to join the Holy Alliance. However, few took the agreement very seriously.

**Hundred Days** March 20, 1815 to July 8, 1815. During this period, Napoleon returned from exile in Elba and tried to return to power. He was finally defeated at Waterloo and sent to Saint Helena, where he died.

**Jacobs** The radical wing of representatives in the National Convention, named for their secret meeting place in the Jacobin Club, in an abandoned Paris monastery. Led by Maximilien Robespierre, the Jacobins called for democratic solutions to France’s problems and spoke for the urban poor and French peasantry. The Jacobins took control of the convention, and France itself, from 1793 to 1794. As Robespierre became increasingly concerned with counterrevolutionary threats, he instituted a brutal period of public executions known as the Reign of Terror.

**Jacobins** Extreme revolutionaries, who held a very liberal egalitarian vision. The Jacobins also had a reputation for violence, since they had controlled and initiated the Terror during the French Revolution. The term Jacobin evoked both contempt and fear in post-Revolutionary France.

**Josephine** A Creole (born in the New World), Josephine was married to a French officer before. After the officer died, she met Napoleon and they married in 1796. As Empress of France, she amassed an incredible fortune in jewels. In 1810, after the failed to bear an heir, Napoleon had their marriage annulled on the grounds that no parish priest had been present their wedding. Josephine died in 1814.

**Leipzig** October 1813 battle (the Battle of Nations) in which Napoleon's army of raw recruits was defeated by a four-nation alliance. Leipzig was the largest battle in terms of numbers of soldiers up to that time.

**Limited Monarchy** Also known as constitutional monarchy, a system of government in which a king or queen reigns as head of state but with power that is limited by real power lying in a legislature and an independent court system.

**Louis XVI** The French king from 1774 to 1792 who was deposed during the French Revolution and executed in 1793. Louis XVI inherited the debt problem left by his grandfather, Louis XV, and added to the crisis himself through heavy spending during France’s involvement in the American Revolution from 1775 to 1783. Because this massive debt overwhelmed all of his financial consultants, Louis XVI was forced to give in to the demands of the Parlement of Paris and convene the Estates-General—an action that led directly to the outbreak of the Revolution. Louis XVI was deposed in 1792 and executed a year later.

**Marie-Antoinett**

**Maximilien Robespierre** A brilliant political tactician and leader of the radical Jacobins in the National Assembly. As chairman of the Committee of Public Safety, Robespierre pursued a planned economy and vigorous mobilization for war. He grew increasingly paranoid about counterrevolutionary opposition, however, and during the Reign of Terror of 1793–1794 attempted to silence all enemies of the Revolution in an effort to save France from invasion. After the moderates regained power and the Thermidorian Reaction was under way, they had Robespierre executed on July 28, 1794.
Monarchy. The form of government, common to most European countries at the time of the French Revolution, in which one king or queen, from a designated royal dynasty, holds control over policy and has the final say on all such matters. In France, the Bourbon family held the monarchy, with Louis XVI as king at the time of the Revolution.

Napoleon Bonaparte. Brilliant French artillery commander, general, first consul, and finally emperor. Napoleon, born on the isle of Corsica, worked his way up through the ranks of military officers and seized control of the French government. He then built a massive empire that encompassed the majority of Europe. He married Josephine and later divorced her to marry Marie Louise. After a disastrous Russian campaign, Napoleon was defeated at the battle of Leipzig and exiled to Elba in 1814. In 1815, he tried to return to power in the period known as the Hundred Days. After being defeated at Waterloo, Napoleon was exiled to Saint Helena in the South Atlantic. His rule, both in the passions and political and social measures it introduced, and in the ideological and nationalist envy it inspired, transformed Europe. Please see the SparkNotes Biography on Napoleon.

Napoleonic Code. Napoleon's system of laws, particularly the civil code, which he first announced in 1804. The code remains a basis of European continental law to this day. It differs from Anglo-American "Common Law" tradition practiced in most of the US in several ways; for instance, it is less concerned with protecting alleged criminals' legal rights.

National Assembly. The name given to the Third Estate after it separated from the Estates-General in 1789. As a body, the National Assembly claimed to legitimately represent the French population. The assembly dissolved in 1791 so that new elections could take place under the new constitution.

National Convention. The body that replaced the Legislative Assembly following a successful election in 1792. As one of its first actions, the convention declared the French monarchy abolished on September 21, 1792, and on the following day declared France a republic. Though originally dominated by moderates, the convention became controlled by radical Jacobins in 1793.

Nationalism. A modern phenomena in which people feel that a person's main loyalty should be to their state (tied up in patriotism). It is actually a fairly new idea, which first appeared at the end of the 18th century in the American and French Revolutions. During the Napoleonic era, domination by France gave rise to a nationalist movement in Germany.

Parlements. A set of thirteen provincial judicial boards—one based in Paris and the other twelve in major provincial cities—that constituted the independent judiciary of France. The parlements held the power of recording royal decrees, meaning that if a parlement refused to record an edict, the edict would never be implemented in that district.

Reign of Terror. A ten-month period of oppression and execution from late 1793 to mid-1794, organized by Maximilien Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety to suppress any potential enemies of the radical Revolution. The Reign of Terror ended with the fall of Robespierre, who was arrested and executed in July 1794. Robespierre’s execution ushered in the Thermidorian Reaction of 1794–1795 and the establishment of the Directory as the head of France’s executive government.

Tennis Court Oath. A June 20, 1789, oath sworn by members of the Third Estate who had just formed the National Assembly and were locked out of the meeting of the Estates-General. Meeting at a nearby tennis court, these members of the Third Estate pledged to remain together until they had drafted and passed a new constitution.

Thermidorian Reaction. The post–Reign of Terror period ushered in by the execution of Maximilien Robespierre in July 1794 and the reassertion of moderate power over the French Revolution. The Thermidorian Reaction brought the Revolution’s focus back to the first stage of moderate changes designed to benefit the business classes of French society.

Third Estate. One of the three estates in the Estates-General, consisting of the commoners of France, whether rich merchants or poor peasants. Despite the fact that it constituted the vast majority of the French population, the Third Estate had just one vote in the Estates-General—the same vote that the much smaller First Estate (clergy) and Second Estate (nobility) each had. Frustrated with its political impotence, the Third Estate broke from the Estates-General on June 17, 1789, and declared itself the National Assembly.

Trafalgar. October 21, 1805 naval battle off the coast of Spain, in which Napoleon's navy of 33 French and Spanish ships was decimated by the British fleet of 27 ships. Admiral Horatio Nelson commanded the British fleet, and lost his life in the battle. The battle firmly established Britain's naval supremacy for the rest of the 19th century.

Tuileries. The palace in Paris in which King Louis XVI and his family were placed under house arrest after they were forcibly taken from their court at Versailles. The point of removing the royal family to Paris was to allow the people to keep a close watch on their actions.

Versailles. The royal palace built by King Louis XIV a few miles outside of Paris. Known for its extraordinary splendor, extravagance, and immense size, Versailles was the home of the king, queen, and all members of the royal family, along with high government officials and select nobles. On October 5, 1789, a mob of angry and hungry French women marched on Versailles, bringing the royal family back to Paris to deal with the food shortage.

Waterloo. June 18, 1815 battle in which Napoleon was finally defeated by the British (under Wellington) and the Prussians (under Blucher). Napoleon had a chance to attack the British forces before the Prussians were there to join in the battle, but he made the crucial mistake of waiting for the muddy ground to dry before attacking.