

HISTORY
VTH SEMESTER
DETAILED SYLLABUS FOR THE EXAMINATION
IN 2017 & ONWARDS
COURSE NO. 501 (HISTORY)
SEMESTER : FIFTH (UNDER GRADUATE)

COURSE TITLE : HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE TILL 1870

Credit :4

Maximum Marks	100
(a) Semester Examination	80
(b) Sessional Assessment	20

Duration of Examination : 3.00 Hours

SYLLABUS

Unit-I

- i. Causes and Characteristics of Renaissance.
- ii. Reformation : Movement and Causes
- iii. Role of Martin Luther in the Reformation Movement
- iv. Counter Reformation Movement : Causes and Success

Unit-II

- i. French Revolution : Causes.
- ii. Achievements of National Assembly.
- iii. Role of National Convention.
- iv. Works of Napoleon as first counsel.

Unit-III

- i. Continental System of Napoleon.
- ii. Causes of the Downfall of Napoleon.
- iii. Settlement of 1815 and its Consequences.
- iv. Revolution of 1830- Causes & Consequences.

Unit-IV

- i. Industrial Revolution: Genesis and Consequences.
- ii. Unification of Italy.
- iii. Foreign Policy of Napoleon -III
- iv. Unification of Germany.

Note for Paper setting :

The question paper will contain two questions from each Unit (total eight questions) and the candidates will be required to answer one question from each Unit (total questions to be attempted will be four) i.e., there will be internal choice within the Unit.

BIBLIOGRAPHY :

- 1. David Thompson : *Europe since Napoleon.*
- 2. D. M. Kettle by : *A History of Modern Times.*
- 3. Grant and Temperly : *Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries.*
- 4. Raghuvir Dayal : *A Text Book of Modern European History.*
- 5. K.L. Sachdeva : *A History of Modern Europe.*
- 6. Clyde & Bears : *Far East in Modern Times.*
- 7. H. M. Vinayacke : *A History of the Far East in Modern Times.*

Internal Assessment : 20 Marks

i) Class Test : 10 Marks

ii) Two Written Assessment 10 Marks
(5 marks each)

TABLE ON CONTENTS

UNIT	Name of the Lesson	Name of Author	Page No.
Unit-I			
1	Causes and Characteristics of Renaissance.	Dr. Madhulika Singh	4 - 27
2	Reformation : Movement and Causes	Dr. Madhulika Singh	28 - 41
3	Role of Martin Luther in the Reformation Movement	Dr. Madhulika Singh	42 - 56
4	Counter Reformation : Movement Causes and Success	Dr. Madhulika Singh	57 - 67
Unit-II			
5	French Revolution : Causes.	Prof. Kashab Kumar	68 - 83
6	Achievements of National Assembly.	Prof. Kashab Kumar	84 - 101
7	Role of National Convention.	Prof. Kashab Kumar	102 - 111
8	Works of Napoleon as first counsel.	Prof. Kashab Kumar	112 - 120
Unit-III			
9	Continental System of Napoleon.	Ms. Romika Bassin	121 - 131
10	Causes of the Downfall of Napoleon.	Ms. Romika Bassin	132 - 144
11	Settlement of 1815 and its Consequences	Ms. Romika Bassin	145 - 156
12	Revolution of 1830- Causes & Consequences	Ms. Romika Bassin	157 - 169
Unit-IV			
13	Industrial Revolution: Genesis and Consequences.	Prof. Kashab Kumar	170 - 188
14	Unification of Italy.	Prof. Kashab Kumar	189 - 224
15	Foreign Policy of Napoleon -III	Prof. Kashab Kumar	225 - 244
16	Unification of Germany.	Prof. Kashab Kumar	245 - 254

CAUSES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF RENAISSANCE

Dr. Madhulika Singh

- 1.1 Objectives
- 1.2 Introduction
- 1.3 The Renaissance in Italy
- 1.4 Achievements
- 1.5 Importance and influence of intellectual Renaissance
- 1.6 Rise of Vernacular Languages
- 1.7 Philosophers laid stress on spirit of enquiry
- 1.8 Printing press helped in spread of knowledge
- 1.9 Painting
- 1.10 Music
- 1.11 Science and Invention
- 1.12 Significance
- 1.13 Sum up
- 1.14 Glossary

1.15 Check your progress

1.16 Suggested Reading

1.17 Model Test Paper

1.1 Objectives

To define the term Renaissance

To explain its causes, characteristics and chief features

The significance and spread of intellectual Renaissance

Its impact on the society.

1.2 Introduction

The period of *Renaissance* roughly corresponds from 1350 to 1600 A.D. Literally, the term means rebirth of classical culture of ancient Greece and Rome that began in the Italian cities and spread over a century, to the rest of the western to Europe. But it is now recognized that there is much more to *Renaissance* than just this. It was a multiform movement. It was deeply influenced by and also itself influenced the two other contemporary movements, the Geographical discoveries and the Reformation. It was a break with the narrow world view of traditional and religious superstition which characterizes the European middle ages. It is rather a age of transition from Medieval to Modern Civilization.

Renaissance Background

Thus Renaissance and Reformation were the results of reaction against the medieval European civilization.

The Middle Ages in Europe was not altogether an age of darkness but toward the end of the period, certain circumstances cropped up which kindled an awareness among people. This awareness is called Renaissance. It was temperamental change.

The magnificent Greek and Roman civilizations, which had disappeared to some extent in the Middle Ages, were revived in the Renaissance period owing to some peculiar

circumstances. In this age, again those principles and ideals were given importance which had been neglected in the Middle Ages; for example, faith in the temporal world, development of humanism, the importance of rationality over orthodoxy, appreciation of nature's beauty - all these came onto prominence during the period of Renaissance. The Renaissance was the outcome of several past centuries. It did not emerge all of a sudden. There were persistent efforts for its arousal from France in the Post medieval period. In this field the efforts of Peter Aubelier (1079-1142) of France, Roger Bacon (1244-1294) of England and Dante of Italy were commendable. First of all, they inspired people to identify human weaknesses (foibles) by means of applying scientific outlook in place of superstition. In the medieval age, great empires were founded and major centres of business developed. It was a world of activity everywhere. In that period, good universities flourished in Paris, Bologna (Italy) and Oxford. The youth were eager to seek admission in universities. In this way, the medieval age, and the 13th century in particular, was not a period of utter ignorance. The youth were ebullient with liveliness and nerve. The spirit of enthusiastic curiosity under the disguise of politeness made them restless and impatient. The Renaissance burst out of this impatience and eagerness of people.

According to European history, the Renaissance period lasts roughly from the 14th to 16th century and particularly from 1350 to 1550. Generally, it is held that modern Europe is an offshoot of Renaissance and promoted the freedom of thought, scientific and critical outlook, pure art, literature free from the influence of the Church and the development of regional languages.

Meaning

The term Renaissance stands for all those intellectual upheavals which were discernible towards the end of the Middle Ages. In other words, it comprises the intellectual changes which occurred at the end of the medieval and the outset of the modern periods. The changes signify the decline of feudalism; the study of ancient literature; the rise of nation-states; the beginning of modern science; the inventions of moving letters, gun powder and compass; the discovery of new trade routes; the introduction of primary capitalism etc. According to historian Davis, the word Renaissance "expresses those freedom-loving, intrepid ideas of people which had been imprisoned by the religious authorities in the Middle Ages."

The learned French historian Jules Michilate has, in his explanation of Renaissance, referred to two such factors that incorporate all the reformative efforts of the Renaissance.

These two factors are: The discovery of the world” and “The discovery of man”. The discovery of the world means those geographical achievements of the 15th and 16th centuries which opened up trade across the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Indian oceans, as well as introduced the new world of America, South Africa and Australia to the people of old world. The “Discovery of man” entails that phase of manpower which discarded the medieval Papacy and relied on progressive and independent outlook. According to Henry S. Lucas, the Renaissance means changes in the ways of medieval thinking. Renaissance does not lie in the revival of civilization but signifies those Italian culture changes which developed in 1300 in Italy and spread over other parts of Europe. in the early year of 1600. Hayes writes, “The word “Renaissance”, literally “Rebirth” should be applied within certain limitations, it should not be used to signify all the changes occurring in the modern times.”

We may define the ‘Renaissance’ in the way; “The Renaissance was intellectual, literal and cultural movement in which new Europe was taking shape on the strength of ancient European inspiration and critical as well as inventive tendency were coming to the fore. As a result, man snapped all the medieval bonds. Various phases of human life emerged which permeated the art, literature, philosophy and science of that period.”

Causes of Renaissance

a) **Crusades** - The military expeditions undertaken in Europe from the end of the 11th to the end of the 13th century to recover the Holy Land, Jerusalem, from the Muslims (Seljuk Turks) were called crusades. Because of these Crusades, the Christians (Europeans) came in contact with the enlightened people of the East. It is an obvious fact that in the eastern countries, the Arabs had enriched their civilization by establishing contacts with the Greek and Indian civilizations. The Crusades encouraged voyages and a study of geography. The Europeans sailed on long voyages. The Crusaders met strange people and got new ideas from them. The intellectual horizon of the Crusaders had broadened very much when they came back. They helped in ending European segregation. Aristotle’s scientific books, Arabic numerals, Algebra, mariner’s compass and paper reached Western Europe through the Crusades. Thus, the Crusades played an important role in bringing forth Renaissance.

b) Commercial Prosperity - The Crusades established business links with Eastern Countries. Many European businessmen settled on the coast of Asia Minor and Jerusalem. As a result, there was a tremendous increase in business which fostered the spirit of Renaissance. The commercial prosperity shaped the Renaissance in four stages : The European businessmen came to know about new ideas and progressive elements when they traveled across many countries in connection with business. They came back to their countries with new ideas. The development of business built new cities like Venice, Milan, Florence, Angelbourg and Nuremburg which influenced the life of the people. The European cities became the centers of international trade and businessmen and tourists from different countries frequently visited these cities. This facilitated the exchange of ideas and development of knowledge. The permissive atmosphere in these cities cultivated the spirit of freedom of thought among people and made them sceptical. This spirit accelerated the birth of Renaissance. Businessmen accumulated enormous wealth with the expansion of business. The abundance of wealth created in the newly rich businessmen the desire for learning. The bourgeoisie or the people of business class picked up knowledge from the libraries in Baghdad, Cairo, Cordova etc. The big businessmen in cities became the patrons of art and gave shelter to scholars who commenced the creation of extraordinary literature and researches in the field of science. The business class criticized the Church and tried to reduce its importance.

c) Paper and the Printing Press - The European learnt paper-making from the Arabs in the Middle Ages. In the mid 15th century, Johann Guttenberg of Germany invented a type-machine which may be called a prototype of the modern printing press. The invention of printing press paved the way for intellectual growth. In 1477 Caxton established a printing press in Britain. By and by, the printing press reached Italy, Germany, Spain and France. The invention of paper and printing press resulted in revolutionary changes. Now books were printed in large numbers at a relatively low cost. The monopoly of distinctive persons over knowledge came to an end. With the dissemination of knowledge through books, superstitions and orthodox practices weakened and self-confidence increased in people. They became aware of their rights. The greatness of man was revealed. European society followed the path of reason parting with superstitions.

d) Capture of Constantinople by the Turks - In 1453 the Turks captured Constantinople, the capital of East Roman (Byzantine) Empire. With it the East Roman Empire fell for ever and in consequence of it the great learning that spread in the Western Europe heralded the arrival of a new epoch.

With the Turks' capture of Constantinople, all land routes leading from Europe to the countries of the East fell into their hands. In Europe there was a great demand for the luxuries and spices found in the East. Hence the peoples of South-West Europe became impatient to find out a new business route, possibly a sea-route leading to the East. This resulted in the discovery of America, India and new sea-routes to India and the East-Indies. (ii) Thousands of Greek scholars, philosophers and artists migrated from Constantinople to Italy, France, Germany and England in order to seek subsistence. These intellectuals took with them the science of ancient Rome and Greece as well as the new ways of thinking.

e) The Rise of the Mongolian Empire - The vast Mongolian Empire contributed to the birth of Renaissance. After the death of Changez Khan Kublai Khan established a vast and powerful empire. The Mongolian state council was graced and glorified by the cardinals of Pope, the Buddhist monks of India, the craftsmen of Paris, Italy and China and the mathematicians and astrologers of India. In that period, Peking (Cambul) and Samarkand became international centres. Therefore, East and West came in close contact and the Europeans were greatly influenced by the exchange of views and learning as well as with close contacts with the people of various countries. The famous traveller Marco Polo visited Kublai Khan's court in 1272. His travels stirred people for a long time.

1.3 The Renaissance in Italy

In its birth place in the Italian city states, it did not immediately challenge the sterility of the medieval world view. The dominant merchants oligarchs were the patrons of Renaissance artists and writers. Patrons also included Popes such as Nicholus V, Pius II, Julius II, Leo X.

From 14th Century, European mind began to experience changes in great magnitude. Secularism, Individualism reflected in scholarship and education. Scholasticism, the general

name given to medieval education slowly gave way to the kind of learning signified by the spirit of enquiry – which affected every aspect of human thought and activity. The great writers of ancient Greek and Rome were enthused over by Renaissance scholars for their artistic beauty, literary style and human interests rather than theological and moral edification by medieval scholars. Pope, Princes and wealthy merchants shared this enthusiasm and spent large amount of money in collection of manuscripts for their libraries. In 1453, Constantinople surrendered and fell into the hands of the ottoman Turks. Many Byzantine scholars fled from Centre of Greek learning with their manuscripts and found asylum chiefly in the cities of Italy. These circumstances gave a marked impetus to the study of the Greek Classics. One effect of this passion for the classics was to discredit Ecclesiastical Latin, which had been for centuries the *Lingua Franca* of Western Europe.

Main Characteristics of Renaissance

Renaissance redeemed people from their thinking which was gripped by medieval religion and conventions, and promoted logical rational thinking. In the beginning of this epoch, Aristotle's logic left a deep influence on people's mind. The universities of Paris, Bologne, Oxford and Cambridge furthered the cause of logical thinking and resolved to accept only those facts which conformed to the logical standards. In this age the spirit of empiricism (relying on experiment for the validity of thoughts) was encouraged. Roger Bacon was the forerunner of empiricism. On the strength of experiment, Galileo proved that Copernicus' principle was irrefutable.

One of the characteristic aspects of Renaissance was 'humanism.' Humanism means to take interest in human life, to show respect to human beings, to accept the importance of and to make creative efforts in order to improve human life. The ancient Greek literature reflects a distinctive concern for human life. In the period of Renaissance the ideology which emphasized temporal outlook rather than spiritual was called humanism. It denotes the extinction of the binding force of religion on human thoughts and activities. The supporters of humanism were called humanists. The humanists maintained that the good of life and culmination of happiness were there in the welfare of people instead of serving God or demonstration military valour. The humanists dreamt of an integrated personality of man who possessed a fascinating body and fine feelings. The Italians supported humanism because they could not develop their natural tendencies under the pressure of religious restraints. In fact secularism was the keystone of

humanism. The name of Erasmus figured at the top in the field of humanism. Johann Reuchlin and Philipp Melanchthon were noted German humanists. In England, John Colet and Thomas Moore influenced human values on the strength of their strong and significant humanistic works.

The other chief characteristics of Renaissance were adoration of natural beauty. This adoration was free from physical and mental pressure. The impact of humanism on art may be observed in terms of precise and realistic expression. Some Italian artists like, Leonardo da Vinci, Albert Cellini and others were so much fascinated by the possibilities of translating scientific norms in art that they produced a vast literature on this topic. Leonardo states, "A good artist has to delineate two important things - man and his emotions."

Certain controversies regarding Renaissance may be considered :

According to the modern thinkers, the word 'humanism' is so excessively used in connection with Renaissance that it reeks of Christian humanism in its form and nature and no longer remains secular humanism. Everywhere, save a few places in Italy, the spirit of humanism had wedded itself to religion before leaving any impression upon the changed medieval society. The spirit of humanism was defined in court paintings in Naples, Montowara, Urbino, Ferrara and Milan. But in Rome the spirit of humanism was inspired by the ancient relics and it supported the ancient grandeur. In Venice it was restricted to some chosen people and scholars who had a great inclination toward the study of Greek Humanism in Florence flourished in a spontaneous and graceful form.

It is held that Renaissance played a decisive role in the centralization of the power of states. As a matter of fact the concept of the supremacy of state is not related directly to Renaissance. It is known to us that the most extensive roots of Renaissance were there in Italy, a country which did not maintain a vestige of political centralization. Therefore, it is hardly tenable that cultured inclination had transformed into the aforesaid political development.

Generally, we think that there is a direct and proportionate relation between material prosperity and cultural development. It is widely known that in Europe Renaissance and the remarkable improvement in material life (like the good circulation of money, expansion of markets and an overflow of hope all around) appeared simultaneously. In other words, with the opening of capitalist industries in Italy, there appeared novel and accomplished artistic things, fine and grand style in literature, magnificent forts and churches. It is not wholly indisputable that if

money economy had not frustrated and shattered the feudal system, if autocratic rule had not ruined the freedom of city-states of North Italy, if unqualified success of European commercial activities had not created a strong bourgeois class, the tradition of Renaissance might not have emerged by the 16th and 17th centuries. Some noted historians are of the opinion that Renaissance does not indicate the transition of life from ordinary status to modern prosperity.

In Europe, the time of Renaissance is generally computed from the date of the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks (1453). Because of the conquest, the Greek scholars as refugees brought with them abundant and invaluable Greek literature of which Europe was ignorant. But this view is refuted now. We have it on record that in 1409 Gwarino Da Verona brought 50 Greek and Latin manuscripts with him when he returned to Italy. Giovanni Arispa brought with him about 200 selected manuscripts on his return to Italy. Beside, a humanist academy had been established in Italy 15 years before the Turkish attack on Constantinople. Thus Italy was introduced to Greek literature before 1453.

1.4 Achievements of the Renaissance were in several fields of human endeavor

in the revival of classical learning

in the sphere of fine arts like Painting, Sculpture, Architecture and music

in education and science, crafts,

in printing of books

other important aspects of the Renaissance are the rise of the Modern State under the aegis of New Monarchy and the evolutionary development of capitalist enterprise.

Moreover, the Renaissance spirit characterized by historians as secular, humanist, individualist in contrast to the medieval spirit which was predominantly other worldly and religious, theocratic, moralist and subject to authority.

It is held by historians that there was a marked transformation of values and creative awakening to consciousness of oneself and one's potentialities.

Every nation of Western and Central Europe contributed its share to the Renaissance .

Italy came first of all where it flourished.

1.5 Importance and influence of Intellectual Renaissance

The Renaissance represented a return to the intellectual, cultural and scientific endeavors on higher level and of much broader base.

It gave an opportunity for the rise of vernacular or national languages and literature to grow and develop. National languages became the natural vehicle of a national cultural and literature and in turn reinforced the national spirit. These developments was taking place during the middle ages but it received greater force and impetus at the time of Renaissance.

Dante wrote in the Italian dialect for the mass of Florentine people. Three great writers helped to develop the Italian language - namely Dante with his Divine Comedia, Giovanni Boccaccio with his Decameron, Petrarch with his Canzoniere. These writings set up standards for Italian literature. The renewed study of Greek and Latin masterpieces greatly enriched the Italian language and supplied fresh inspiration to Italian literature and made it more secular in outlook and theme than the medieval Italian literature, thus bringing it in line with the strong secular spirit of the Renaissance.

Machiavelli was the great political writer of Italy. He was Florentine civil servant whose life ambition was to see Italy unified in a single state and who drew up guidelines by which prince was to achieve this goal. His writings "The Prince", written in Italian served as a guide for the rulers. The work of Petrarch – who was called father of humanism, made Italy supreme in Renaissance literature. These works dealt with the Economic, Social and Political aspects of man's life.

As the Renaissance spread across Europe. Its content began to change. There was growing number of translation from Greek or Latin into colloquial language. There was a growing willingness not simply to read the ancient classical work but to challenge their findings like scientific advances of Copernicus, Kepler and Gallilio.

The Renaissance of the north was more intellectual and humanist and less artistic than the Italian Renaissance.

1.6 Rise of Vernacular Languages

There were new writings in the languages of the masses. Rabelais in French; Shakespeare, Marlow and Ben Johnson in English, Cervantes in Spanish. It was not just putting of plays, stories or new ideas on paper in vernacular languages but it was also a matter of giving form to every day speech used by millions. The age which saw the new monarchies, also saw the rise of national languages.

1.7 Philosophers laid stress on the spirit of enquiry

Philosophers and thinkers like Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, St. Francis of Assisi, Cimabue and Dante were the moving spirit of the new era lined in 13th century. In the medieval period, Church dominated the human mind and activities and it was difficult to question authority. But these philosophers revolutionized thought and laid great stress on the spirit of enquiry, reasoning and independent thinking and scientific investigation.

Thomas Aquinas declared that the prime author and mover of the universe was intelligence. Roger Bacon made bold appeal for the free use of powers of mind.

1.8 Printing Press helped in spread of knowledge

The invention of printing Press was a very important factor for the spread of Renaissance. Before the invention of printing Press it was difficult to spread knowledge. The 1st Printing press was set up in 1465 in Germany by Gutenberg and later Caxton introduced it in England in 1476. It was also set up in Italy and Hungary. All these helped in publishing books in large numbers and books now reached the common people, led to the spread of knowledge. These literary activities widened the mental horizons of the people.

The printed materials fermented popular agitation concerning political and religious issues. Luther's challenge to the Papacy would not have been able to find such a huge audience. This contributed substantially to the Reformation Movement.

Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, Holland (1469-1536) is regarded as representative humanist scholar of the Renaissance. He was known as the Prince of the humanists.

He studied original Greek Texts and undertook the task of bringing out a scholarly version of the New Testament from the earlier manuscript available. He published his magnum opus in 1516. His best known work, the *Praise of Folly*, in which he castigated the evils and abuses prevailing in clerical circles was the best seller of his day.

Sir Thomas More (1478-1535) was also fine example of northern Renaissance. He was a member of parliament and noted Greek and Latin scholar. He was critical of the evils prevailing in the Church and urged reform. His best known work “*utopia*”, he made fun of social and political abuses prevailing in English and European society. Martin Luther’s Translation of the Bible in to German helped to develop that language for general use. In Spain, the important literary figure were Cervantes, author of *Donquixot*. The Portuguese writer Camoens described the voyages of Vasco de Gama in his epic *Lusiads*.

The Impact of Renaissance

The literature written in the Renaissance period was very important. People in various countries produced literature in their native language, which caused the development of Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, German, English, Dutch and Swedish languages. The Bible was translated into several languages in this period.

The other key characteristic of the Renaissance literature is its theme. The Renaissance literature put stress on description of human life and activities in place of religious subjects. Now literature reflected critical, humanistic and individual spirit. Three great writers of that period – Shakespeare, the English dramatist; Rabelais, the French satirist and Cervantes, the Spanish poet and playwright did not choose religious themes. They endeavored to describe the simple incidents of human life in their writings.

An obvious change is perceived in the style of literature written in European languages. A change in style is seen in poetry. New rhythm, rhyme and images were adopted avoiding the imitation of poet – laureates. Significant changes were also brought about in drama. Satire became the keynote of plays. Important developments also occurred in prose writing. Now prose became the medium of story writing and the art of prose emerged as a significant literary style. Boccaccio’s Italian book *Decameron* was such an important work that it greatly influenced the Renaissance prose writing of the entire Europe.

Italian literature

In the period of Renaissance, there were many Italian writers who, by means of their effective works, paved a new way for European scholars. The foremost Italian writers who imbibed the Renaissance spirit are; Dante (1265-1321), Francisco Petrarch (1304-1374) and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375). Italian literature was enriched by Dante's poetry, petrarch's biographies and Boccaccio's stories. The great poet Dante, who is compared to Homer, faced the most disgusting blows of life. Dante's famous work *The Divine Comedy* deals with his imaginary journey through Hell, Purgatory and Paradise. First of all the poet describes the scenes of torture and suffering in Hell. After that, in Purgatory, the soul is purified by way of temperance and austerity which is followed with eternal bliss in the Paradise. Thus, this imaginary odyssey begins with pain and ends in spiritual bliss. Hence Dante has named it 'comedy'. This great comedy imparts the moral that a man should lead his life with morality and austerity. Through it the poet teaches how to love people, land and nature. He is called the father of Italian poetry.

Some historians perceive a glimpse of Renaissance in Petrarch's work rather than in the work of Dante because 'The Divine Comedy' sustains the medieval point of view, while Petrarch's poetry contains novelty. He undertook long voyages and got the copies of his manuscripts prepared at several places. After sometime he retired to Secluse. There too he continued his reading and writing. On the strength of his great learning and good poetry, he became so famous that he was assigned the job of a teacher in Paris University. He was also invited by the king of Naples to impart education to his citizens. Petrarch directed the attention of people from medieval education and literature to the beauty of Roman literature. Petrarch has delineated the delight and distress of man in a pathetic tone. He paid great attention to public interest in his poetry. Unlike Dante, Petrarch did not choose a religious theme for his work because people were tired of reading such a boring theme. He opened several libraries and inspired among people a love for books. His greatest contribution is that he ignited the interest of his countrymen in ancient Greek and Roman literature. It is the humane interpretation of the works of antiquity, from which the term 'humanism' is derived. Petrarch strengthened the spirit of humanism in entire Europe. As a humanist, he was the first person to represent the Renaissance. He is therefore, called the father of 'humanism'.

Boccaccio, a disciple of Petrarch, represented the Renaissance whole-heartedly.

His best work '*Decameron*' proves his story-writing forte. He has projected a new style of story-telling in these humorous stories and has highlighted the moral degradation that prevailed among the elite of Italian society. Besides Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, other Italian poets like, Ariosto, Tasso, and Cellutani made distinctive contribution to Italian literature.

French Literature

Rabelais (1495-1553) and Montaigne (1553-1592) of France belong to the Renaissance period. Rabelais raised his voice against religious fanaticism and orthodoxy. He ridiculed the fanaticism and superstitions of the rich. In his prose and poetry, he has followed satiric tone. The keynote of Rabelais' literature is: "Thirst for intelligence, morality, experience and truth." This thirst became the foundation of Renaissance.

Montaigne occupies the foremost position among French writers. The credit for the art of essay-writing goes to him. He has written a good deal of essays in simple and lucid French. The topics of his essays relate to friendship, polity, education, war etc. He was not only an essayist but a humanist also. In the matter of writing and thinking, he was Voltaire's forerunner. He stood up against the prevailing rule and the medieval anarchy. Therefore, the title "The first modernist" was bestowed on him.

English Literature

English literature too was affected and inspired by Renaissance. The great poet Geoffrey Chaucer (1300-1400) is called "The father of English poetry". His significant work is *Canterbury Tales*. It reflects the impact of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. He invented 'sonnet' as a long poem. After Chaucer, it was Thomas Moore (1478-1539) who furthered the cause of Renaissance. His great but controversial work is *Utopia*. He analysed the social evils and economic discrepancies which dominated the life of the English people. Francis Bacon (1561-1626) was the best essayist of this period. He possessed a multidimensional talent. He had the fine traits of a politician, advocate, humourist, philosopher and writer. He based his reasoning on experience and proof. Bacon expressed his views on profound subjects. His essays carry a poetic style. Every one of his essays is packed with humanism. Since the time of Aristotle, nobody except Bacon has left an indelible imprint of profound learning on people's minds. He raised his voice against ignorance and indiscipline.

The greatest contribution that England has made to the cause of Renaissance is William Shakespeare (1564-1616). He was the greatest poet and dramatist of this period. His literary works are outstanding and matchless in terms of style, language and presentation. He has written famous comedies and tragedies. His most significant plays are : *Merchant of Venice*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, and *Macbeth*.

Literature in Other Languages.

The Renaissance influenced many other countries such as Holland, Spain and Portugal. Significant literary works were produced in the languages of these countries. Erasmus of Holland a prominent humanist writer pursued his study at different places and absorbed the message of plain and clear moral truth. On the strength of his inimitable style and great erudition, he became a great scholar of Europe. He wrote many books but his “In the Praise of Folly” is famous. He has satirized in this book the hollow and hypocritical religious ways of life, superstitions of the public greedy rulers, ignorance of the religious luminaries, defects of the educational system and ferocity of war. “*In the Praise of Folly*” was the first book that had the highest sale in the world. Cervantes (1547-1616) wrote “*Dan Quixote*” in Spain. He is considered a great writer of Spain. His book is a great satire on the feudal life of that period.

Impact on Politics

Dante is at the top of political thinkers. In his book ‘*The Monarch*’ Dante stated that the sovereign should be supreme in non-religious matters. Marciglio (1275-1343) in his book ‘*Defender of Peace*’ has criticized Pope’s political intervention. The greatest thinker of that age was Machiavelli (1469-1527). He lived in Florence and had been a secretary to many kings. His famous work is ‘*The Prince*’.- Machiavelli’s thinking was above religion. He firmly believed that religion weakened states. Pope as well as Christian priests censured Machiavelli. His outlook was based on reality and he stressed on adopting any means for achieving the goal. His ideology influenced many European rulers. Another important thinker of the Renaissance period was Hobbes of England.

Impact on Art

The art of this period aimed at establishing harmony between life and nature. It

became realistic. The artist became interested in displaying the harmony of art and beauty. The scope of art widened and it accommodated the feelings of public. No doubt religious subjects were still chosen for artistic expression but beauty, decoration and love were not totally disregarded and humanity was given prominence. In this age, art prospered considerably in comparison to other things and a new form of art originated.

1.9 Painting

The spirit of humanism prevailed in art, painting but the subject matter was distinctly Christian. Frescoes (done on plaster wall) and oil painting was also invented. Renaissance painting bloomed profusely in Italy. Number of brilliant painters like Michael Angelo, Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci besides these Holbein of Germany, El Greco of Spain were other renowned painters.

Moreover, Sculptors also made their name. David, Michelangelo etc. works were praiseworthy. Alberti, Mantegna, Michelangelo etc. were the famous Renaissance architects. Gothic style which was essentially Christian in origin was discarded and arch domes and the columns, characteristic of Greek and Roman models which were secular in tendencies were practiced – a shift from the medieval interest in future life to universal emphasis on individual and earthly existence was made.

During the Renaissance the highest development was made in the field of painting. The style of art advanced to culmination by becoming attractive, pleasant and graceful. Giotto of Italy (14th century) dispensed with the Byzantine style and made paintings of man and nature. Giotto is called 'the father of painting'. The artists of later period removed Giotto's artistic flaws and put more emphasis on the harmony between light and shade, which is called chiaroscuro painting. They also emphasized the proper structure of form. The artists and painters of the Renaissance period carried out a minute study of human anatomy and observed how the muscles and joints of human body bulged in different activities. So they made their works very life-like.

Among the early painters of new style, Italy's Fra Angelico (14-15th century) and Masaccio (15th century) are very famous. But the contribution of three Italian artists was unprecedented and they gave full exposure to the spirit of Renaissance. These famous painters are: Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), Michael Angelo (1475-1564) and Raphael (1483-1520).

Leonardo of Florence was an inimitable and versatile genius. He was a scientist, mathematician, engineer, musician, philosopher and painter -all rolled in one. he is highly honoured in the world of painting. From his early childhood, he was remarkably curious and very proficient in music, algebra and painting. At the age of fifteen he became a disciple of the famous painter Varragnio and surprised his master with his great innate skill and beauty of his portraits. At the age 28 he had established himself as the greatest painter of his times although there were great artists like Michael Angelo, Raphael and Bottavellis. He made a deep study of human anatomy and physiology in order to bring in reality in his paintings. He experimented with the harmonious blend of colours and form.. He loved human faces and figures too much. He drew innumerable sketches of warriors, old people, and veins and muscles of human body in such a way that every painting exhibited the apparent structure of distinct objects. 'The Last Supper' and 'Mona Lisa' are his masterpieces.

Michael Angelo is reckoned as an accomplished painter. In addition to being an artist, he was a sculptor, a architect, an engineer and a poet too. He takes man for the most excellent work of nature. His paintings which number around 145 are clear proof of aesthetic grace, artistic perfection and amazing talent. On the ceiling of Sistine Chapel in Rome, he has painted in fresco the scenes from the Bible. The 'Last Judgment' is his greatest painting which he completed in eight years in 1541. The artist has used mineral colours in his work. Dug out from Italian mines, those colours are - red, light green, yellow, dull green and reddish brown. Michael angelo prepared light, dark and bright blue colours from Lazulete the mineral brought from Afghanistan. All these colours were prepared by grinding minerals and mixing them with water. His paintings dispel the general misconception that Michael Angelo was serious, introvert, a lover of seclusion and indifferent. Despite of such a diseased nature, have chosen vivid colours such as golden yellow, cherry red, almond grey, green, turquoise blue, light blue and emerald yellow for his everlasting paintings.

Raphael also occupies an important place in the history of Renaissance art. He is influenced by both Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci. Therefore the artistic strokes of Angelo and Leonardo are clearly discernible in Raphael's paintings. He has beautifully painted the emotions of affection and motherhood. His greatest work is the portrait of Madonna - the mother of Jesus. The colourful delineation of Madonna's glorious womanly compassion still enchants people. Portraits as well as mural paintings made by Raphael are matchless.

The influence of Italian paintings was manifest on other European countries. A few famous artists of that period were Lucas, Dürer and Hans Holbein in Germany; Diego Velázquez in Spain and Van Eyck brothers in Holland.

Architecture

A great progress was made in the field of architecture. In the Middle Ages, the Gothic style prevailed everywhere, but a new style was born in the age of Renaissance. It was a blend of Greek, Roman and the Arabian styles and laid great stress on design and decoration. Round arches were built. This new style originated in Italy and spread over other countries rapidly. The Florentine architect Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446) was the forerunner of this new style. Arches, cupolas and columns were prominent in this style. He built horseshoe (round) arches in place of the pointed ones.

This new style blossomed fully in the 16th century. Michael Angelo was the most famous architect of this century. With Raphael, Michael Angelo built the St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome. The magnificent and massive dome of this cathedral is the marvelous achievement of the Renaissance architecture. Louvre Palace in Paris, St. Paul's Cathedral in London and Escorial Palace in Spain are the matchless monuments of the Renaissance architecture.

Sculpture

The architectural art and the sculptural art flourished together. Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378-1455), Donatello (1386-1466) and Michael Angelo were great sculptors of that period. They not only sculpted the idols of Jesus and Mary but also made the statues of some prominent personalities.

Ghiberti was a great sculptor. He made beautiful doors for the cathedral of Florence. The doors are made of bronze and scenes from the Old Testament are carved on them. Human life was the motif of Donatello's statues. The life-size statue of Saint Mark in Venice is Donatello's masterpiece creation. Donatello has translated the magic of innocence in the statues of children. Angelo sculpted beautiful statues. They are kept in the cathedral of Medici. Two of his famous statues are : (i) Pieta - a 16 feet high statue made in Rome and (ii) the statue of David which he made for the citizens of Florence.

The art of Italian sculpture left a great impact on the art of England, Germany, France and Spain. The tombs of Isabella and Emperor Ferdinand in Spain reflect a new style. Henry VII in England and Francis I in France promoted this new style. Both the rulers invited Italian sculptors to their countries. By and by the new style spread over the entire Western Europe.

1.10 Music

Several fundamental changes were made in music in the 16th century. Particular attention was given to harmony, rhythm and symmetry. Musical instruments were also improved. Palestrina was the leading musician of the Roman school.

Music progressed considerably in the Renaissance period. Martin Luther introduced a new religion and kept the provision for songs in it. Luther himself compiled religious songs. Giovanni Palestrina (1524-94) was a famous Italian composer. In 1554 he published a book on chorus and earned immense popularity. Pope approved of Palestrina's musical notes (printed music) meant for prayers. Monteverdi was another famous composer of this period. With the co-operation of some Italian musicians, he developed a new style of Renaissance music. The importance of music increased in the 16th century, instrumental music gained popularity and catered to the public entertainment. Violin and Piano replaced medieval instruments.

1.11 Science and Invention

Science made a stupendous progress in the Renaissance period. The significant causes of scientific progress may be summed up as : (i) The Protestant Revolt redeemed people from the clutches of religions and urged them to think freely and independently, (ii) The spirit of humanism cultivated an intellectual insight in people, (iii) The thinking of philosophers underwent a considerable change as they focused their attention on future, (iv) A scientific outlook gained momentum because of the rise of nation states and new social setup, (v) The discovery of new countries inspired people to gain more knowledge about new things and new countries. The new world fostered a new outlook, (vi) The scholars of Renaissance period did not follow blindly the theories of classical scholars. They attached great importance to the current problems of the world and every fact was

tested rationally. It boosted scientific progress.

Francis Bacon (1561-1626) of England defined scientific outlook in these words, “Knowledge is gained by means of observation and experiment.” According to Bacon, “The person who wants to seek knowledge should, first of all, study the series of incidents that take place around him. Then he should concentrate on the events. When he formulates a theory of feasibility in respect of the possible causes of happenings and when he is convinced of his observation, he should examine it practically.” This type of scientific process was started in the Renaissance period.

The Alexandrian astronomer Ptolemy asserted in the 2nd century that the earth is the centre of the universe. But the Polish scientist Copernicus (1473-1543) rejected this theory in the 16th century. He explained that the earth is a planet and rotates round the sun. Copernicus deduced it by way of observation and calculation. Since the theory of Copernicus was against the Bible, people did not give credence to it. Copernicus was constrained to stop the propagation of his new theory under the order of Pope. The Italian scientist, Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) was burned at the stake by the Inquisition when he supported Copernicus’ theory and disseminated it. The German astronomer Johann Kepler (1571-1630) justified the theory of Copernicus on the basis of mathematical proofs. He stated that planets rotate round the sun and their course of rotation is not circular but elliptical. The renowned Italian scientist Galileo (1564-1642) also subscribed to the theory of Copernicus and saw the sun and stars and other planets through a telescope made by him. Because of his revolutionary new theory, Galileo became the target of the Church-wrath. Contrary to Aristotle’s theory, Galileo also proved that the velocity of falling masses depends not on their weight but on the distance from which they fall.

In this age the great scientist of England, Issac Newton (1642-1727), formulated the law of gravitation which greatly influenced the science of astronomy. He proved that owing to the gravitational force of the earth, everything falls on the earth. Newton’s observation influenced people immensely. It became clear to them that the world is regulated by well organized laws of nature and it is not a divine creation or a sudden happening as so many people thought.

Besides astronomy, there was a remarkable progress in the fields of medicine, chemistry, Physics and mathematics. Andreas Vesalius (1514-64) of Netherlands studied medicine and surgery deeply and wrote a famous book entitled “The Structure of Human Body,” in which he described in detail the anatomy of human body. William Harvey (1578-1657) of England enunciated the law of blood circulation. This knowledge corrected old misconceptions, and the symptoms of diseases were diagnosed properly. In the field of industrial technology, there was an enormous progress in mineralogy, metallurgy and chemistry. The need for metals led to digging mines. In order to cope with the capitalistic production, mines were dug on a large scale. As the mines became deeper, pumps and drilling tools were required. After that people’s interest in the laws of mechanical and hydraulic operations increased. Some general laws of chemistry were formulated in connection with division, use and smelting of some metals like iron, copper, zinc, bismuth and cobalt. So the processes of oxidization, reduction and distillation were invented. For the first time alloys were used in medicines. The contribution of Paracelsus and Holdmont in the field of chemistry is very significant. Paracelsus has proved a close affinity between chemistry and medical science. Holdmont discovered carbon-dioxide gas.

Descartes (1596-1650) was a French mathematician and philosopher. He was the first person to make use of algebra in geometry. He originated skepticism in science which accelerated progress.

Galileo has contributed greatly to the cause of physics. He invented the law of pendulum which made the production of watches possible. He also invented the barometer.

Thus the Renaissance scientists, through skepticism, observation and experiment, invented a scientific approach which is being followed even today. The scientific outlook undertook a critical examination of the doctrines and practices and inspired people to develop a new insight in the matter of art, occupation, education and life. The inventions and discoveries of the Renaissance period laid the foundation of a new epoch and directed people towards a better and progressive way of life.

Importance

The Renaissance sought an utterly original and progressive direction and made man aware of his importance. Most scholars and scientists of the Renaissance period advocated the need for making the human world more beautiful and prosperous and it

developed a materialistic outlook.

The Renaissance established the importance of reasoning and insight, which not only gave a great blow to the age-old religious belief and practices, but also shattered them. Freedom of thought is the foundation stone for the Renaissance. The Renaissance affected the peculiar imprint of religion from people's minds and prepared, in advance, a background for the ensuing reformation. New inventions and discoveries, scientific outlook and logical analysis of the Renaissance period neutralized the spell of doctrines religious beliefs. People's minds were kindled with the thought that they had to create a Paradise on the earth and translated this outlook into reality to a great extent.

The scientists of the 16th cen. made the first effective protest against the medieval scientific method of accepting theories without investigation. Francis Bacon implored men to explore the realms of nature.

Rene Descartes of France (1596-1650) brought out the necessity of questioning everything and contributed the idea of doubt. Doubt was the forerunner of a new age in science.

Moreover, advances were made in the allied fields of Physics, Mathematics, astronomy on sound scientific procedure instead of old method of theological scholasticism. In the political sphere, there was a new political consciousness manifested in the decline of feudal lords and papacy and rise of powerful monarchies and Nation states.

1.12 Significance

It was a bridge between the late middle ages and the modern world. The New State, the new society and the new economy, characteristics of the modern world were coming to birth.

In tendency and appeal, the great movement was humanistic. Through its resistance to authority and restraint, through the encouragement it gave to individual freedom, it promoted the spirit of nationalism, paved the way for rise of National states, under powerful monarchies in England, France, Spain, Holland, Portugal etc.

The geographical discoveries and contact with the east promoted trade and industry of Europe. All these developments led to the rise of middle class which in alliance with

absolute monarchies put an end to the power of the feudal lords. The Renaissance not only prepared the ground for the Reformation but also powerfully assisted it.

1.13 Sum up

Renaissance is a collective term used to include all the intellectual changes that were in evidence at the close of the Middle ages and the beginning of Modern times. It denotes an intellectual, literary, artistic and scientific movement, which widened the mental horizons of man. The Intellectual revival was manifested in an interest in the past and a desire for understanding the present. Its great attribute was the development of inquisitiveness, critical thinking, which was necessary for intellectual progress.

1.14 Glossary

Scholasticism – General name given to Medieval education.

Lingua Franca – Common Language

Theocratic – Form of Government through Priestly order.

1.15 Check your Progress

1. What do you understand by the term Renaissance ?

2. Write a short note on the main characteristics of Renaissance

-
3. Dante wrote _____
 4. The author of “the Prince” was _____
 5. _____ was called the father of humanism.
 6. The Renaissance led to the development of Vernacular languages. True/False

1.16 Suggested Reading

1. A Survey of World Civilization by Edward D’Cruz.
2. A People’s History of the World- by Chris Harman.

1.17 Model Test Paper

1. Briefly discuss the achievements of the Renaissance in different fields of human endeavor.
2. Write a short note on the influence and importance of intellectual Renaissance.
3. What was the significance of the Renaissance?
4. How the Renaissance led to the development of Vernacular languages ?

REFORMATION : CAUSES OF THE REFORMATION MOVEMENT

Dr. Madhulika Singh

- 2.1 Objectives
- 2.2 Introduction
- 2.3 The nature and characteristics of the church upto 16th century.
- 2.4 The Reformation Movement
- 2.5 The causes of the Reformation
- 2.6 Salient features of the Reformation
- 2.7 Attack on church from several quarters
- 2.8 Let us sum up
- 2.9 Glossary
- 2.10 Check you progress
- 2.11 Model Test Paper
- 2.12 Suggested Reading

2.1 Objectives

The aim of this lesson is to give you a brief history of Reformation in the 16th Century.

to give a brief account of the characteristics of the Church upto 16th Century.

to explain the causes which prepared the ground for the Reformation.

Revolt against the Roman Catholic Church.

2.2 Introduction

In the 16th Century, revolt against the Roman Catholic Church gained strength in Western Europe. All Christians in the Western Europe were members of the Catholic Church. But for some time criticism and opposition towards the Church was going on for some time. This led to the search for changes and improvements in the Church.

The Reformation occurred in two parts - The Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter Reformation.

2.3 The nature and characteristics of the Church upto 16th Century.

Upto 16th century in Western Europe, head of the Catholic Church was Pope, who possessed of supreme moral and spiritual power and his jurisdiction was over the whole of Western Church.

The organization of the Church was hierarchical with Pope at the apex of the Pyramidal structure and all Bishops were appointed by him and under them priests in turn appointed by Bishops. The Catholic Church in the middle ages had greater power and prestige and it exercised tremendous influence on the society. Thus spiritual authority of Christian doctrines and morals were concentrated in the hands of the Pope. The Church of the Pope could dominate all people with the help of powerful weapon of ex-communication and controlled the minds of the people through its own system of education. It was supreme in religious and secular matters.

2.4 The Reformation Movement

Gradually, abuses crept in the Church and it headed towards its decline. As a result, religious movement was launched. The Pope, who had the right to make Church appointment, in all Christian countries of the West usually appointed his relatives and friends as Bishops and Arch Bishops. The Church officials used their influence to create trouble against the rulers and thus the rulers hated the Church officials. Moreover, the

privileges enjoyed by the clergy men were also not liked by the rulers. The Nationalist rulers looked at Church and Papacy as an institution unnecessarily interfering into the affairs of the state. They waited for an opportunity to overthrow the power of the Church. It was closely connected with the Renaissance and was outcome of the enquiry spirit of it. Those who rose against the Papal authority and monopoly of the Church came to be known as Protestant and those who remained loyal to the Pope were Roman Catholics.

2.5 The causes of the Reformation

Its root was to be found in the late Middle ages, when there were several writers, thinkers, preachers and others protested against or questioned the teachings and authorities of the Pope and the Church. The long period of total tutelage which the Church exercised over Europe during the Middle Ages was drawing to an end and the new national dynasties, or monarchies – Tudor in England, the Habsburg in Spain the Valois in France were established. There was a large literate and educated class growing up – who were non clerical. Invention of Printing Press and revival of classical learning due to Renaissance led to the spread of secular reading materials and critical spirit, individualism, freedom in thought which marked widening of mental horizon and feeling of self confidence in western and central Europe.

Thus the European people and countries were under the influence of the new powerful spirit, felt irked by inhibition and restrained placed on them by an authoritarian Church and they were ready for revolt against its authority.

The reformation of the 16th century was a movement within Western Christendom to purge the church of medieval abuses and to restore the doctrines and practices that the reformers believed conformed with the Bible and the New Testament model of the church. This led to a breach between the Roman Catholic Church and the reformers whose beliefs and the practices came to be called Protestantism.

The Causal factors involved in the Reformation were complex and interdependent. Precursors of the Reformation proper included the movements founded by John Wycliffe (the Lollards) and John Huss (the Hussites) during the 14th and 15th centuries. These reform groups, however, were localized (in England and Bohemia) and were largely

suppressed. Changes in the intellectual and political climate were among the factor that made the reform movement of 16th century much more formidable.

The cultural Renaissance that occurred during the preceding century and a half was a necessary preliminary, because it raised the level of education, reemphasized the ancient classics, contributed to thought and learning, and offered Humanism and rhetoric as an alternative to scholasticism. Especially through its emphasis on the biblical languages and close attention to the literary texts, the Renaissance made possible the biblical exegesis that led to Martin Luther's doctrinal reinterpretation. Moreover, Christian humanists like Desiderius Erasmus criticized ecclesiastical abuses and promoted the study of both the Bible and the Church fathers. The invention of printing by Johann Gutenberg provided a powerful instrument for the spread of learning and reformation ideas.

That grave ills were spreading through the church was already evident at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, at which Pope Innocent III called for reform. The papacy itself was weakened by its move from Rome to Avignon (1309 - 77), by the doctrine that supreme authority in the church belonged to general councils (Conciliarism). The Renaissance popes were notoriously worldly. Abuses such as simony, nepotism, and financial excesses increased. The Church was riddled with venality and immorality. The sale of indulgences was a particularly unfortunate practice because it impinged upon true spiritual repentance and improvement of life. At the same time a genuine upsurge of proper religiosity manifested itself and increased the disparity between the people's expectations and the church's ability to satisfy spiritual needs. Some turned to mysticism and inward religion, but the great mass of people were restless and dissatisfied.

A significant political change occurred during the later Middle Ages as well. The Holy Roman Empire, which had lost cohesion partly as a result of its struggle with the papacy in the Investiture Controversy, was weakened by the gradual evolution of the nation-state of modern western Europe. The monarchies in France, England, and, later, Spain were developing dynastic strength and unity that enabled them largely to control the church within their borders.

Economically, the rise of commerce and shift to a moneyed economy had the effect of creating a stronger middle class in a more urban society. The church met financial difficulty during this time because it had become involved in the manorial economy, possessed

landed wealth and had trouble meeting its extensive administrative, diplomatic, and judicial obligations.

2.6 Salient Features of the Reformation

The most salient feature of the Reformation was the repudiations of the authority and position of the Pope and protest against the abuses and evils that existed in the Roman Church and establishment of separate Churches or religious communities by the reformers. Thus come to be known as Protestant Churches as they were set up in protest against the Pope's authority. The spiritual authority in the new reformed Churches were assumed either by reformers themselves or by Kings or Princes in their kingdom, thus becoming Pope in their own territories.

Those countries of Europe which continued to acknowledge the authority of the Pope – like France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Poland remained Catholic. While those who repudiated his authority – like England, Scotland, Holland Germany and Scandinavian countries were Protestant.

2.7 Attack on Church from several quarters.

The western Church was precisely in a vulnerable condition at that time and was in fact attacked from several quarters. Its spiritual, moral power and great deal of political influence, made the Pope suspect in the eyes of Kings, Princes and people. Again, Church was immensely wealthy especially in landed property and buildings. Most of the wealth had been acquired by gifts made by wealthy and pious lay people so that Church could work for poor people. There were serious abuses and scandals in the Church which was criticized even by loyal Catholics like Sir Thomas More. Erasmus exposed them in his Book named "On praise of Folly." The worldly lives and conducts of Popes like Alexander VI, Juleus II, Leo x ashamed even the Catholics of their times. So there was a cry in many parts of Western and Central Europe for reform within the Church and to put a stop to holy religious office being used for selfish and worldly ends. Kings and Princes were becoming more and more conscious of their own power and strength within their own developing nation states, regarded themselves at the same level as the Pope in the political and diplomatic sphere. They resented any interference by the Pope through his legates, Bishops in any political and financial matters. They repudiated the traditional financial

claims of Papal taxes and levies and took steps to see that money did not go out of their territories. In this Kings and Princes were supported by their people particularly propertied and monied class because this policy was in favour of Mercantilism.

2.7.1 Secondly, a new social class was making its appearance in Western European society slowly – the class made up of Bankers, Manufacturers, Merchants, lawyers, doctors teachers. This class – with capital accumulated in their hands acquired more and more influence. Now this rising class of capitalists' cast-envious eyes on the estates possessed by the Church.

2.7.2 Further, the humanist scholars of the Renaissance with their critical mind, secular attitude and spirit of freedom resented the monopoly of which the Church enjoyed in the matter of education. They desired reason and not faith, the guiding line in the studies and conduct of their lives. Thus, these factors prepared the ground for religious revolution or Reformation which Martin Luther ushered in.

Development

The Reformation began in Germany on Oct. 31, 1517, when Martin Luther, an Augustinian university professor at Wittenberg, posted 95 theses inviting debate over legitimacy of the sale of indulgences. The papacy viewed this as a gesture of rebellion and proceeded to take steps against Luther as a heretic. The German humanists supported Luther's cause during the early year. The reformer's three famous treatises of 1520, An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate, The Babylonian Captivity of the Church, and on the freedom of a Christian, also won him powerful popular support. He was excommunicated in 1521, but in April of that year at the Diet at Worms he stood before Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and German Princes and refused to recant unless proven wrong by the Bible or by clear reason. He believed that salvation was a free gift to persons through the forgiveness of sins by God's grace alone and received by them through faith in the Christ.

Luther was protected by Frederick III, elector of Saxony, and other German princes-partly out of intellectual and religious conviction, partly out of the desire to seize church property, and partly to assert independence of imperial control-gave there support to the reformers. In 1530 many princes and cities signed the Augsburg Confession presented

at the Diet of Augsburg as an expression of the evangelical faith. After years of conflict the settlement reached in the Peace of Augsburg (1555) provided that each German prince would determine the religious affiliation (Roman Catholic or Lutheran) of the territory he ruled. Lutheran also became the established religion of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland. Apart from the role of the princes, however, the Reformation spread rapidly as a popular movement. It penetrated Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, and Transylvania.

The Reformation in Switzerland initially developed in Zurich under the leadership of the priest Ulrich Zwingli. Zwingli had been influenced by Erasmus and by Christian humanism. He arrived at an evangelical understanding of Christianity from his study of the Bible and from contact with Lutherans. On Jan. 1, 1519, he began a 6-series of sermons on the New Testament that moved the city council and the people of Zurich toward reforms. The favorable response to The Sixty-Seven Articles, which he prepared for public disputation with a papal representative in 1523, proved the popularity of the program. He called for the abolition of the mass (and its replacement by a symbolic Lord's Supper), independence from episcopal control, and a reform of the city-state in which both priests and Christian magistrates would conform to the will of God. His influence spread to other Swiss cantons such as Basel, Saint Gall, and Bern.

Through Lutheran tracts and merchant missionaries, the evangelical movement spread to France, where it won many converts, among whom was John Calvin. In 1536, Calvin went to Geneva, where a reformation led by Guillaume Farel was well under way. Calvin was persuaded to stay in Geneva and helped organize the second major surge of Protestantism. In his ordinances of 1541, he gave a new organization to the church consisting of pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons. His Institute of Christian Religion (1536) had great influence in France, Scotland (where John Knox carried the Calvinist reformation), and among the Puritans in England. Geneva became the center of a great missionary enterprise that reached into France, where the Huguenots became so powerful that a synod met in Paris in 1559 to organize a nationwide church of some 2,000 reformed congregations. As a result of the French Wars of Religion, the Huguenot party was checked and the French monarchy kept the kingdom Catholic.

Although England had a religious reform movement influenced by Lutheran ideas, the English Reformation occurred as a direct result of King Henry VIII's efforts to divorce

his first wife, Catherine of Aragon. The formal break with the papacy was masterminded by Thomas Cromwell, the king's chief minister. Under Cromwell's direction parliament passed the Act in Restraint of Appeals (to Rome; 1533), followed by the act of Supremacy (1534) fully defining the royal headship over the church. As archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer annulled Henry's marriage to Catherine, allowing the king to marry Anne Boleyn. Although Henry himself wished to make no doctrine changes, Cromwell and Cranmer authorized the translation of the Bible into English, and Cranmer was largely responsible for the Book of Common Prayer, adopted under Henry's successor, Edward VI. The gains that Protestantism made under Edward (r. 1547-53) were lost under his Catholic sister Mary I (r. 1553-58). The religious settlement (1559) under Elizabeth I, however, guaranteed the Anglican establishment.

The radicals consisted of a great variety of sectarian groups known as Anabaptists because of their common opposition to infant baptism. The Anabaptist leader Thomas Munzer played a leading role in Peasants' War (1524-26), which was suppressed with the support of Luther. In Munster, radical Anabaptists established (1533) a short-lived theocracy in which property was held communally. This too was harshly suppressed. The radicals also encompassed evangelical humanists and spiritualists who developed highly individualist religious philosophies.

An obvious result of the Reformation was the division of Western Christendom into Protestant and Catholic spheres. Another result was the development of national churches; these strengthened the growth of modern national states, just as, earlier, growing national consciousness had facilitated the development of Reformation. The Catholic Counter-reformation—including the foundation of the Jesuits by Ignatius Loyola (sanctioned 1540), the Council of Trent (1545-63), the inquisition, the Index, and reformed clergy like Charles Borromeo—gave new life to the old church and was in part a result of Reformation movement. Finally, the Reformation introduced much radical change in thought and in ecclesiastical and political organization and thus began many of the trends that are taken to characterize the modern world.

Aside from the enclosing of the lower cases, the middle sector of northern Germany, namely the educated community and city dweller, would turn to religion to conceptualize their discontent according to the cultural medium of the era. In northern Europe, Luther

appealed to the growing national consciousness of the German states because he denounced the Pope for involvement in politics as well as religion. Moreover, he backed the nobility, which was now justified to crush the Great Peasants Revolt of 1525 and to confiscate church property by Luther's Doctrine of the Two Kingdom. This explains the attraction of some territorial princes to Lutheranism, especially its Doctrine of the Two Kingdom. However, the Elector of Brandenburg, Joachim I, blamed Lutheranism for the revolt and so did others. In Brandenburg, it was only under his successor Joachim II that Lutheranism was established, and the old religion was not formally extinct in Brandenburg until the death of the last Catholic bishop there, Georg von Blumenthal, who was Bishop of Lebus and sovereign Prince-Bishop of Ratzeburg.

With the church subordinate to and the agent of civil authority and peasants rebellions condemned on strict religious terms, Lutheranism and German nationalist sentiments were ideally suited to coincide.

Though Charles V fought the Reformation, it is no coincidence either that the reign of his nationalist predecessor Maximilian I saw the beginning of the movement. While the centralized states of Western Europe had reached accords with the Vatican permitted them to draw on the rich property of the church for government expenditures, enabling them to form state churches that were greatly autonomous of Rome, similar moves on behalf of the Reich were unsuccessful so long as princes and prince bishops fought reforms to drop the pretension of the secular universal empire.

The Reformation outside Germany

Parallel to event in Germany, a movement began in Switzerland under the leadership of Huldrych Zwingli. These two movements quickly agreed on most issues, as the recently introduced printing press spread ideas rapidly from place to place, but some unresolved difference kept them separate. Some followers of Zwingli believed that the Reformation was too conservative, and moved independently toward more radical positions, some of which survive among modern day Anabaptists. Other protestant movements grew up along lines of humanism (cf. Erasmus).

Following the excommunication of Luther and condemnation of the Reformation by the pope, the work and writings of John Calvin were influential in establishing a loose

consensus among various groups in Switzerland, Scotland, Hungary, Germany and elsewhere. Geneva became the unofficial capital of the Protestant movement, led by the Frenchman Calvin, until his death when Calvin's ally, William Farel, assumed the spiritual leadership of the group.

The Reformation foundations engaged with Augustinianism. Both Luther and Calvin thought along lines linked with the theological teachings of Augustine of Hippo. The Augustinianism of the Reformers struggled against Pelagianism, a heresy that they perceived in the Catholic Church of their day. Ironically, even though both Luther and Calvin had very similar theological teachings, the relationship between Lutherans and Calvinists evolved into one of conflict.

All the Scandinavia ultimately adopted Lutheranism over the course of the 16th century, as the monarchs of Denmark (who also ruled Norway and Iceland) and Sweden (who also ruled Finland) converted to that faith.

In Sweden the Reformation was spearheaded by Gustav Vasa, elected king in 1523. Friction with the pope over the latter's interference in Swedish ecclesiastical affairs led to the discontinuance of any official connection between Sweden and the papacy from 1523. Four years later, at the Diet of Vasteras, the king succeeded in forcing the diet to accept his dominion over the national church. The king was given possession of all church property, church appointments required royal approval, the clergy were subject to the civil law, and the "pure Word of God" was to be preached in the churches and taught in the schools-effectively granted official sanction to Lutheran ideas.

Under the reign of Fredrick I (1523-33), Denmark remained officially Roman Catholic. But through Fredrick initially pledged to persecute Lutherans, he soon adopted a policy of protecting Lutheran preachers and reformers, of whom the most famous was Hans Tausen. During his reign, Lutheranism made significant inroads among the Danish population. Fredrick's son, Christian, was openly Lutheran, which prevented his election to the throne upon his father's death. In 1536, the authority of the Roman Catholic bishop was terminated by national assembly. The next year, following his victory in the Count's War, he became king as Christian III and continued the reformation of the state church with assistance of Johannes Bugenhagen.

The separation of the Church of England (or Anglican Church) from Rome under Henry VIII, beginning in 1529 and completed in 1536, brought England alongside the broad Reformation movement; however religious changes in the English national church proceeded more conservatively than elsewhere in Europe. Reformers in the Church of England alternated, for centuries, between sympathies for Roman Catholic tradition and reformed principles, gradually developing into a tradition which is considered a middle way (via media) between the Catholic and protestant traditions.

The English Reformation followed a different course from the Reformation in continental Europe. There had long been a strong strain of anti-clericalism, and England had already given rise to the Lollard movement of John Wycliffe, which played an important part in inspiring the Hussites in Bohemia. Lollardy was suppressed and became an underground movement so the extent of its influence in the 1520s is difficult to assess. The different character of the English Reformation came rather from the fact that it was driven initially by the political necessities of Henry VIII.

Henry had once been a sincere Roman Catholic and had even authored a book strongly criticizing Luther, but the latter found it expedient and profitable to break with the Papacy. His wife, Catherine of Aragon, bore him only a single child, Mary. As England had recently gone through a lengthy dynastic conflict (see Wars of the Roses), Henry feared that his lack of a male heir might jeopardize his descendants' claim to the throne. However, Pope Clement VIII, concentration more on Charles V's "sack of Rome", denied his request for an annulment. Had Clement granted the annulment and therefore admitted that his predecessor, Julius II, had erred, Clement would have given support to the Lutheran assertion that Popes replaced their own judgment for the will of God.

King Henry decided to remove the Church of England from the authority of Rome. In 1534, the Act of Supremacy made Henry the Supreme Head of the Church of England. Between 1535 and 1540, under Thomas Cromwell, the policy known as the Dissolution of the Monasteries was put into effect. The veneration of some saints, certain pilgrimages and some pilgrim shrines were also attacked. Huge amount of church land and property passed into the hand of the crown and ultimately into those of the nobility and gentry. The vested interest thus created made for a powerful force in support of the dissolutions.

There were some notable opponents to the Henrician Reformation, such as St. Thomas More and Bishop John Fisher, who were executed for their opposition. There was also a growing party of reformers who were imbued with the Zwinglian and Calvinistic doctrines now current on the Continent. When Henry died he was succeeded by his protestant son Edward VI, who, through his empowered councilors (with the King being only nine years old at his succession and not yet sixteen at his death) the Duke of Northumberland, ordered the destruction of images in churches, and the closing of the chantries. Under Edward VI the reform of the Church of England was established unequivocally in doctrinal terms.

Yet, at a popular level, religion in England was still in a state of flux. Following a brief Catholic restoration during the reign of Mary 1553-1558, a loose consensus developed during the reign of Elizabeth I, through this point is one of considerable debate among historians. Yet it is the so called “Elizabethan Religious Settlement” to which the origins of Anglicanism are traditionally ascribed. The compromise was uneasy and was capable of veering between extreme Calvinism on the one hand and Catholicism on the other, but compared to the bloody and chaotic state of affairs in contemporary France, it was relatively successful until the Puritan Revolution or English Civil War in the 17th Century.

2.8 Lets us sum up

The Roman Catholic Church, a powerful institution of the middle Ages – was monopolistic absolute and uncompromising. The Popes and clergymen ambitions and luxurious life and abuses and evil practices grew in the Church. The Church, in fact deteriorated to a kind of commercial organization.

Many reformers of the 14th and 15th centuries such as Wycliffe, Huss and Savonarola attacked the Church on these grounds.

Spirit of enquiry, critical attitude of mind developed due to Renaissance which encouraged repudiation of blind faith and widened the mental outlook. With the emergence of Nation States in Europe, rulers and Princes started objecting the concept of Universal Church and its authority and wanted National Church free from the control of Pope.

Moreover, heavy religious taxes alienated the growing capitalist class, the peasantry

and bourgeoisie. The ground for protest was prepared.

2.9 Glossary

Legates	–	related with law (judicial official)
Bishop	–	Priests in the Catholic Church.
Mercantilism	–	Economic doctrine widely accepted in 16 th and 17 th cen. in Europe which encouraged state intervention to promote export to enrich one's own country.
Bourgeoisie	–	Middle class.
Papal Taxes	–	Taxes imposed by the Pope.

2.10 Check your progress

1. Pope possessed Supreme spiritual power and his jurisdiction was over the whole of the Western Church. True/False
2. All Bishops and Priest were appointed by Pope True/False
3. Who were the Protestants ?

4. _____ wrote the Book named “On Praise of Folly”.
5. _____ had the power of excommunication.

2.11 Model Test paper

1. Write a note on the nature and characteristics of the Roman Catholic Church upto 16th Century.

2. What were the causes of the Reformation Movement?

3. Briefly write the salient features of the Reformation.

2.12 Suggested Reading

1. A Survey of World Civilization – by Edward D’Cruz.
2. A People’s History of the World by Chris Harman
3. History of Reformation by J.P. Dolan.

ROLE OF MARTIN LUTHER IN THE REFORMATION MOVEMENT

Dr. Madhulika Singh

- 3.1 Objectives
- 3.2 Introduction
- 3.3 Luther's Challenge to the Catholic Church
 - 3.3.1 Luther's Religious ideas
 - 3.3.2 Luther's New Ideas of Salvation
- 3.4 Luther's Writings on Novel Doctrine of Protestantism
- 3.5 Salient features of Lutheran Movement
- 3.6 Significance
- 3.7 Dissension within the Reform Movement
- 3.8 Let us sum up
- 3.9 Glossary
- 3.10 Check your Progress
- 3.11 Model Test Paper
- 3.12 Suggested Reading

3.1 Objectives

A brief account of characteristics of Medieval Catholic Church.

Martin Luther's religious ideas and his revolt against Roman Catholic Church.

Significance of Lutheran religious ideas.

Causes of its success.

3.2 Introduction

The credit for starting Reformation in Germany goes to Martin Luther who was born in Germany in 1483 AD. He received education in the University of Erfut in Germany and became Priest in the Church in 1508. He also taught philosophy in the University of Wittenburg. Martin Luther made a radical challenge to the established religious order. He attacked the Catholic Church which had distorted and corrupted the religious teachings of Jesus as expounded in the Bible. He insisted that what mattered – was the faith of the individual and not the mediation of Priests or good works – especially those involving payments to the Church. In 1515, while he was contemplating about his eternal salvation, he found in a holy book that Just shall live by his faith”. Which changed his religious ideas and solved all his doubts. He started believing that all persons, believing in God could themselves read scriptures and there is no need of mediatory priesthood for salvation. This idea caused a break from the Medieval Church, which had indulged in corrupt practices and clergymen had immoral life. He became staunch opponent of the Pope.

The **Protestant Reformation**, also called the Protestant Revolt or simply The Reformation, was the European Christian reform movement that established Protestantism as a constituent branch of contemporary Christianity. It was led by Martin Luther, John Calvin and other early Protestants. The self-described “reformers” (who “protested”) objected to the doctrines, rituals and ecclesiastical structure of the Catholic Church, and created new national Protestant churches. The Catholics responded with a Counter Reformation, led by the Jesuit order, which reclaimed large parts of Europe, Such as Poland. In general, northern Europe, with the exception of Ireland and Pockets of Britain, turned protestant, and southern Europe remained Catholic, while fierce battles that turned into warfare took place in the centre. The largest of the new denominations were the

Anglicans (based in England), the Lutherans (based in Germany and Scandinavia), and the reformed churches (based in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Scotland). There were many smaller bodies as well. The most common dating begins in 1517 when Luther Published The Ninety-Five Theses, and concludes in 1648 with the Treaty of Westphalia that ended years of European religious wars.

3.3 Luther's Challenge to the Catholic Church

The Doctrine and practice of Indulgence, a theological principle of the Catholic Church was challenged by Martin Luther, in his famous Ninety Five thesis in 1517. He logically rejected the traditional teachings of the Church. The doctrine of indulgence implies that the remission of punishment due to sin done by anyone could be granted by the Pope and Bishops in return of good works. The kind of good work can be alms given for a good cause, like building a hospital or Church. which would free the person from his guilt of sin. This practice was used by Pope Leo X, to finance the building of a Church, in honour of St. Peter, the first head of the Church. The Pope, proclaimed an indulgence and asked for contribution from Christian all over the Europe to collect huge amount of money. This propaganda preaching of Indulgence to collect money for building Church was objected by Martin Luther and he opposed the erroneous notion behind it that the payment or donation to Church would free Christians of all guilt of sin and cause salvation. Martin Luther announced to hold a debate on the value of indulgence for seeking faith and wrote his ninety five thesis. This became the matter of Reform.

The Protestant Reformation began as an attempt to reform the Catholic Church, carried out by Western European Catholics who opposed what they perceived as false doctrines and ecclesiastic malpractice-especially the teachings and the sale of indulgency or the abuses thereof, and simony, the selling and buying of the Church's Roman hierarchy, which included the Pope. Both issues were dealt with in an altogether different manner by the Roman Catholic Church during the Counter-Reformation.

Martin Luther's spiritual predecessors included John Wycliffe and Jan Hus, who likewise had attempted to reform the Catholic Church. The Protestant Reformation began on 31 October 1517, in Wittenberg, Saxony, where Martin Luther nailed his Ninety-Five Theses on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences to the door of the Castle Church, in

Wittenberg. These debated and criticized the Church and the Pope, but concentrated upon the selling of indulgences and doctrinal policies about purgatory, particular judgment, Catholic devotion to Mary, Jesus' Mother, the intercession of and devotion to the saints, most of the sacraments, the mandatory clerical celibacy, including monasticism, and the authority of the pope. In the event, other religious reformers, such as Ulrich Zwingli, soon followed Martin Luther's example.

Corruption

Unrest due to the Great Schism of Western Christianity (1378-1416) excited wars between princes, uprisings among the peasants, and widespread concern over corruption in the church. The first of series of disruptive and new perspectives came from John Wycliffe at Oxford University, then from Jan Hus at the University of Prague. The Catholic Church officially concluded this debate at the Council of Constance (1414-1417). The conclave condemned Jan Hus, who was executed by burning in spite of a promise of safe-conduct. Wycliffe was posthumously burned as a heretic.

The Council of Constance confirmed and strengthened the traditional medieval conception of church and empire. It did not address the national tensions, or theological tensions which had been stirred up during the previous century. The council could not prevent schism and the Hussite Wars in Bohemia.

3.3.1 Luther's Religious ideas

His religious ideas were gradually formulated during the years 1513 to 1518. He was conscious of the power of sin, as even repeated confession brought him no peace. Through his personal experience he was of the opinion that repentance is an inner process that continues throughout the whole life of the Christian. It cannot be performed with the help of priests.

The Principle of Protestantism is basically reflected by Martin Luther's own experiences. Its basic and primary design must be attributed to Luther. His writings gave the direction to the new theory of salvation that is not in harmony with the one traditionally taught by the Catholic Church.

Martin Luther was shocked by the corruption of the clergy on a trip to Rome in

1510. Sixtus IV (1471-1484) was the first Pope to impose a license on brothels and a special tax on priests who kept a mistress. He also established the practice of selling indulgences to be applied to the dead, thereby establishing a virtually infinite source of revenue. Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503) was one of the most controversial of the Renaissance Popes. He fathered seven children, including Lucrezia and Cesare Borgia, by at least two mistresses. Fourteen years after his death, the Corruption of papacy that Pope Alexander VI exemplified-particularly the sale of indulgences-prompted Luther to nail a summary of his grievances on the door of a church at Wittenberg in Germany and launch the Protestant Reformation.

The protests against the corruption emanating from Rome began in earnest when Martin Luther, Augustinian monk at the university of Wittenberg, called in 1517 for a reopening of the debate on the sale of indulgences and the authority to absolve sin and remit one from purgatory. Luther's dissent marked a sudden outbreak of a new and irresistible force of discontent. The Reformers made heavy use of inexpensive pamphlets (using the relatively new printing press) so there was swift movement of both ideas and documents, including The Ninety-Five Theses.

Parallel to event in Germany, a movement began in Switzerland under the leadership of Ulrich Zwingli. These two movements quickly agreed on most issues, as the recently introduced printing press spread ideas rapidly from place to place, but some unresolved differences kept them separate. Some followers of Zwingli believed that the Reformation was too conservative, and moved independently toward more radical positions, some of which survive among modern day Anabaptists. Other protestant movements grew up along lines of mysticism or humanism (cf. Erasmus), sometimes breaking from Rome or from the Protestants, or forming outside of the Churches.

After the first stage of the Reformation, following the excommunication of Luther and condemnation of the reformation by the Pope, the work and writings of John Calvin were influential in establishing a loose consensus among various groups in Switzerland, Scotland, Hungary, Germany and elsewhere.

The Reformation foundation engaged with Augustinianism. Both Luther and Calvin thought among lines linked with the theological teachings of Augustine of Hippo. The

Augustinianism of the reformers struggled against Pelagianism, a heresy that they perceived in the Catholic Church of their day. In the course of the religious upheaval, The German peasants' war of 1524-1525 swept through the Bavarian, Thuringian and Swabian principalities, leaving scores of Catholics slaughtered at the hands of Protestant bands, including the Black Company of Florian Geier, a knight from Giebelstadt who joined the peasants in the general outrage against the Catholic hierarchy. Martin Luther, however, condemned the revolt, thus contributing to its eventual defeat. Some 100,000 peasants were killed.

Even though Luther and Calvin had very similar theological teachings, the relationship between their followers turned quickly to conflict. Frenchman Michel de Montaigne told a story of a Lutheran pastor who declared over dinner that he would rather hear a hundred masses than take part in one of Calvin's sacraments.

The political separation of the Church of England from Rome under Henry VIII, beginning in 1529 and completed in 1536, brought England alongside this broad reformed movement. However, religious changes in the English national Church proceeded more conservatively than elsewhere in Europe. Reformers in the church of England alternated, for centuries, between sympathies for Catholic traditions and Protestantism, progressively forging a suitable compromise between adherence to ancient tradition and Protestantism, which is now sometimes called the *via media*.

Life of Martin Luther and the heroes of the Reformation

Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Ulrich Zwingli are considered Magisterial Reformers because their reform movements were supported by ruling authorities or "magistrates". Frederick the Wise did not support Luther, who was professor at the university he founded, but he protected him by hiding Luther in Wartburg Castle in Eisenach. Frederick the Wise was a very devout Catholic, but only protected Luther in hopes of obtaining greater political autonomy from the Church. Zwingli and Calvin were supported by the city councils in Zurich and Geneva. Since the term "magister" also means "teacher", the Magisterial Reformation is also characterized by an emphasis on the authority of teacher. This is made evident in the prominence of Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli as leaders of the reform movements in their respective areas of ministry. Because of their authority, they were often criticized

by Radical Reformers as being too much like the Roman Popes. For example, Radical Reforms Andreas Karlstadt referred to the Wittenberg theologians as the “new papists”.

The central issue: Free Will

In his work, *Luther: Right or Wrong?* Fr. McSoreley pinpoints with laser precision the true and abiding reason for the Reformation, according to Luther himself:

What was the central issue of Luther’s protest? With unmistakable clarity Luther himself answer this question in the closing paragraph of *De servo arbitrio* (1525), his powerful reply to the long-awaited attack made by Desiderius Erasmus in *De libero arbitrio* (1524). Fully confident that he has refuted Erasmus, Luther offers him a singular word of consolation;

“Moreover, i give you hearty praise and commendation on this further account - that you alone, in contrast with all others, have attacked the real thing, that is, the essential issue [*res ipsa*; *summa causae*]. You have not wearied me with those extraneous issues about the papacy, purgatory, indulgences and such like - trifles, rather than issues - in respect of which almost all to date have sought my blood (though without success); you, and you alone, have seen the hinge on which all turns [*cardo rerum*], and aimed for the vital spot. For that I heartily thank you...”

Not the doctrines of the papacy, purgatory or indulgences, but the doctrine of the freedom of the will was the real issue-the *res ipsa* a Luther’s reformation protest! This was not merely an isolated, passing statement. Already in 1520, in the *Assertio omnium articulorum M. Lutheri per bullam Leonis X, novissimam damnatorum*, Luther signaled out the thirty-sixth article-the one in which he defends the thesis that the free will, after Adam’s fall, is a name devoid of content (*res de solo titulo*; *eyn eytteler name*) - as the real issue of his reformation. Again he speak of the other question about the papacy, councils and indulgences as “trifles” (*nugae*) but explicitly insists that this article is the most important point of his doctrine.

Did Luther change his mind after 1525 about the importance of his doctrine of the unfree will? It seems unlikely that he did. Twelve years after he wrote *De servo arbitrio*, Luther could still write to Wolfgang Capito (July 9, 1537), in reference to the forthcoming

publication of his collected works: “I consider none of my books to be worthwhile, except perhaps De servo arbitrio and the Catechism.”

3.3.2 Luther’s New Ideas of Salvation

The world of God hence becomes more important.

Faith in God establishes personal communication between the soul and God.

The whole process is human obedient surrender to God.

This surrender awakens in man certain confidence.

So Faith is not only trust but hope and expectancy.

Faith, as Luther sees it, born out of humility, a realization of man’s complete dependence on God.

In treating the question of indulgence, Luther pointed out that Pope can remit only punishment attached to purely ecclesiastical laws.

In the matter of guilt, God alone has the power of forgiveness.

Buying indulgence was actually sinful. In doing so the purchaser neglects the poor to whom the money could be better given.

In the 82nd Thesis he asked; Why does not Pope – if he has the power out of Christian Charity - heal or save suffering souls all at once.

These theses, within few months read widely and acclaimed throughout the entire Europe.

3.4 Luther’s Writings on Novel Doctrine of Protestantism

In 1520, Luther translated Bible. In a series of Pamphlet entitled

On Babylonian Captivity of the Church – which was a blow on the sacramental system and the sacrifice of the masses.

On Christian Liberty – in which he continued to strike at the root of Papal

Christianity, and emphasised the primacy of scriptures and the doctrine of faith. He outlined what he felt would be the programme for reforming and revitalizing the Church.

His “Appeal to the Nobility” was an attack on the century old abuses of the Church. The Four hundred copies of the Appeal to the Nobility was sold in five days. In his preface he addressed, “The time to speak has come”.

3.5 Salient features of Lutheranian Movement

He then pointed out the obstacles of true reform which are responsible for the decline of Christianity.

Churches’ claims of being superior to Civil Government

Superiority of Papal decrees over scriptures.

Finally, superiority of paper over the council.

Luther recommended that the papacy should extricate itself from temporal affairs.

The Pope should relinquish its territorial claims, should also renounce the temporal powers indicated in the “Donation of Constantinople a document, he claims a forgery.

He should not be superior to the Crown

The payment of papal taxes must be abolished.

Desputes involving temporal affairs should no longer be called to Roman counts.

The Pope’s power of Ex-communication could only operate in spiritual sphere.

He emphasized Christian liberty and stressed on freedom expressed in doing obedience to God and service to one’s neighbour. These three writings in certain since epitomize the salient features of Lutheranian movement.

Luther and his followers separated themselves from Catholic Church by condemning abuse within it. Luther’s popularity spread beyond the borders of Germany. Between 1521-1525 was the most decisive periods in the reform movement. The Roman authorities

charged him of his outburst against Church and Pope and tried to arrest, prosecute and excommunicate him but there was a strong public reaction against this.

Humanism to Protestantism

The frustrated reformism of the humanists, ushered in by the Renaissance, contributed to a growing impatience among reformers. Erasmus and later figures like Martin Luther and Zwingli would emerge from the debate and eventually contribute to another major schism of Christendom. The crisis of theology beginning with William of Ockham in the 14th century was occurring in conjunction with the new burgher discontent. Since the breakdown of the philosophical foundation of scholasticism, the new nominalism did not bode well for an institutional church legitimized as an intermediary between man and God. New thinking favored the notion that no religious doctrine can be supported by philosophical arguments, eroding the old alliance between reason and faith of the medieval period laid out by Thomas Aquinas.

Humanism's intellectual anti-clericalism would profoundly influence Luther. The increasingly well-educated middle sectors of Northern Germany, namely the educated community and city dwellers would turn to Luther's rethinking of religion to conceptualize their discontent according to the cultural medium of the era. The great rise of the burghers, the desire to run their new businesses free of institutional barriers or outmoded cultural practices, contributed to the appeal of humanist individualism. To many, papal institutions were rigid, especially regarding their views on just price and usury. In the North, burghers and monarchs were united in their frustration for not paying any taxes to the nation, but collecting taxes from subjects and sending the revenues disproportionately to the Pope in Italy.

These trends heightened demands for significant reform and revitalization along with anticlericalism. New thinkers began noticing the divide between the priests and the flock. The clergy, for instance, were not always well-educated. Parish priests often did not know Latin and rural parishes often did not have great opportunities for theological education for many at the time. Due to its large landholdings and institutional rigidity, a rigidity to which the excessively large ranks of the clergy contributed, many bishops studied law, not theology, being relegated to the role of property managers trained in

administration. While priests emphasized works or religiosity, the respectability of the church began diminishing, especially among well educated urbanites, and especially considering the recent strings of political humiliation, such as the apprehension of Pope Boniface VIII by Philip IV of France, the “Babylonian Captivity”, the Great Schism, and the failure of conciliar reformism. In a sense, the campaign by Pope Leo X to raise funds to rebuild St. Peter’s Basilica was too much of an excess by the secular Renaissance church, prompting high-pressure indulgences that rendered the clergy establishments even more disliked in the cities.

Luther borrowed from the humanists the sense of individualism, that each man can be his own priest (an attitude likely to find popular support considering the rapid rise of an educated urban middle class in the North), and that the only true authority is the Bible, echoing the reformist zeal of the conciliar movement and opening up the debate once again on limiting the authority of the Pope. While his ideas called for the sharp redefinition of the dividing lines between the laity and the clergy, his ideas were still, by this point, reformist in nature. Luther’s contention that the human will was incapable of following good, however, resulted in his rift with Erasmus finally distinguishing Lutheran reformism from humanism.

Lutheranism adopted by the German princes

Luther affirmed a theology of the Eucharist called Real Presence, a doctrine of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist which affirms the real presence yet upholding that the bread and wine are not “changed” into the body and blood; rather the divine elements adhere “in, with, and under” the earthly elements. He took this understanding of Christ’s presence in the Eucharist to be more harmonious with the Church’s teaching on the Incarnation. Just as Christ is the union of the fully human and the fully divine (cf. Council of Chalcedon) so to the Eucharist is a union of Bread and Body, Wine and Blood. According to the doctrine of real presence, the substances of the body and the blood of Christ and of the bread and the wine were held to coexist together in the consecrated Host during the communion service. While Luther seemed to maintain the perpetual consecration of the elements, other Lutherans argued that any consecrated bread or wine left over would revert to its former state the moment the service ended. Most Lutherans accept the latter.

A Lutheran understanding of the Eucharist is distinct from the Reformed doctrine of the Eucharist in that Lutherans affirm a real, physical presence of Christ in the Eucharist (as opposed to either a “spiritual presence” or a ‘memorial’) and Lutherans affirm that the presence of Christ does not depend on the faith of the recipient; the repentant receive Christ in the Eucharist worthily, the unrepentant who receive the Eucharist risk the wrath of Christ.

Luther, along with his colleague Philipp Melanchthon, emphasized this point in his plea for the Reformation at the Reichstag in 1529 amid charges of heresy. But the changes he proposed were of such a fundamental nature that by their own logic they would automatically overthrow the old order; neither the Emperor nor the Church could possibly accept them, as Luther well knew. As was only to be expected, the edict by the Diet of Worms (1521) prohibited all innovations. Meanwhile, in these efforts to retain the guise of a Catholic reformer as opposed to a heretical revolutionary, and to appeal to German princes with his religious condemnation of the peasant revolts backed up by the Doctrine of the Two Kingdoms, Luther’s growing conservatism would provoke more radical reformers.

At a religious conference with the Zwinglians in 1529, Melanchthon joined with Luther in opposing a union with Zwingli. There would finally be a schism in the reform movement due to Luther’s belief in real presence – the real (as opposed to symbolic) presence of Christ at the Eucharist. His original intention was not schism, but with the *Reichstag* of Augsburg (1530) and its rejection of the Lutheran “Augsburg Confession”, a separate Lutheran church finally emerged. In a sense, Luther would take theology further in its deviation from established Roman Catholic dogma, forcing a rift between the humanist Erasmus and Luther. Similarly, Zwingli would further repudiate ritualism, and break with the increasingly conservative Luther.

3.6 Significance

Lutheran Movement contributed to new theological directions to the Church.

The instructions and guidance were soon adopted with certain modification in many principalities of Northern Germany. Luther wrote commentaries on the new Testament during his life time – he published over 400 works and influenced the development of

German literature and language. His German translation of Bible was his greatest achievement as a writer. It was his writings on Bible in German, that was responsible more than his doctrine for spread and consolidation of Luthern Church. The Pope excommunicated Luther as a rebel and heretic but Luther's sovereign supported and protected the reformer.

3.7 Dissension within the Reform Movement

However, a number of events caused the movement to lose much of its original momentum. The doctrine of Luther, particularly his teachings on Christian liberty – led to the demands for social reform.

Eventually peasants uprising broke out on June 1524 in the Black Forest Region and part of Rhineland. Luther firmly opposed the revolt, asserting that rebellion would stir up more ills than it would cure. His refusal to help the peasants' cause took away the support of many of the lower classes and who turned against his any form of religious innovation. Thus prepared the ground for dissension within the reform movement.

The Princes of Germany were divided along religious line - Catholic & Luthernian, besides existing political and economic division. About 100 yrs after Luther's revolt against Rome – there broke out thirty years war (1618-1648). The Northern state of Germany opted for Luther Church. The Southern states remained Catholic and loyal to the Pope. From Northern States, Lutherism spread to the Scandinavian Countries – Denmark, Norway and Sweden. So it was not a reformation of Catholic Church but a break away from the old and establishment of new.

3.8 Let us Sum up

Reformation Movement was started by Martin Luther in Germany in 1483. Luther's revolt against and breakaway from Roman Church served as an example and incentive to others who were like minded. In Switzerland, Calvin – who was a French man, organized his Church in Geneva and started Calvinist Church. It also spread to parts of France – where the adherents of this reformed religion were called Huguenots, in England it was named Puritanism.

3.9 Glossary

Scholasticism	-	Medieval learning and education.
Scriptures	-	Sacred writings
Ecclesiastical	-	related with Church
Indulgence	-	Remission of Punishment granted by Church on payment or good work.

3.10 Check your Progress

1. _____ made a radical challenge to the established religious order.

2. What was the doctrine of Indulgence Practiced by the Catholic Church?

3. Martin Luther wrote Bible in German Language. True/False.

4. The Doctrine of Luther led to the demands for Social Reforms. True/False.

3.11 Model Test Paper

1. Give a brief account of the prevailing nature of the Medieval Catholic Church.

2. Write a short note on Martin Luther's Religious ideas.

3. Martin Luther did not support the Peasants rebellion. Why?

4. Give a brief account of Luther's writings which led to the spread of Lutheran ideas.

3.12 Suggested Reading

1. History of Reformation by J.P. Dolan
2. A survey of World Civilization, Edward D'Cruz.
3. A People's History of the world by Chri's Harman.
4. The Reformation in Europe by Elton.

COUNTER REFORMATION : CAUSES AND SUCCESS

Dr. Madhulika Singh

- 4.1 Objectives
- 4.2 Introduction
- 4.3 Reformation from within and among several fronts was undertaken
- 4.4 Reforms Programmes
- 4.5 Society of Jesuits
- 4.6 Consequences
- 4.7 Let us sum up
- 4.8 Glossary
- 4.9 Check your Progress
- 4.10 Model Test Paper
- 4.11 Suggested Reading

4.1 Objectives

To explain the causes of counter Reformation.

To know the nature of the counter Reformation movement.

How far the movement reformed the Catholic Church.

What were the consequences of the movement.

4.2 Introduction

One of the important offshoots of Protestant Reformation was counter Reformation or Catholic Reformation as opposed to Protestant Reformation. There were many loyal Catholics who did not want to break away from the Catholic Church, but who felt urgent need for reform from within.

The Catholic Church men realized the best way to stop the further advance of Protestant Church was to put their own house in order by getting rid of evils, abuse and scandals prevalent in the Church – by toning up its spiritual and moral life.

4.3 Reformation from within and among several fronts was undertaken.

The Council of Trent – (1545-63), a council summoned by the Church at Trent – in Northern Italy to bring about reforms, which earnestly undertook to remove some of the most glaring abuses and to restore unity in the Church. The representatives affirmed the main points in Catholic theology, but condemned the sale of Church offices and demanded that the clergy men should adhere more strictly to their duties. The lead was given by the Pope. Election of Pope Paul III in 1534 gave rise to the hope of genuine reforms. Mancellus II, Pius IV, and Pius V gave continuity to the movement of reform.

Not only they vowed to live a good and exemplary life themselves but they also encouraged Bishops and Abbots to do the same. The important work done by the great council of Trent - which sat intermittently from 1545 to 1563 - was of immense value. It put before Catholics and Protestants alike, the Catholic positions in the matter of doctrine, religious worship and religious discipline. In all this, council drew sharply the lines of demarcation between Catholicism and Protestantism.

4.4 Reform Programmes

It was especially during the decades of 1530s and 1540s that reform programme gained momentum throughout Europe. In 1535, Paul III positioned Contarini, a person of great ability and a scholar, who was a high official in the Venetian Government to the

College of Cardinals. His criticism of the abuses of the Roman Church was a great proof of change in the policy of papacy towards reform. After that in 1536, Pope Paul III called special commission to outline a programme of reform that would effect the core and centre of ecclesiastical abuses – the Roman Curia. The deliberation of this commission begins with the accusation – that the root of the evils is due to Papal absolute authority which led the Church to its destruction. The celebrated document **consillium de Emedanda Ecclesia**” listed the abuses that crippled the effectiveness of the Church at all levels in the Curia, in Monasteries, and schools.

The college of cardinals attacked the misuse of Popes authority, and administration, and in the practice of appointment. These evils are to be ruthlessly uprooted. Practice of selling of indulgences must be halted. The entire document had basic conviction that radical change is required in the Curia’s administrative system.

4.5 Society of Jesuits

With a view to toning up spiritual and moral life of the people, several new religious orders started, old orders reformed and made stricter. The order known as the society of Jesus or Jesuits, , founded by St. Ignatius of Loyala – played a very important part in the Counter Reformation. Members of this society placed themselves at the disposal of the Pope so that he could use them for any work like for education, preaching and teaching and in missionary work in various parts of the world. Francis Xavier, a University man and a founder member of the order, came out to India, and by his work earned sainthood and the title of Apostle of the Indies.

4.6 Consequences

There was split in the Church into Protestantism and Catholicism. National Churches were set up in many countries with their own doctrine and principles. The heads of these Churches were the rulers of these countries and not the Pope. The supremacy of the Pope was now replaced by that of the Bible. While the influence, authority and power and prestige of the papacy was undermined, the spirit of nationalism and absolute monarchies were enormously strengthened.

Rivalries between the two major groups of Christian gave rise to intolerance,

fanaticism and hatredness. They committed cruel acts in the name of God and discipline. There were prosecution of protestants and they were burnt alive.

Mary Tudor of England is known as bloody Mary – in history because of the bloody deeds of persecuting the protestants. The Protestants too did not follow a policy of religious toleration towards the Catholics who had to suffer many hardship during the reign of Edward VI of England.

Puritan movement

The success of the Counter-Reformation on the Continent and growth of a Puritan party dedicated to further Protestant reform polarized the Elizabethan Age, although it was not until the 1640s that England underwent religious strife comparable to that which its neighbors had suffered some generation before.

The early Puritan movement (16th-17th centuries) was Reformed or Calvinist and was a movement for reform in the Church of England. Its origins lay n the discontent with the Elizabethan Religious Statement. The desire was for the Church of England to resemble more closely the churches of Europe, especially Geneva. The Puritans objected to ornaments and ritual in the churches as Idolatrous (vestments, surplices, organs, genuflection), which they castigated as “popish pomp and rags”. (See. Vestments controversy). They also objected ecclesiastical courts. They refused to endorse completely all of the ritual directions and formulas of the Book of Common Prayer; the imposition of its liturgical order by legal force and inspection sharpened Puritanism into a definite opposition movement.

The later Puritan movement were often referred to as dissenters and nonconformists and eventually led to the formation of various reformed denominations.

The most famous and well-known emigration to America was the migration of the Puritan separatists from the Anglican Church of England, who fled first to Holland, and then later to America, to establish the English colonies of New England, which later became the United States.

The Puritan Separatists were also known as “the Pligrims”. After establishing a colony at Plymouth (which would become part of the colony of Massachusetts) in 1620, the Puritan pilgrims received a charter from the King of England which legitimized their

colony, allowing them to do trade and commerce with merchants in England, in accordance with the principles of mercantilism. This successful, though initially quite difficult, colony marked the beginning of the Protestant presence in America (the earlier French, Spanish and Portuguese settlements had been Catholic), and became a kind of oasis of spiritual and economic freedom, to which persecuted Protestant and other minorities from the British Isles and Europe (and later, from all over the world) fled to for peace, freedom and opportunity. The pilgrims of New England disapproved of Christmas and celebration was outlawed in Boston from 1659 to 1681. The ban was revoked in 1681 by Sir Edmund Andros, who also revoked a Puritan ban against festivities on Saturday night. However it wasn't until the mid-19th century that celebrating Christmas became fashionable in the Boston region.

The original intent of the colonists was to establish spiritual Puritanism, which had been denied to them in England and the rest of Europe to engage in peaceful commerce with England and the native American Indians and to Christianize the peoples of the Americas.

The Reformation in Scotland's case culminated ecclesiastically in the re-establishment of the church along reformed lines and politically in the triumph of English influence over that of France. John Knox is regarded as the leader of the Scottish reformation.

The reformation parliament of 1560 repudiated the pope's authority by the Papal jurisdiction Act 1560, forbade the celebration of the mass and approved a Protestant Confession of Faith. It was made possible by a revolution against French hegemony under the regime of the regent Mary of Guise, who had governed Scotland in the name of her absent daughter Mary, Queen of Scots (then also Queen of France).

The Scottish reformation decisively shaped the Church of Scotland and, through it, all other Presbyterian churches worldwide.

A spiritual revival also broke out among Roman Catholics soon after Martin Luther's actions, and led to the Scottish Covenanter's movement, the precursor to Scottish Presbyterianism. This movement spread, and greatly influenced the formation of Puritanism among the Anglican Church in England. The Scottish covenanters were persecuted by the Roman Catholic Church. This persecution by the Catholics drove some of the Protestant

covenanter leadership out of Scotland, and into France and later, Switzerland.

France

Protestantism also spread into France, where the Protestants were nicknamed “Huguenots”, and this eventually led to decades of civil warfare.

Though he was not personally interested in religious reform, Francis I (1515–47) initially maintained an attitude of tolerance, arising from the interest in the humanist movement. This changed in 1534 with the Affair of the Placards. In this act, Protestants denounced the mass in placards that appeared across France, even reaching the royal apartments. The issue of religious faith having been thrown into the arena of politics, Francis was prompted to view the movement as a threat to the kingdom’s stability. This led to the first major phase of anti-Protestant persecution in France, in which the *Chambre ardente* (“Burning Chamber”) was established within the Parliament of Paris to deal with the rise in prosecutions for heresy. Several thousand French Protestants fled the country during this time, most notably John Calvin, who settled in Geneva.

Calvin continued to take an interest in the religious affairs of his native land and, from his base in Geneva, beyond the reach of the French king, regularly trained pastors to lead congregations in France. Despite heavy persecution by Henry II, the Reformed Church of France, largely Calvinist in direction, made steady progress across large sections of the nation, in the urban bourgeoisie and parts of the aristocracy, appealing to people alienated by the obduracy and the complacency of the Catholic establishment.

French Protestantism, though its appeal increased under persecution, came to acquire a distinctly political character, made all the more obvious by the noble conversions of the 1550s. This had the effect of creating the preconditions for a series of destructive and intermittent conflicts, known as the Wars of Religion. The civil wars were helped along by the sudden death of Henry II in 1559, which saw the beginning of a prolonged period of weakness for the French crown. Atrocity and outrage became the defining characteristic of the time, illustrated at its most intense in the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre of August 1572, when the Roman Catholic party annihilated between 30,000 and 100,000 Huguenots across France. The wars only concluded when Henry IV himself a former Huguenot, issued the Edict of Nantes, promising official toleration of the Protestant minority, but

under highly restricted conditions. Catholicism remained the official state religion, and the fortunes of French Protestants gradually declined over the next century, culminating in Louis XIV's Edict of Fontainebleau – which revoked the Edict of Nantes and made Roman Catholicism the sole legal religion of France. In response to the Edict of Fontainebleau, Frederick William I, Elector of Brandenburg declared the Edict of Potsdam, giving free passage to Huguenot refugees, and tax-free status to them for ten years.

In the late 17th Century, many Huguenots fled to England, the Netherlands, Prussia, Switzerland, and the English and Dutch overseas colonies. A significant community in France remained in the Cevennes region. A separate Protestant community, of the Lutheran faith, existed in the newly conquered province of Alsace, its status not affected by the Edict of Fontainebleau.

Netherlands

The Reformation in the Netherlands, unlike in many other countries, was not initiated by the rulers of the Seventeen Provinces, but instead by multiple popular movements, which in turn were bolstered by the arrival of Protestant refugees from other parts of the continent. While the Anabaptist movement enjoyed popularity in the region in the early decades of the Reformation. Calvinism, in the form of the Dutch Reformed Church, became the dominant Protestant faith in the country from the 1560s onward.

Harsh persecution of Protestants by the Spanish government of Philip II contributed to a desire for independence in the provinces, which led to the Eighty Years' War and eventually, the separation of the largely Protestant Dutch Republic from the Catholic-dominated Southern Netherlands (present-day Belgium).

Hungary

Much of the population of the Kingdom of Hungary adopted Protestantism during the 16th century. After the 1526 Battle of Mohacs the Hungarian people were disillusioned by the ability of the government to protect them and turned to the faith which would infuse them with the strength necessary to resist the invader, they found this in the teaching of the Protestant reformers such as Martin Luther. The spread of Protestantism in the country was aided by its large ethnic German minority, which could understand and translate the

writings of Martin Luther. While Lutheranism gained a foothold among the German and Slovak-speaking populations, Calvinism became widely accepted among ethnic Hungarians.

In the more independent northwest the rulers and priests, protected now by the Habsburg Monarchy which had taken the field to fight the Turks, defended the old Catholic faith. They dragged the Protestants to prison and the stake wherever they could. Such strong measures only fanned the flames of protest, however, Leaders of the Protestants included Matthias Biro Devai, Michael Sztarai and Stephen Kis Szegedi.

Protestants likely formed a majority of Hungary's population at the close of the 16th century, but Counter-Reformation efforts in the 17th century reconverted a majority of the kingdom to Roman Catholicism. A significant Protestant minority remained, most of its adhering to the Calvinist faith.

In 1558 the Transylvanian Diet of Turda declared free practice of both the Catholic and Lutheran religions, but prohibited Calvinism. Ten years later, in 1568, the Diet extended this freedom, declaring that "It is not allowed to anybody to intimidate anybody with captivity or expelling for his religion". Four religions were declared as accepted (recepta) religions, while Orthodox Christianity was "tolerated" (though the building of stone Orthodox churches was forbidden). During the Thirty Years' War, Royal (Habsburg) Hungary joined the Catholic side, until Transylvania joined the Protestant side.

There were a series of other successful and unsuccessful anti-Habsburg (requiring equal rights and freedom for all Christian religions) uprisings between 1604 and 1711; the uprisings were usually organized from Transylvania. The constrained Habsburg Counter-Reformation efforts in the 17th century reconverted the majority of the kingdom to Roman Catholicism.

Conclusion and Legacy

The Reformation led to a series of religious wars that culminated in the Thirty Years' War, which devastated much of Germany killing between 25 and 40% of its population. From 1618 to 1648 the Catholic House of Habsburg and its allies fought against the Protestant princes of Germany, supported at various times by Denmark, Sweden and France. The Habsburgs, who ruled Spain, Austria, the Spanish Netherlands and much of Germany and Italy, were staunch defenders of the Catholic Church. Some

historians believe that the era of the Reformation came to a close when Catholic France allied itself, first in secret and later on the battlefields, with Protestant states against the Habsburg dynasty. For the first time since the days of Luther, political and national convictions again outweighed religious convictions in Europe.

The main tenets of the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War, were :

- All parties would now recognize the Peace of Augsburg of 1555, by which each prince would have the right to determine the religion of his own state, the options being Catholicism, Lutheranism, and now Calvinism (the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*).
- Christians living in principalities where their denomination was not the established church were guaranteed the right to practice their faith in public during allotted hours and in private at their will.

The Treaty also effectively ended the Pope's pan-European political power. Fully aware of the loss, Pope Innocent X declared the treaty "null, void, invalid, iniquitous, unjust, damnable, reprobate, inane, empty of meaning and effect for all times." European sovereigns, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike, ignored his verdict.

In the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, Max Weber first suggested that cultural values could affect economic success, arguing that the Protestant Reformation led to values that drove people toward worldly achievements, a hard work ethic, and saving to accumulate wealth for investment. The new religions (in particular, Calvinism and other more austere Protestant sects) effectively forbade wastefully using hard earned money and identified the purchase of luxuries as a sin.

4.7 Let us Sum up

With the passage of time, both Reformation and Counter Reformation movements became aggressive. The result was long and bloody civil wars. It saw the beginning of the religious wars among the Christian European countries. Thirty years war between Catholic supporters and protestants was its outcome. Hence Renaissance and Reformation are movements that have great formative value and constitute importance.

4.8 Glossary

- Theology – study of system of Religion
- Curia – Papal Court, Government Department of Vatican
- Apostle - leader or outstanding person especially of any reform movement.

4.9 Check your Progress

1. What do you understand by Counter Reformation Movement?

2. The great Council of Trent – Sat intermittently from 1545 to 1563 True/False
3. Briefly discuss the reform Programme of the Counter Reformation Movement.

4. _____ of Loyala founded the Society of Jesuits.
5. Francis Xavier – The founder member of the order of the Society of Jesuits came to India. True/False.

4.10 Model Test paper

1. Write briefly the Programmes of Counter Reformation.
2. What were the Consequences of the Counter Reformation in Europe?
3. Highlight briefly the significance of Counter Reformation.

4.11 Suggested Readings

1. History of Reformation by J.P. Dolan
2. The Reformation in Europe by Elton.
3. The Reformation in England by M. Powick.

FRENCH REVOLUTION : CAUSES

Mr. Kashab Kumar

STRUCTURE

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Objectives
- 5.3 Causes of French Revolution
 - 5.3.1 Political cause
 - 5.3.2 Socio-Economic Cause
 - 5.3.3 Influence of Philosophers
 - 5.3.4 Feudalism and Unfair Taxation
 - 5.3.5 The Estates General
 - 5.3.6 The Bastille and the Great Fear
 - 5.3.7 Rifts in the Assembly
 - 5.3.8 The Reign of Terror
 - 5.3.9 Immediate Cause of the Revolution
- 5.4 The course of the Revolution
- 5.5 Impact of French Revolution

- 5.5.1 Important Role in the Success of Greek Independence
- 5.5.2 Feudal Prerogatives could not Flourish Again and the Church could not Revive its Bygone Glory
- 5.5.3 French Revolution was a Fountain of all Modern Thoughts
- 5.5.4 French Revolution Rejuvenated the Political, Social, Religious and Economic Systems of France
- 5.5.5 French Revolution Put an End to the Old System
- 5.5.6 Agricultural Reforms were Carried out with Great Enthusiasm
- 5.5.7 Declaration of Human Rights
- 5.5.8 Liberty, Equality and Fraternity
- 5.5.9 New Trends and Attitudes Generated by the French Revolution
- 5.5.10 French Revolution Paved the Way for Socialism
- 5.6 Lets us Sum up
- 5.7 Glossary
- 5.8 Check your Progress
- 5.9 Self Assessment Questions
- 5.10 Suggested Further Readings

5.1 Introduction

The French Revolution of 1789 is an important landmark in the history of Europe. It was the first great uprising of the people against the autocracy of the ruler. It generated ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity which crossed the boundaries of France and influenced whole of Europe. The revolution not only changed the political, social and economic life of the people but also affected the entire course of world history.

5.2 Objectives -After going through this unit you will be able:-

- a. To discuss the event of French Revolution.
- b. To evaluate the causes of French Revolution
- c. To understand the impact of French Revolution
- d. To understand the course of French Revolution

5.3 Causes of the French Revolution:

The causes of the French Revolution can be attributed to several intertwining factors

5.3.1 Political:

In the 18th century, France was a feudal society under the authority of an absolute monarchy. The Bourbon monarchs lived in splendor in the royal palace of Versailles. The finances of France were in a deplorable condition.

The treasury was practically empty after the numerous wars that France was involved in. King Louis XVI was incapable of guiding France through the political and financial crises. Queen Marie Antoinette, an Austrian princess, was blamed for squandering away public money. The administration was corrupt and autocratic.

5.3.2 Socio-economic:

The social conditions of France were as distressing as its political organization. French society was divided into three classes or estates. The privileged class comprising the clergy and the aristocracy formed the first estate and the second estate respectively. These two estates enjoyed many privileges under the government and did not have to bear the burden of taxation.

The nobility monopolized all important positions in the French administration and lived a life of luxury. The third estate comprised the common people. It consisted of middle class people, peasants, artisans, workers and agricultural labourers. Even the rich middle class, consisting of merchants, factory owners etc., fell in this category. The entire burden of taxation fell on the third estate. But these taxpayers had no political rights.

The condition of the artisans, peasants and workmen was miserable. The peasants had to work for long hours and pay separate taxes to the Crown, to the clergy and to the nobility. After paying all these taxes, they hardly had enough money to feed themselves. The wealthy middle class had to pay heavy taxes and resented the privileges enjoyed by the aristocrats and the higher clergy i.e. the first two estates. The workers, the peasants and the middle class who suffered under the social and economic system wanted to change it.

5.3.3 Influence of Philosophers:

French philosophers like Voltaire, Rousseau and Montesquieu inspired the people with revolutionary ideas of liberty and equality. Montesquieu rejected the theory of the Divine Right of Kings and urged for separation of powers. Rousseau, in his book 'Social Contract', announced that sovereign power lay in popular will.

5.3.4 Feudalism and Unfair Taxation:

No one factor was directly responsible for the French Revolution. Years of feudal oppression and fiscal mismanagement contributed to a French society that was ripe for revolt. Noting a downward economic spiral in the late 1700s, King Louis XVI brought in a number of financial advisors to review the weakened French treasury.

Each advisor reached the same conclusion that France needed a radical change in the way it taxed the public and each advisor was, in turn, kicked out. Finally, the king realized that this taxation problem really did need to be addressed, so he appointed a new controller general of finance, Charles de Calonne, in 1783. Calonne suggested that, among other things, France begin taxing the previously exempt nobility. The nobility refused, even after Calonne pleaded with them during the Assembly of Notables in 1787. Financial ruin thus seemed imminent.

5.3.5 The Estates General:

In a final act of desperation, Louis XVI decided in 1789 to convene the Estates-General, an ancient assembly consisting of 3 different estates that each represented a portion of the French population. If the Estates-General could agree on a tax solution, it would be implemented.

However, since two of the three estates-the clergy and the nobility were tax exempt, the attainment of any such solution was unlikely. Moreover, the outdated rules of order for the Estates-General gave each estate a single vote, despite the fact that the Third Estate consisting of the general French public was many times larger than either of the first two.

Feuds quickly broke out over this disparity and would prove to be irreconcilable. Realizing that its numbers gave it an automatic advantage, the 3rd Estate declared itself the sovereign National Assembly. Within days of the announcement, many members of the other two estates had switched allegiances over to this revolutionary new assembly.

5.3.6 The Bastille and the Great Fear:

Shortly after the National Assembly formed, its members took the Tennis Court Oath, swearing that they would not relent in their efforts until a new constitution had been agreed upon. The National Assembly's revolutionary spirit galvanized France, manifesting in a number of different ways.

In Paris, citizens stormed the city's largest prison, the Bastille, in pursuit of arms. In the countryside, peasants and farmers revolted against their feudal contracts by attacking the manors and estates of their landlords. Dubbed the 'Great Fear,' these rural attacks continued until the early August issuing of the August Decrees, which freed those peasants from their oppressive contracts.

Shortly thereafter, the assembly released the declaration of the Rights of Man and of the citizen, which established a proper judicial code and the autonomy of the French people.

5.3.7 Rifts in the Assembly:

Though the National Assembly did succeed in drafting a constitution, the relative peace of the moment was short lived. A rift slowly grew between the radical and moderate assembly members, while the common laborers and workers began to feel overlooked. When Louis XVI was caught in a foiled escape plot the assembly became especially divided.

The moderate Girondins took a stance in favour of retaining the constitutional

monarchy, while the radical Jacobins wanted the king completely out of the picture. Outside of France, some neighbouring countries feared that France's revolutionary spirit would spread beyond French land.

In response, they issued the 'Declaration of Pillnitz', which insisted that the French return Louis XVI to the throne. French leaders interpreted the declaration as hostile, so the Girondin led assembly declared war on Austria and Prussia.

5.3.8 The Reign of Terror:

The first acts of the newly named National Convention were the abolition of the monarchy and the declaration of France as a republic. In January 1793, the convention tried and executed Louis XVI on the grounds of treason. Despite the creation of the Committee of Public Safety, the war with Austria and Prussia went poorly for France, and foreign forces pressed on into French territory.

Enraged citizens overthrew the Girondin led National Convention, and the Jacobins, led by Maximilien Robespierre, took control. Backed by the newly approved Constitution of 1793, Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety began conscripting French soldiers and implementing laws to stabilize the economy.

For a time, it seemed that France's fortunes might be changing. But Robespierre, growing increasingly paranoid about counterrevolutionary influences, embarked upon a Reign of Terror in late 1793-1794, during which he had more than 15,000 people executed at the guillotine. When the French army successfully removed foreign invaders and the economy finally stabilized, however, Robespierre no longer had any justification for his extreme actions, and he himself was arrested in July 1794 and executed.

5.3.9 Immediate Cause of the Revolution:

The immediate factor which caused the outbreak of the Revolution was the bankruptcy faced by the Government. The heavy expenditure on the army during the Seven Years' War had drained the finances of the country.

France had also helped the American colonies to gain independence from Britain. This added to the already massive Government debt. In order to pay for the cost of

maintaining various Government offices, law courts, universities, the army, etc., the state was forced to raise taxes.

Several able ministers proposed to tax the aristocracy. But the aristocrats were not prepared to pay taxes. In desperation, Louis XVI convened the Estates-General (the French Assembly) on May 5, 1789, so that it would grant him the required amount of money. In the past, voting in the Estates-General had been conducted on the principle that each estate would have one vote.

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The third estate now demanded that voting be conducted by the Estates-General as a whole (with every member having one vote). There were 600 members of the third estate and 300 each of the first and second estates. When Louis XVI rejected the proposal of the third estate, they walked out of the Estates-General. A few weeks later, the third estate declared themselves to be the National Assembly. The decision of the National Assembly to draft a new constitution for France signalled the end of absolute monarchy and the beginning of democracy.

5.4 The Course of the Revolution:

Apart from the National Assembly, the common people of France, inspired by the ideals of liberty and equality, had decided to revolt against injustice. Thousands of people gathered in the streets of Paris on July 14, 1789, and broke into the Bastille, the state prison. They entered the prison and released the prisoners. The Bastille was the symbol of a despotic monarchy. The fall of the Bastille is an important landmark in the history of the

French Revolution. France observed 14th July 1789 as the Independence Day. On August 12, 1789, the National Assembly adopted the "Declaration of the Rights of Man". It declared, "Men are born and remain free and are equal in rights." The drafting of the Constitution was completed by the end of 1791.

In 1792, the French monarchy was abolished and France became a republic upholding the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. A provisional government was set up. In 1793, executive authority passed into the hands of a radical political group called the Jacobins

Their leader was Robespierre. He passed orders to execute thousands of "enemies" of the Republic. During this 'Reign of Terror' thousands of innocent people were also guillotined on the suspicion of treason. King Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette were also guillotined (1793) as traitors.

The execution of Emperor Louis XVI and his Queen came as a rude shock to the monarchical countries of Europe. The European powers formed a coalition against France (1793). In France, after the death of Robespierre, the moderate leaders gained ground. A Directory comprising five directors exercised power (1795-1799). During this period France went through great turmoil due to lack of efficient governance.

The Directors depended on the military genius of Napoleon to fight the European coalition and earn the confidence of the people. Finding himself popular, Napoleon overthrew the Directory. In December 1804, Napoleon declared, himself the "Emperor of the French". The legal veil of republicanism was dropped.

5.5 Impact or Significance of the French Revolution:

The French Revolution may be recognised as the most important event of modern European life till 1914. In view of results, it may be contrasted with the reformation of the 16th century and the crusades of the 17th century. It destroyed the vestige of old system in the fields of the politics, economy, social life and thoughts, diplomacy and war. The French Revolution originated a new ideology in respect of politics and society and presented a fresh, novel outlook towards life.

It kindled imagination and thoughts in the majority of people, cultivated matchless enthusiasm in them and infused immense hopes in them. French Revolution was not a local event. It influenced not only the French public but left an indelible impression on Europe and the entire world. German philosopher, Kant termed it as the 'victory of wisdom'.

Thinkers like Hegel planted trees to commemorate the Revolution. After the fall of Bastille, students danced with great delight on the roads of St. Petersburg. Thinking about the revolution, the English poet Wordsworth became enthralled and regretted for not being young and a French.

5.5. 1. Important Role in the Success of Greek Independence:

It is not easy to evaluate the influence of French Revolution on the world. French Revolution played an important role in the success of Greek independence (1830), because the struggle for Greek independence derived strength from the ideals of French Revolution. Napoleon played a significant role in the unification of Italy.

The principle of liberty of French Revolution infused the spirit of unity among the Italians. Napoleon paved the way for the unification of Germany by making an end of the Holy Roman Empire. The vast effect of French Revolution did not spare England also.

5.5. 2 Feudal Prerogatives could not Flourish Again and the Church could not Revive its Bygone Glory:

The first republic of France lasted a few years only and anyone may deduce from it that revolution was a fiasco. Although France retrieved monarchy, it sustained good objectives of the revolution. Feudal prerogatives could not flourish again and the Church could not revive its bygone glory which it enjoyed during the old governing system. Government was run efficaciously and the condition of farmers improved considerably.

Jurisdiction of law increased. Taxation was made more rational. In this way, French Revolution planted the sapling of modern age in the graveyard of medieval system.

5.5. 3 French Revolution was a Fountain of all Modern Thoughts:

The French Revolution was a fountain of all modern thoughts. The revolution laid

the foundation of liberal democratic and progressive outlook of modern life. It played a remarkable role in the making of modern age in Europe and familiarized the common people with the spirit of freedom, equality and democracy.

5.5. 4. French Revolution Rejuvenated the Political, Social, Religious and Economic Systems of France:

The French Revolution rejuvenated the political, social, religious and economic systems of France. The French Revolution was not merely a national event, yet its doctrines, liberty, equality and fraternity rent the entire Europe. Hence it is said that French Revolution was the movement of international importance.

It was the French Revolution which converted French history into the history of Europe and the national hero of France, Napoleon got a golden chance of becoming the hero of Europe. John Hall Stewart has described the immense significance of revolution, as 'the consequences of the French Revolution have been so far reaching that in case of their satisfactory evaluation, they would encompass the entire French history' and that of Europe from 1789 onwards. It was often said that, 'When France catches cold, all Europe sneezes'.

5.5. 5. French Revolution Put an End to the Old System:

The French Revolution put an end to the old system. Before the Revolution, feudal barons exploited farmers and middle-classes on account of their prerogatives. French Revolution gave relief to common people by revoking special rights of a few persons.

It was the great impact of French Revolution that the process of eliminating the old system also started in other countries of Europe. Consequently, the privileged classes could not retain their high prestige and the common people got relief. But we should not ignore the fact that the aristocratic families still enjoyed dominance in the reorganized local government because of their extensive experience of local administration.

In 1795, many expatriates came back to France. Napoleon selected his perfects from those families whose members were appointed as regional governors during the reign of Bourbon dynasty.

In the same way, the special rights of the Church were curtailed and the income earned from the tithe came to an end. But in spite of the great efforts made by the Jacobins to reduce the impact of Christianity, the influence of the Church could not be washed out of the minds of common people.

5.5. 6 Agricultural Reforms were carried out with Great Enthusiasm:

After the Revolution, the agricultural reforms were carried out with great enthusiasm. At the time of revolution, farmers snatched land from their lords, officers and religious heads and cultivated it themselves. With the strength generated by the revolution, France soon became a nation of prosperous farmers.

French Revolution made an end of serfdom and tyranny related to it. Farmers enjoyed such individual freedom that they had never dreamt of. The serfdom had been eradicated in Spain, Italy and elsewhere. In 1848, serfdom came to an end in Germany. Russia was compelled to free its serfs in 1861.

5.5. 7. Declaration of Human Rights:

The 'Declaration of Human Rights' made by the National Convention put much emphasis on the fact that 'Absolute sovereignty' is vested in the public and law is the expression of the will of common people. It was stressed that the country should be governed for the maximum welfare of the people.

It is true there had been many rulers prior to French Revolution who realized the necessity of improving the condition of the public, but their outlook did not last forever not did it flourish in entire Europe. French Revolution claimed that the public should govern themselves and the rule should not be over people but people too should rule the country. That ideology extended its roots gradually in entire Europe.

5.5. 8. French Revolution Introduced Pivotal Principles-Liberty, Equality and Fraternity:

Not only of France but also for the history of entire human society, French Revolution introduced certain pivotal principles which gained much popularity. Those principles were- liberty, equality and fraternity. It was the natural outcome of democratic concept that

public liberty dawned for the first time in France.

That liberty was interpreted as the protection of the right to property, to religious freedom, as well as the freedom of movement and freedom of speech and expression. Among the rules and governing systems that were enacted during the period of Revolution, public liberty was given a very prominent position.

In consequence of Napoleon's victories, the principle of public liberty was introduced in countries like Italy, Holland etc. and the freedom of press was established. In the ensuing period liberty became a universal practice. Efforts were made to achieve not only individual freedom but political freedom also. It was demanded by the common masses that legislative bodies having minimum privileges should be elected. In that matter, England led the way and France followed her.

The principle of equality is complementary to that of liberty. It was the French Revolution which promulgated the principle that everybody is equal before the law and it rejected the privileges based on wealth. It was accepted in principle that appointments on government posts should be made on the basis of qualification and proficiency. The right of education for every one became valid.

The principle of fraternity was connected with patriotism. It involved the thinking that citizens of a country are bound firmly with each other in order to build a nation and the future of the nation is shaped by means of their combined efforts.

5.5. 9 New Trends and Attitudes Generated by the French Revolution:

Among new trends and attitudes generated by the French Revolution, the spirit of nationality is the most prominent one. There should be a separate state for those who are identical in religion, language, race, social practices and historical traditions. This principle is a significant and prime contribution of French Revolution.

The slogan 'Hail the nation' rent entire France. When the French republic was overcast with danger, the slogan 'Father-land is in danger' infused the spirit of nationality in people and inspired France to put a tough fight against the enemies. With exceptional success, France fought against the combined forces of those rulers who supported autocracy in entire Europe and the spirit of nationality was the underlying reason for that performance.

Wherever Napoleon invaded, he used to say, 'I am fighting a war to redeem nations from the atrocities of despots'. The citizens of Spain and Portugal drove Napoleon away since they were brimming over with the spirit of nationality. The war in which Napoleon met the humiliation of defeat is called the war of nations. Unification of the states of Germany and Italy and the national movement of Balkan states were the exemplary incidents which had been charged by the principles of nationality.

5.5. 10 French Revolution Paved the Way for Socialism:

French Revolution paved the way for socialism. Revolutionaries craved for political, economic and social equality. The idea of the sanctity of property was shaken when the government seized the property of expatriates. End of serfdom and feudalism, abolition of privileges assigned to the Church and feudal barons, equality of law, no imprisonment for the debtors, dominance of farmers over the Churchland all these dominant factors contributed to prepare the background for socialism. Afflicted people of other countries were treated like brothers by revolutionaries. Thus they paved the way for Karl Marx by raising the slogan of fraternity.

The rulers of Europe turned reactionaries after the end of Revolution. After Napoleon's decline, the rulers of Europe took every decision on national and international stage after contemplating the dangers of Revolution. The decisions relating to Vienna Congress (1814) were taken after considering the facts that revolution should not break out again and France should not become a powerful nation.

Therefore, the history of Europe from 1815, to 1848, is known as an 'Era of Reaction'. On the whole, it may be concluded without dispute that France and Europe underwent a great change after the end of French Revolution.

5.6. Lets sum up

The French Revolution was a watershed event in modern European history that began in 1789 and ended in the late 1790s with the ascent of Napoleon Bonaparte. During this period, French citizens razed and redesigned their country's political landscape, uprooting centuries-old institutions such as absolute monarchy and the feudal system. The upheaval was caused by widespread discontent with the French monarchy and the poor

economic policies of King Louis XVI, who met his death by guillotine, as did his wife Marie Antoinette. Although it failed to achieve all of its goals and at times degenerated into a chaotic bloodbath, the French Revolution played a critical role in shaping modern nations by showing the world the power inherent in the will of the people.

5.7 Glossary

- Louis XVI- was the last King of France before the fall of the monarchy during the French Revolution.
- Marie Antoinette Marie Antoinette was the last Queen of France before the French Revolution
- Seven Years' War- The Seven Years' War was a global conflict fought between 1756 and 1763. It involved every European great power of the time and spanned five continents, affecting Europe, the Americas, West Africa, India, and the Philippines.
- Robespierre - Robespierre was a French lawyer and politician, as well as one of the best known and most influential figures associated with the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror. As a member of the Estates-General, the Constituent Assembly and the Jacobin Club
- Voltaire- Voltaire was a French Enlightenment writer, historian and philosopher famous for his wit, his attacks on the established Catholic Church and Christianity as a whole and his advocacy of freedom of religion, freedom of speech and separation of church and state.
- Rousseau- Rousseau was a Geneva philosopher, writer, and composer of the 18th century, mainly active in France. His political philosophy influenced the Enlightenment across Europe, as well as aspects of the French Revolution and the overall development of modern political and educational thought
- Montesquieu -Montesquieu generally referred to as simply Montesquieu, was a French judge, man of letters, and political philosopher. He is famous for his articulation of the theory of separation of powers, which is implemented in many

constitutions throughout the world.

- **Social Contract-** The Social Contract, originally published as *On the Social Contract*; or, *Principles of Political Rights* by Rousseau, is a 1762 book in which Rousseau theorized about the best way to establish a political community in the face of the problems of commercial society. In both moral and political philosophy, the social contract is a theory or model that originated during the Age of Enlightenment. Usually, the social contract concerns the origin of society and the legitimacy of the authority of the state over the individual.

5.8 Check yours progress

- 1. What was the political condition of France on the eve of the French Revolution?**

- 2. How the Philosophers were responsible for the French Revolution?**

- 3. What happened to King Louis XVI after the French Revolution?**

- 4. What was the immediate cause of the French Revolution?**

5.9 Self Assessment questions

1. Discuss the importance of French Revolution in world History
2. What were the Causes of French Revolution?
3. Write a short note on the course of the French Revolution
4. What was the immediate cause of the French Revolution?
5. Describe the significance of French Revolution

5.10 Suggested Further Reading

1. Will Durant and Ariel Durant "The story of civilization" MJF Books, 1993
2. Norman Lowe, "Mastering Modern World History" Palgrave Publication, 1998
3. Arjun Dev and Indira Arjun Dev "The History of Modern World", Oriental Publication 2001
4. Jain and Mathur , " Modern World History", Bookman Publication , 1998

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Mr. Kashab Kumar

STRUCTURE

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Objectives
- 6.3 The National Assembly (1789-91) and its Achievements
 - 6.3.1 Abolition of exploitative Agencies
 - 6.3.2 Declaration of Rights
 - 6.3.3 Uniform system of Administration
 - 6.3.4 Deal with the problem of Finance
 - 6.3.5 Religious reforms
 - 6.3.6 New Constitution
 - 6.3.7 Estimate of its working
- 6.4 Lets us Sum up
- 6.5 Glossary
- 6.6 Check you Progress

6.7 Self Assessment Questions

6.8 Suggested Further Readings

6.1 Introduction

In last chapter we have discussed French Revolution in detail and its impact. The National Assembly styled itself the **Constituent Assembly**. It drew up the **Declaration of the Rights of Man**. The new constitution drafted by the Constituent Assembly provided for a limited monarchy to France. The titles of the nobles were abolished and Judiciary was remodelled. The method of torture was abolished. New central and local courts were established. Judges were to be elected. Drastic action was also taken against the church. Absolute religious toleration was proclaimed. The collection of **tithes** by the church was abolished. Then, measures were taken for the nationalization of church properties. After drafting the new constitution, the National Assembly dissolved itself in 1791.

6.2 Objectives After going through this unit you will be able:-

- a. To describe the events that led to the formation of National Assembly
- b. To understand the aims of National Assembly
- c. To discuss the working of National Assembly
- d. To analyze the achievements of National Assembly

6.3 The National Assembly (1789-91) and its Achievements

The most important work of the National Assembly was the abolition of feudalism, serfdom and class privileges. On 4 August 1789, one of the nobles, who was a relative of Lafayette, stated in the Assembly that one of the reasons of the attack of the peasants on the nobility and their property was the prevalence of inequality based on injustice.

He maintained that the remedy was not to repress the peasants but to end inequality which was the root cause of the trouble. A resolution was moved and passed that there should be equality of taxes

6.3.1 Abolition of exploitative Agencies

The most important work of the National Assembly was the abolition of feudalism, serfdom and class privileges. On 4 August 1789, one of the nobles, who was a relative of Lafayette, stated in the Assembly that one of the reasons of the attack of the peasants on the nobility and their property was the prevalence of inequality based on injustice. He maintained that the remedy was not to repress the peasants but to end inequality which was the root cause of the trouble. A resolution was moved and passed that there should be equality of taxes.

Then nobles competed with nobles and clergymen with clergymen in giving up their rights and privileges. It was in this atmosphere that the game laws were repealed, manorial courts were suppressed and serfdom was abolished. The clergymen gave up the tithes and other privileges. Sale of offices was to be discontinued. In short, all the special privileges of classes, cities and provinces were swept away.

All this happened throughout the night of 4 August 1789. All the separate measures were consolidated and thus the feudal system was abolished in the country. What could not be done by Turgot and Necker was accomplished by the National Assembly. Critics point out that the privileged classes did not show any spirit of sacrifice while giving up their privileges.

The people had already helped themselves by destroying all documents of title of the nobles. The privileged classes had already lost their privileges as a result of the action of the peasants themselves. On the suggestion of Archbishop of Paris, Louis XVI was officially proclaimed by the National Assembly as 'Restorer of French Liberty.'

In a revolution enthusiasm must be provoked, and words which make heart vibrate must be pronounced. The fact that the nobility, the clergy and the privileged persons of every kind had recognised during that night's sitting the progress of the Revolution, that they decided to submit to it instead of taking up arms against it-this fact by itself was already a conquest of the human mind.

It was all the greater as the renunciation was made with enthusiasm. It is true that it was done in the light of the burning chateaux, but how many times had that same light

merely provoked in the privileged classes an obstinate resistance, and led to hatred and massacre! That night in August those distant flames inspired other words-words of sympathy for the rebels and other acts-acts of conciliation.

"Ever since July 14, the spirit of the Revolution, born of the ferment which was working through the whole of France, was hovering over everything that lived and felt, and this spirit, created by millions of wills, gave the inspiration that we lack in ordinary times.

"But having pointed out the effects of the enthusiasm which only a revolution could inspire, the historian must also consider calmly how far all this enthusiasm did actually go, and what was the limit it dared not pass; he must point out what it gave the people and what it refused to grant them.

Well, that limit can be indicated in very few words. The Assembly only sanctioned in principle and extended to France altogether what the people had accomplished themselves in certain localities. It went no further."

Goodwin says, "The surrender of their feudal rights and fiscal immunities by the aristocracy and clergy on the night of 4th August was not, therefore, the product of spontaneous generosity. Fear, calculation and suspicion inspired the action of many deputies and the famous session was a parliamentary manoeuvre planned by a radical 'cave' in the Breton club on the previous day. The plot was that the partial surrender of feudal privileges should be proposed by members of the liberal nobility at an evening meeting, at which, it was hoped, opponents of the measure would not be present.

The initiative was left to the duke d'Aiguillon, whose example as one of the largest landed proprietors in the country would, it was thought, sway the attitude of the more conservative provincial nobility. In fact, d'Aiguillon's motion was anticipated by the viscount de Noailles, who proposed that the Assembly should decree complete fiscal equality and the redemption of all feudal dues, except those involving personal servitude.

The latter, he suggested, should be abolished outright. This motion and not d'Aiguillon's passed the Assembly and set the tone of the unprecedented sacrifices which followed. In a mounting spirit of patriotic enthusiasm the representatives of privilege came forward to propose the admission of all citizens to public office and the abolition of feudal

jurisdictions, exclusive hunting rights and the purchase of judicial and other offices.

Even more impressive and dramatic, according to Dumont, who was an eye-witness of the scene, was the surrender of all municipal, corporate and provincial privileges, proposed by the representatives from Dauphine. The proceedings closed with a loyal address to the King, conferring on him the title of 'Restorer of French Liberty.'

"In their enthusiasm, however, the members of the National Assembly had overshot the mark, and cooler reflection on the part of the nobility prompted them later to restrict and even to contest some of these sacrifices. The result was that when the decisions of principle were cast in legislative form between 5th and 11th August, middle-class conservatism and legal caution preserved many features of the feudal regime, which had been over-hastily condemned on the night of 4th August. In this way, the 'St. Bartholomew of privilege' came to be a misnomer.

Though the ancient regime had been dismantled, the declaration of the Assembly that 'the feudal regime had been entirely destroyed' was misleading. In the final draft, ecclesiastical tithes were abolished, but the most onerous of the feudal dues-those of a contractual nature-were made subject to redemption. Until they were redeemed, on terms which were left for settlement at a later stage, they were to be levied as before. The disillusionment of the peasants was complete and when the king refused his sanction to this limited social revolution the Assembly found itself in a quandary."

6.3.2 Declaration of Rights

Another important achievement of the National Assembly was the Declaration of the Rights of Man on 27 August. This document reflected the spirit of Rousseau's philosophy and incorporated some of the provisions from the constitutional laws of England and the U.S.A. It became the platform of the French Revolution and influenced the political thought during the 19th and 20th centuries.

It states that "the representatives of the French people, constituted as a National Assembly, believing that ignorance, forgetfulness or contempt of the rights of man are the only causes of public misfortunes and of the corruption of governments, have resolved to

set forth in a solemn declaration, the natural, inalienable and sacred rights of man; in order that this declaration being constantly before all members of the social body may always recall to them their rights and their duties; in order that the acts of the legislative and executive powers being constantly capable of comparison with the objects of all political institutions may on that account be the most respected; in order that the demands of citizens being founded henceforth on simple and incontestable principles may be always directed to the maintenance of the constitution and the happiness of all."

The following Rights of Man and the Citizen were declared by the National Assembly:

- (i) Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinction can only be founded on public utility.
- (ii) The aim of every political association is the reservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression.
- (iii) Liberty consists in being allowed to do whatever does not injure other people.
- (iv) The free communication of thought and opinion is one of the most precious rights of man.
- (v) No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law.
- (vi) Since private property is an invaluable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived thereof except where public necessity, legally determined, clearly demanded, and then only on condition that the owner shall have been previously and equitably indemnified.
- (vii) Law is the expression of the general will. All citizens have the right to take part personally or through their representatives in its formation.
- (viii) Sovereignty resides in the nation and no body or individual can exercise authority if it does not take its origin from the nation.

- (ix) The people have the right to control the finances of the country.
- (x) All officials of the State are responsible to the people.

The view of Lord Acton was that the Declaration of Rights of Man was "stronger than all the armies of Napoleon." For a quarter of a century, it was the watch-word and the charter of all the reformers and revolutionaries of Europe. While the British Parliament in its Declaration of Right enunciated simply the historic and legal rights of Englishmen against the Crown, France based her action on universal principles and in her declaration made herself the spokesman of the human race.

While the English Revolution appeared to foreigners simply a business-like and successful re-arrangement of the constitution, the French Revolution gave a new starting point for the hopes and efforts of all races and nations. However, it cannot be denied that several of its theoretical provisions were ignored or revised in the constitutional legislation of the National Assembly. It did not explicitly formulate all the fundamental opinions of the Deputies. It made no reference to economic theories.

A number of its provisions were more concerned with practical realities than with absolute theoretical rights. The latent promise of its basic articles enlisted innumerable recruits and adherents to the revolutionary cause from all ranks of the commoners. The declaration was the death certificate of the old regime and contained the promise of a new life for France. It represented a thorough indictment of the old order and a statement of the general principles upon which the new was to be built.

According to David Thomson, "It was, first, a Declaration-a manifesto and a statement of the general principles on which the National Assembly hoped to reform the French system of government. It was, secondly, a Declaration of Rights-not a Declaration of Duties. It was an assertion of the new claims and a statement of the political, constitutional, and social rights that its framers held to be essential for making a better regime.

It was, thirdly, a Declaration of the Rights of Man-a statement intended to have a universal application and which certainly had very far-reaching implications. It was drawn up not for France alone, but for the benefit of men everywhere who wanted to be free and to rid themselves of comparable burdens of absolutist monarchy and feudal privileges. The

universalism of the original French Revolution was to be of great importance.

It was, finally and fully, a Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, and although the last three words of its title are often omitted they are among its most important. It was careful to specify those civil rights that most concretely expressed the immediate aims of the middle classes which now predominated in the Assembly; equality of all before the law, eligibility of all citizens for all public offices, personal freedom from arbitrary arrest or punishment, freedom of speech and the Press, and above all an equitable distribution of the burdens of national taxation and the inviolability of private property.

These claims it founded on the two general doctrines that 'the principle of all sovereignty rests essentially in the nation,' and that 'law is the expression of the general will.' These doctrines-intended to be universal in application- would clearly, if accepted, destroy the very foundations of the old order of society and disrupt the State everywhere in Europe. This was the inherent challenge of events in France to every one of her neighbours, including Britain. One French historian has called the Declaration 'the death certificate of the old regime.' It certainly remained a charter of liberalism throughout the nineteenth century.

"Even so, the Declaration is less abstract and most realistic than it might appear at first. Its omissions, as a manifesto of liberalism, are significant. It made no mention of freedom of economic enterprise or of trade, so dear to its bourgeois makers because the older order had already in recent years suppressed the guilds and removed controls on the grain trade; it said nothing of rights of assembly and association, nor of education or social security, although many were aware of how important these were, for these matters were less relevant to the immediate tasks of destroying the old regime.

Although it tried to be universal it did not set out to be comprehensive. It deliberately omitted any Declaration of Duties, an omission not remedied until 1795. Its most liberal principles were stated cautiously. Exercise of natural rights is limited by the need to assure enjoyment of the same rights for others. 'Law may rightfully prohibit only those actions that are injurious to society.' Freedom of opinion is limited by the provision that it must not trouble public order as established by law, and that it must not be abused. Even the sanctity of property is subject to an 'obvious requirement of public necessity'."

The Declaration has been described as "the most remarkable fact in the history of the growth of democratic and republican ideas" in France, "the gospel of modern times."

The Rights of 1789 are certainly not 'natural' in a sense implying that all human society not in conformity with them must be considered 'unnatural': but they are 'natural' to us, in the sense that without them our own civilization could not exist, and we ourselves could not live. Every government in France from 1789 onwards has had to give fuller recognition and guarantees to the principles of the Declaration.

It was the inspiration of all those peoples who in the nineteenth century rose against despotism and set up their own constitutional governments. All our civil and penal legislation is descended from the Rights of 1789.

Oppressed nations, in gaining independence, have found in them moral justification for their efforts. Today the masses still invoke the same principles of equality and freedom, which, having served as weapons in the struggle that put an end to feudalism, have passed now into other hands and have become an installment of yet wider change.

"It must not be thought that the social conflicts of today have been produced by the Declaration of 1789. Many other factors have contributed to them the great factories and workshops where the proletariat learns, through the close contacts of common work, to be aware of its own social function and its numerical strength; the complexity and delicacy of our modern economic structure, which causes a crisis at one point to dislocate all the rest; education and the press, both of which spread the ferment of thought into ever wider fields; and the franchise, through which the un-propertied classes can control their governments-all these have created a lack of equilibrium in modern life, prompting men to react against the traditional system of private ownership. But the proletariat is assisted in its struggle today by the same principles that upheld the bourgeoisie of 1789 and which they asserted to be primitive, absolute and common to all men; and the bourgeoisie can never now set them aside unless it wishes to bring the functioning of the social order to a standstill; unless, in fear of death, it wants to commit suicide.

The class war, as Faguet rightly observes, had existed even before the Revolution; but at that time the commons had not had, at their service, 'a general ideal, a kind of

dogma, that justified and consecrated the struggle, which was one of strength against strength, of attempts on the part of the weak to support one another against the strong.' Today this is no longer. 'The Revolution' by proclaiming the dogma of equality, has given the class struggle not so much a reason for existing, as a reason for proclaiming that it exists by right, and a reason for appearing to have right on its side."

"The same may be said of all the other great national, constitutional and legislative achievements of the nineteenth century; they have not sprung directly from the Declaration of Rights, for they are a necessary product of the modern social order. But in the Rights of 1789 they have found their theoretic justification; they have found a time-honoured system of ideas within which they themselves could be incorporated. If this is metaphysics, then all history is metaphysics."

6.3.3 Uniform system of Administration

The National Assembly set up a uniform system of administration all over the country. The old provinces, governments, intendancies, pays d'etat, pays d'election, parliaments and bailliages were abolished. The country was divided afresh into 83 departments. These departments were uniform in size and population and were named after natural features such as rivers or mountains. Each department was divided into cantons and communes.

The heads of the local divisions were to be elected by the people and not nominated by the executive. Provision was made for local councils which were to be elected by the people. A new system of courts was provided for the country. The judges of these courts were to be elected by the people. Attempts were also made to simplify and unify the legal system of the country but the work could not be accomplished till the time of Napoleon as first Consul.

6.3.4 Deal with the problem of Finance

The National Assembly also tried to tackle the problem of finance. The State treasury was practically empty and no wonder the Assembly resorted to extreme measures to meet the situation. In November 1789, the Church property in France was confiscated. That property was valued at many hundred million dollars. With Church property as security

the National Assembly issued paper currency known as Assignats. Paper money works well so long as too much use of the printing press is not permitted.

The paper currency must be kept within reasonable limits. However, the natural temptation of printing more paper currency and thereby adding to the revenue of the State could not be checked by the National Assembly and consequently by 1791, inflation was already well under way. This process was continued in the succeeding years and consequently the whole of the paper currency had to be cancelled during the Directory.

It is true that the issuing of Assignats tackled the financial problem for the time being, but otherwise the issuing of Assignats was one of the sorriest chapters of the French Revolution. Prof. Salvemini says, "Of all the Assembly measures; the issue of the assignats was one that most contributed towards consolidating the new regime and preventing any form of counter-revolution. The assignats were, in fact, a paper currency based not on gold but on the security of Church lands.

Should a counter-revolution enable the clergy to recover their possession, the assignats would lose their guarantee, therefore their fate depended upon that of the Revolution. Whoever accepted an assignat-and everyone had to accept them, since they were legal tender-was committed to the revolutionary cause, if he did not want his money to become worthless through a return to feudal and ecclesiastical rule."

6.3.5 Religious reforms

The National Assembly dealt with the Church in France. Church property was confiscated in November 1789. In February 1790, the monasteries and other religious communities were suppressed. In April 1790, absolute religious toleration was proclaimed. In July 1790, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was enacted. The number of bishops and priests was reduced and they were made a civil body.

They were to be elected by the people and paid by the State. Their association with the Pope was to be merely nominal. In December 1790, a decree was passed by which all Catholic clergymen were required to take a solemn oath of allegiance to the Civil Constitution. As was to be expected, the Pope condemned the Civil Constitution and asked the clergymen in France not to take the oath to the Civil Constitution. The result was that the clergymen in France were divided into two groups.

Those who took the oath were called the juring clergy and those who did not take necessary oath were called the non-juring clergy. Up to that time, a large number of clergymen belonging to the lower strata had sympathized with the course of the French Revolution, but after that they became opposed to it. It was only a small minority of clergymen who took the oath of allegiance to the Civil Constitution.

The seeds of division were sown throughout the country and they produced an actual civil war before long. The king who had accepted the revolution with hesitation now found himself in a decided opposition to it. The religious fiber in his nature was very strong. He gave his signatures, to the church laws on account of the fear of the storm of opposition which his veto might have created, but the denunciation by the Pope made him profoundly uneasy.

He wrote thus, "I ask God to accept my profound repentance for having affixed my name, though against my will, to acts which are in conflict with the discipline and the belief of the Catholic Church". The church legislation was one of the important causes which impelled the king to run away from Paris with all the disastrous consequences.

6.3.6 New Constitution

The National Assembly framed a new constitution for France and that is why it is also known as the Constituent Assembly. This constitution was completed in 1791 and after the signatures of the king became the law of the country. It was the first written constitution of France. It was based on the principle of separation of powers which was propounded by Montesquieu and embodied in the American Constitution of 1787. The legislature, judiciary and executive were separated from one another and separate departments were set up for each one of them.

The legislative authority was vested in one Chamber called the Legislative Assembly. Its members numbering 745 were to be chosen by a system of indirect election for 2 years. The right of voting was to be exercised only by "active" citizens, i.e., those citizens who paid taxes. Only those persons were to be elected as members of the Legislative Assembly who had a certain amount of property. The prescribing of the property qualification showed that the National Assembly was dominated by the bourgeoisie or the middle-class.

Nominally, the executive authority in the State was to vest in the king whose office was to be hereditary. The king was given the power of suspensive veto by which he could postpone the execution of an Act of the legislature. However, he was deprived of all the control over local government, the clergy, the navy and the army. His ministers were not to sit in the Legislative Assembly.

The judicial system was completely revolutionized. Formerly, the judges used to buy their positions which carried with them titles and privileges. They had also the right to pass on those positions to their sons. All that was abolished. In future, all judges were to be elected. Their terms of office were to vary from 2 to 4 years. Jury system was introduced in criminal cases.

Prof Hazen says, "The Constitution of 1791 represented an improvement in French government; yet it did not work well and did not last long. As a first experiment in the art of self-government it had its value, but it revealed inexperience and poor judgment in several points which prepared trouble for the future. The executive and the legislature were so sharply separated that communication between them was difficult and suspension was consequently easily fostered.

The king might not select his ministers from the legislature; he might not, in case of a difference of opinion with the legislature, dissolve the latter, as the English king could do, thus allowing the voters to decide between them. The king's veto was not a weapon strong enough to protect him from the attacks of the legislature yet it was enough to irritate the legislature, if used. The distinction between active and passive citizens was in plain and flagrant defiance of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and inevitably created a discontented class.

The administrative decentralization was so complete that the efficiency of the national government was gone. France was split up into eighty-three fragments and the co-ordination of all these units, their direction towards great national ends in response to the will of the nation as a whole, was rendered extremely difficult, and in certain cases impossible."

6.3.7 Estimate of its Work:

A survey of the work of the National Assembly shows that it destroyed the pillars of the Ancient Regime. It destroyed feudalism. It destroyed the old forms of government. It destroyed the old financial system. It destroyed the old judicial system. It made

revolutionary changes in the Church of the country. However, in addition to all this destruction, attempts were made to give France a simple system of administration in which the people had a hand.

All this was achieved not only by the efforts of the National Assembly but also by the efforts of all those peasants who revolted on the country-side, destroyed the villas and documents of title of the nobles, killed the nobles and clergymen and thereby struck terror into the hearts of the privileged classes and completely demoralised them.

Critics point out that the National Assembly opened the way to mob rule. It put forward dangerous theories. It created a division in the country on the question of religion. It made the mistake of separating the legislature from the executive. It foolishly passed a law by which the members of the National Assembly were debarred from election to the new legislature under the new constitution. No wonder, much of its work was undone later on. However, some of it remained permanent and became the source of inspiration for the people of the Europe and the world.

The Constituent Assembly secured the unity of France. It set up a new political structure. It let loose the energy of the people and made an honest attempt to inaugurate a common system of laws and an equitable division of burdens. It created a civil and social revolution. It established in the will of the people a new criterion of public policy. It proclaimed a new gospel of the personal dignity of the common man for the whole world.

It is interesting to note that although the laws passed by the Constituent Assembly appear to be purely domestic in character, they actually affected the foreign relations of France. The abolition of feudalism took away the feudal dues from the German subjects who possessed landed properties within the French frontiers.

The religious legislation of the Assembly deprived the Bishops of Cologne and Mainz of tithes which they had hitherto received from French subjects. The reorganisation of the Bishoprics of France took from their obedience parishes and districts which had long been theirs. These questions created friction between France and her German subjects and the Empire championed the claims of the Germans who considered themselves to be aggrieved.

Flight of the King (September 1791):

Before the National Assembly finished its work on 30 September, 1791, a very important event had taken place in France and that was the attempted flight of the king from the country. Louis XVI had been dragged from Versailles to Paris by the mob. He was living in the Tuileries in retirement and it was only on certain occasions that he was asked to appear by the National Assembly.

The king felt that he was practically a prisoner in the hands of the Parisian mob. After the death of Mirabeau, he lost all support. The new constitution framed by the National assembly deprived him practically of all powers. He felt that it was impossible for him to continue in that unbearable position.

He is stated to have remarked "I would rather be king of Metz than remain King of France in such a position, but this will end soon." A plan was made for running away from France to Austria. The members of the royal family disguised themselves and left their residence in secret. If the royal party had been cautious and also made a determined effort to reach the frontier as quickly as possible unmindful of the inconvenience, there was every possibility of their escape.

However, the royal party was captured when it was still 20 miles away from the frontier. It was brought back to Paris under very humiliating circumstances. The unsuccessful flight of the king had very serious consequences. It clearly showed that the king did not approve of the revolution from his heart and was also an enemy of the constitution. Men like Robespierre and Danton demanded that kingship should be abolished and a republic established in its place.

However, the constitutional monarchists still had their majority in the National Assembly and consequently no action was taken against the king. The king took an oath to support the constitution and the matter rested there. It was under these circumstances that the National Assembly dissolved itself on 30 September, 1791.

The Constitution of 1795 framed by the National Convention vested the executive authority in France in a committee of five Directors known as the Directory. The Directory was in power in France for four years (1795-99) when it was overthrown by General Napoleon.

The Directors were men of mediocre talents and did not hesitate to practise bribery and corruption. They failed to rise to the occasion and could not tackle the problems facing the country.

6.4 Lets sum up

The National Convention at last took up its long neglected task of framing of a constitution for the French Republic. The executive was entrusted to a Directory, consisting of five members. The legislative power was entrusted to two houses called the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of the Ancients. Napoleon Bonaparte was then at Paris and he was entrusted with the task of defending the Convention against the Parisian mob. He dispersed the mob and saved the Convention and began his brilliant career. On October 26, 1795 the convention declared itself dissolved and the Directory took charge of the French government.

6.5 Glossary

- Directory- Directory, group of five men who held the executive power in France according to the constitution of the year (1795) of the French Revolution. They were chosen by the new legislature, by the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of Ancients; each year one director, chosen by lot, was to be replaced.
- Council of Ancient- The Council of Ancients or Council of Elders was the upper house of French legislature under the Constitution of the Year III, during the period commonly known as the Directory
- Council of Five Hundreds The Council of Five Hundred or simply the Five Hundred, was the lower house of the legislature of France under the Constitution of the Year-
- French Revolution The French Revolution was a period of far-reaching social and political upheaval in France and its colonies that lasted from 1789 until 1799. It was partially carried forward by Napoleon during the later expansion of the French Empire. The Revolution overthrew the monarchy, established a republic, -
- 'Restorer of French Liberty- owns, provinces, companies, and cities also sacrificed their special privileges. A medal was struck to commemorate the day, and the

Assembly declared Louis XVI the "Restorer of French Liberty." They destroyed aristocratic society from top to bottom, along with its structure of dependencies and privileges.

6.6 Check your progress

- 1. What were different rights declared by the National Assembly ?**

- 2. How the Exploitative agencies were abolished by National Assembly ?**

- 3. What were religious reforms undertaken by the National Assembly ?**

- 4. Write a short note on the Constitution framed by the National Assembly**

6.7 Self Assessment Questions

1. Discuss the progress of National Assembly.
2. How you evaluate the Social Reforms undertaken by National Assembly?
3. Write in brief on Religious Reforms undertaken by the National Assembly.
4. Describe the various highlights of the Constitution framed by the National Assembly

6.8 Suggested Reading

1. Will Durant and Ariel Durant "The story of civilization" MJF Books, 1993
2. Norman Lowe, "Mastering Modern World History" Palgrave Publication, 1998
3. Arjun Dev and Indira Arjun Dev "The History of Modern World", Oriental Publication 2001
4. Jain and Mathur , " Modern World History" , Bookman Publication , 1999

ROLE OF NATIONAL CONVENTION

Mr. Kashab Kumar

STRUCTURE

- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Objectives
- 7.3 Role of National Convention
 - 7.3.1 End of Louis XVI
 - 7.3.2 Foreign Policy
 - 7.3.3 Home policy
 - 7.3. 4 Rise of Nationalism
 - 7.3.5 Codification of Laws
 - 7.3 6 Religious Reforms
 - 7.3 7 Calender
 - 7.3.8 Social reforms
 - 7.3. 9 New Constitution
 - 7.3. 10 Reforms in Higher education

- 7.4 Lets us Sum up
- 7.5 Glossary
- 7.6 Check your Progress
- 7.7 Self Assessment Questions
- 7.8 Suggested Further Readings

7.1 Introduction

As we have discussed earlier about French Revolution and after that first Government of France was known as "The National Convention", following the two-year National Constituent Assembly and the one-year Legislative Assembly. Created after the great insurrection of 10 August 1792, it was the first French government organized as a republic, abandoning the monarchy altogether. The Convention sat as a single-chamber assembly from 20 September 1792 to 26 October 1795.

7.2 Objectives

After going through this unit you will be able:-

- a. To describe the events that led to the formation of National Convention
- b. To understand the aims of National Convention
- c. To discuss the working of National Convention
- d. To analyze the achievements of National Convention

7.3 The Role of National convention

Perhaps no legislative body in history has been called upon to solve such knotty problems as those which confronted the National Convention at the beginning of its session." Something had to be done with the deposed king. The country had to be saved from foreign invasion. Internal insurrection had to be suppressed. A government had to be established. Social reforms had to be completed and consolidated. A new constitution had to be framed for the country. It goes to the credit of the National Convention that it accomplished all these tasks successfully. The role of the National Convention can be

discussed under following points :--

7.3.1 End of Louis XVI

The deposed king was put up for trial and was found unanimously guilty of treason. By a small majority, his immediate death was voted upon. While the Girondists pleaded for leniency, the Jacobins demanded his immediate execution. Ultimately, the king was guillotined on Sunday, January 21, 1793. His last words were "Gentlemen, I am innocent of that of which I am accused. May my blood assure the happiness of the French?"

Louis XVI was the victim of his errors and his weaknesses and those of his royal predecessors. His tragic death placed a halo around him. His long martyrdom in prison which he bore with patience and resignation, his kindness and manly courage and his composure in the face of death, served to palliate a personal mediocrity.

7.3.2 Foreign Policy:

The work of the National Convention may be discussed under two heads: foreign policy and internal policy. As regards foreign policy, a very difficult situation had to be handled. In December 1792, the National Convention issued the following decree "The French nation declares that it will treat as enemies every people who, refusing liberty and equality or renouncing them, may wish to maintain, recall, or treat with a prince, and the privileged classes..." In January 1793, Louis XVI was executed on the ground that he had bribed the members of the National or Constituent Assembly and also written letters to his fellow-monarchs urging them to come to his assistance.

Both on account of the French declaration of war against all the monarchs of Europe and the execution of Louis XVI, Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, Holland, Spain and Sardinia joined hands to crush the revolution in France. It was not an easy task for the French revolutionaries to meet the danger from outside. The Convention met the situation with a firm hand. Under the leadership and supervision of Carnot, a spirit of militarism was infused among Frenchmen.

On January 31, 1793, Danton declared: "The limits of the republic are set by nature herself and those limits we will attain to the four comers of the horizon, to the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees and the Ocean. These must be boundaries of our republic, and no

power on earth shall prevent our reaching them." In February 1793, a compulsory levy of half a million men was ordered. It was enacted in August 1793 that every Frenchman between the ages of 18 and 25 was to render military service.

Carnot drafted men, silenced complaints, got extra volunteers, drilled the troops and hurried them to the frontiers of France to check the invasion. He prepared plans of campaigns, appointed trusted officers and infused in them a new spirit of fighting for the cause of the French Revolution. By the end of 1793, he had 770,000 men under arms and most of them were fanatically attached to the cause of the Revolution. Bourgeois citizens, artisans and peasants backed the action of the Government. They sang the Marseillaise and waved the banner of liberty, equality and fraternity.

The militarism of France was based on the principle of "the nation in arms". Soon the country was not only cleared of foreign troops, but the war was pressed on into the Netherlands, along the Rhine, in Savoy and across the Pyrenees.

The French armies were so much successful that Carnot, who had formerly been given the title of "Organizer of Defence", came to be called by the name of "Organizer of Victory". It is impossible to do justice to the amazing campaigns of 1794 and 1795.

All that need be said is that when the National Convention ended in 1795, the First Coalition against France had been completely smashed. Spain had to humble herself by entering into an alliance with Republican France. By the Treaty of Basle of 1795, the King of Prussia gave France a free hand on the left bank of the Rhine.

William V of Holland was deposed and his territory was transformed into the Republic of Batavia which entered into an alliance with France. French troops got possession of the Austrian Netherlands and the territories of the Rhine. Only Great Britain, Austria and Sardinia remained in arms against the French Republic.

7.3.3 Home Policy:

As regards the home policy of the National Convention, the latter had to face a very difficult situation. A militant spirit had been created among the people and consequently there were riots at many places, e.g., Lyons, Marseilles and Bordeaux. The peasants in La Vendee revolted with a view to restoring monarchy and re-establishing the Catholic Church.

However, all these revolts were crushed with a heavy hand and no dissent was tolerated. In 1793, the National Convention entrusted the supreme executive authority of France to the Committee of Public Safety. This Committee included important personalities like Robespierre, Carnot and St. Just. From 1793 to 1794, there was a virtual Reign of Terror in France. The chief agencies of the Committee of Public Safety were the Committee of General Security and the Revolutionary Tribunal.

By the Law of Suspects, any person who was of noble birth or who had held office before the Revolution or had any relation with an emigre, or who could not produce assigned certificate of citizenship, was liable to be hanged. During this period the guillotine played a very important part. It is estimated that about 5,000 persons were executed in Paris alone during the Reign of Terror.

Among those executed were Marie Antoinette and Madame Rolland although the terror started in Paris, it also spread to the countryside. Local tribunals were established everywhere to search out and condemn suspected persons. Hundreds of persons were put to death at Lyons. At Nantes, Carrier took the victims into the Loire and drowned them. It is estimated that about 15,000 persons perished in the provinces. The militant spirit took a toll of not only innocent persons, but even the perpetrators of the crimes were not spared. The Reign of Terror ended with the death of Danton, St. Just and Robespierre.

7.3.4 Rise of Nationalism

One of the greatest achievements of the National Convention was that it preached the gospel of nationalism to the people. With a view to creating a truly nationalist army, a decree was issued in 1794 by which compulsory military service was prescribed for all able-bodied Frenchmen. The decree stated: "The young men shall go to the battle; the married men shall forge arms and transport provisions; the women shall make tents and clothing, and shall serve in the hospitals, the children shall turn linen into lint: the aged shall betake themselves to the public places in order to rouse the courage of the warriors and preach hatred of the Government and the unity of the Republic." This was the real beginning of militarism on a large scale in Europe.

7.3.5 Codification of Laws

The work of codification of the national laws of the country was also taken in hand and much progress was made in that direction. It was provided that there was to be no imprisonment for debt. There was to be no slavery in French colonies. Women were to have their right to property. The law of primogeniture by which the eldest son got everything and the others nothing, was ended. All children were to have equal shares of the property. A new and uniform system of weights and measures, called the Metric System, was established.

The National Convention also provided that French was to be the only language for purposes of national instruction throughout the country.

7.3.6 Religious Reforms

Certain experiments were made in the field of religion also. The National Convention showed hostility towards the traditional form of Christianity. Clergymen were considered to be suspected persons. Attempts were made to de-Christianise France. Churches were transformed into temples of reasons. Several Catholic bishops and priests gave up Christianity. Under the auspices of the Paris Commune, the atheistic "religion of reason" was inaugurated in the Cathedral of Notre Dame in November 1793.

The deistic cult of the Supreme Being was also introduced. However, after the fall of Robespierre in July 1794, the National Convention took up the attitude that religion was a private affair and it was not the business of the State either to establish or to maintain an official religion. The result was that religious toleration was given to all and many church buildings were restored for Christian worship in 1795.

7.3.7 New Calendar

The National Convention also made changes in the calendar. The year was divided in 12 months and each month was to consist of three weeks of 10 days each. Every tenth day was declared a holiday. The five or six days left over at the end of the year, were to be observed as National Holidays. The names of the months' were changed and the year was to start from 22 September, 1792.

7.3. 8 Social Reforms

The National Convention also made some experiments in the socialist field. The property of the emigres was confiscated. Persons of wealth, clergymen and nobles were all treated as suspects. Large landed estates were broken up and offered for sale in small parcels on easy terms so that the ordinary people may be able to own land. Thus a large number of peasant-proprietors were created. No compensation was to be given to those who were deprived of their lands.

The view of Marat was that "the rich have so long sucked out the marrow of the people that they are now visited with a crushing retribution." Attempts were made to collect money by means of forced loans with a view to keeping down the cost of living.

"The laws of the maximum" were passed which fixed the prices of grains and other necessities of life and rates of wages. It was also provided that everybody was to be addressed as "citizen". There was to be no gradation in society.

7.3.9 New constitution

According to the new constitution, France was to have two chambers a lower house consisting of 500 members and a Council of Ancients consisting of 250 members to examine and enact the laws. The executive authority in the State was entrusted to a Committee of five Directors known as the Directory. The Directors were to be elected by the legislature and they were to appoint the ministers of the State who were to supervise the enforcement of the laws.

7.3.10 Reforms in Higher Education

The National Convention was most successful in its organisation of higher education. Only two war-time establishments, the Ecole de Mars, which was a revolutionary military academy and the Ecole Normale, a training school, ended with the Revolution. The other scientific schools were permanent. The School of Public Works later on called the Polytechnic School was established in 1794 to train civil and military engineers.

A School of Oriental Languages was set up to keep a close contact with the East. In 1793, the Jardin due roi was reorganised and enlarged into the Museum of Natural

History. Its collection was enriched. The most distinguished scientists of France were given subsidies to carry on their researches in its laboratories. Later on, public lectures were given by these savants.

A National Conservatory of Arts and Industries was organised as "a museum and a school for industry." Three schools of medicine were founded in 1794 and they gave theoretical and practical instruction to students who were chosen on a competitive basis.

In place of the old universities and academies, the National Convention set up a National Institute on 25 October 1795. It was divided into three classes: physical and mathematical sciences, moral and political sciences and literature and fine arts. More than 100 distinguished savants were summoned by the Government to make the National Institute "the representative body of the republic of letters."

7.4 Let us Sum up

Thus after reading the above lesson we can easily conclude that National convention played an important role in New France. It not only heralded new reforms in religious field but came with the idea of Social reforms as a whole.

7.5 Glossary

- **Treaty of Basle of 1795- Treaty of Basle (1795)**, an agreement between France and Spain that restored to Spain peninsular territory lost during the Franco-Spanish War (1793-1795) and gave France Santo Domingo.
- **French Revolution-** The French Revolution was a period of far-reaching social and political upheaval in France and its colonies that lasted from 1789 until 1799. It was partially carried forward by Napoleon during the later expansion of the French Empire. The Revolution overthrew the monarchy, established a republic,
- **Religion of Reason-** The Cult of **Reason** was France's first established state sponsored atheistic **religion**, intended as a replacement for Roman Catholicism during the French Revolution. It also rivaled Robespierre's Cult of the Supreme Being.

- **Estate**- an extensive area of land in the country, usually with a large house, owned by one person, family, or organization.
- **Napoleon** -*Napoleon Bonaparte (15 August 1769 - 5 May 1821)* was a French statesman and military leader who rose to prominence during the French Revolution and led several successful campaigns during the French Revolutionary Wars.-

7.6 Check yours progress

1. How the National convention codified laws?

2. Write a short note on Home policy of National convention

3. Do you think that National convention brought Nationalism in France?

4. Write a short note on social reforms undertaken by National convention.

5. How higher education was improvised by National convention?

7.7 Self Assessment Questions.

1. Discuss the progress of National convention.
2. How you evaluate the Social Reforms undertaken by National Convention?
3. Write in brief on Religious Reforms undertaken by the National Convention.
4. Describe the various highlights of the Constitution framed by the National Convention
5. Discuss in detail the reforms undertaken by National convention in Higher Education
6. Write a short note on Home policy of National Convention.

7.8 Suggested Reading

1. Will Durant and Ariel Durant "The story of civilization" MJF Books, 1993
2. Norman Lowe, "Mastering Modern World History" Palgrave Publication, 1998
3. Arjun Dev and Indira Arjun Dev "The History of Modern World", Oriental Publication 2001
4. Jain and Mathur , " Modern World History", Bookman Publication , 1998

WORKS OF NAPOLEON AS FIRST COUNSEL**Mr. Kashab Kumar****STRUCTURE**

- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Objectives
- 8.3 Works of Napoleon as First Counsel
 - 8.3.1 Equality
 - 8.3.2 Beatification and Art
 - 8.3.3 Legion of Honour
 - 8.3.4 Economic Reforms
 - 8.3.5 Education
 - 8.3.6 Religious Reforms
- 8.4 Lets us Sum up
- 8.5 Glossary
- 8.6 Check your Progress
- 8.7 Self Assessment Questions
- 8.8 Suggested Further Readings

8.1 Introduction

Napoleon Bonaparte was the military and political leader of France who changed the course of European Politics by his conquests. He was considered as the greatest general not of France but of Europe. Napoleon, through his conquests, had built up a huge European empire. He came to power at a time when the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity were well established in France. He extended and perpetuated the effects of the French Revolution in Europe by destroying feudal privileges. Napoleon also helped the growth of nationalism. By transforming Italy and Germany into national kingdoms under him, Napoleon fostered national sentiments among the people.

8.2 Objectives –After going through this unit you will be able:-

- (i) To understand the rise of Napoleon
- (ii) To understand the economic reforms of Napoleon
- (iii) To understand the educational reforms of Napoleon.
- (iv) To understand the overall achievements of Napoleon

8.3 Works of Napoleon as First Counsel

Napoleon used to name himself the child of Revolution and he was a supporter of the principles of Revolution, viz., liberty, equality and fraternity, but he laid greater stress on equality than liberty.

Napoleon used to say that the people of France demanded equality, for many people had been massacred in France due to liberty. Hence after becoming the first consul, he worked in such a way that all the powers were concentrated at one point.

He also tried to establish the ancient regime in France.- With this aim in view he handed over all the powers of administration of the departments to the Prefects of Arrondissement, to the sub-Prefects and of the Communes to the Mayors but he himself had the power of appointing all these officials.

Thus he captured the real powers of the provincial government by placing all these officials under the central government.

In fact, he reestablished the ancient regime of Louis XIII's time, and with all the rights of Judiciary and Executive vested in him, he used to live in the palace of Tuileries like the absolute Bourbon kings.

8.3.1 Equality

Napoleon took away the liberty of the people but provided then equality. He completely abolished the distinction between the lower class and the upper class. Anybody could get the highest post in the government on the basis of merit.

Napoleon used to appoint his servants from all sections like Cromwell. He got the cooperation of Jacobins Girondists both and pardoned the emigres. Consequently forty thousand families came back to France.

8.3.2 Beautification and Art

Napoleon was a great lover of art and he encouraged it a lot. He wanted to beautify the city of Paris and for this purpose he had brought several artistic objects to Paris from Italy. Napoleon asked the crafts men of France to make beautiful articles, and thus hundreds of unemployed craftsmen could get work. He also encouraged literature. Once remarked in this context:

"People complain that we have no literature that is the fault of Minister of the Interior."

Seeing the need of the country, Napoleon carried out constructive works. He built many wide roads in Paris and shady trees were planted on both sides of these roads. The Royal palace of Versailles looked much more beautiful than ever during the regime of Napoleon.

The royal palaces of St. Cloud, Fontainebleau and Rambouillet were renovated and their grandeur and splendour was enhanced. Thus he made every effort for the beautification of Paris.

8.3.3 The Legion of Honour

Napoleon established the Legion of Honour in order to inject feeling of honour among the French people. The people were awarded on the basis of their merit and not on that of hereditariness.

Those who influenced Napoleon by their ability, courage or by any other work of outstanding quality were given the title of Legion of Honour.

He also developed a new kind of nobility by awarding pieces of land to his well wishers. In fact, both these were against the principles of Revolution because it gave birth to new classes.

But Napoleon thought that the instituting of the Legion of Honour was necessary to encourage his supporters.

8.3.4 Economic Reforms

The economic condition of France had deteriorated rapidly during the course of Revolution. The taxes were not realized properly. The trade and commerce and agriculture were badly affected.

The assignats were being devalued rapidly. The government of France was almost on the verge of bankruptcy. Napoleon paid his earnest attention to reforming the ailing economy. First of all, he cut down the state expenditure and the responsibility for collecting taxes was made over to the central government.

It proved to be beneficial for the government as well as for the tax-payers. To increase the credit of France he established a Bank of France. Hayes writes about it, "It is one of the soundest financial institutions in the world."

He abolished the guild system and prohibited the merchants from making fresh guilds, because according to Napoleon Bonaparte these guilds were the centres of corruption and indiscipline.

In order to settle the disputes between the merchants and the labourers, an Industrial Committee was formed by Napoleon, but the merchants had their majority in this committee.

Napoleon never endeavored to bring about economic equality in France. He used to say that the principle of equality in every sphere was not practicable.

8.3.5 Educational Reforms

Napoleon carried out several reforms in the field of education but he was of the opinion that the educational institutions should be under the control of the state. He used to say:

"There will never be a fixed political state of things in this country until we have a body of teachers instructed on established principles. So long as the people are not taught from their earliest years, whether they ought to be Republicans or Royalists, Christians or infidels, the state cannot properly be called a nation."

During the consulate period, education was nationalised by Napoleon. The payment of the salaries of the trained teachers in various schools was made by the government but the teachers and the students had to swear fidelity towards the country.

The courses of Paris University and the affiliated colleges were decided by the government. Some limitations were placed on the study of politics, philosophy and history.

Napoleon used to think that the study of these subjects raised several problems in the smooth way of life. The following schools were flourishing in France during the reign of Consuls:

a. Primary Schools:

These schools were under public control and the communes looked after their management through prefects and sub-prefects, but the state had no control over them.

b. Grammar Schools:

The Secondary or the Grammar Schools were under the supervision of the Central Government; and Latin, Greek and French were taught in these schools.

c. High Schools:

They were meant for higher education. They were established in big towns, and the courses in these schools were decided by the government and appointments of the teachers were also made by the government.

d. Vocational Schools:

Vocational schools were established to impart vocational training, and military schools were also opened to impart military training to the students. A Normal School was also started for the training of the teachers.

e. Paris University:

All the educational institutions were controlled by the University of Paris. It was essential to pass the Higher Secondary Examination to get admission in the University.

8.3. 6 Religious Reforms (Concordat)

Napoleon used to say that "a state without a religion is like a ship without a compass." He explained his religious policy in these words after attaining power:

"The people must have a religion and that religion must be under the control of the government people say that I am a Papist. I am nothing. I was a Mohammedan in Egypt; I shall be a Catholic in France for the good of the people. I do not believe in religion, the Idea of God."

The National Assembly of France had framed a civil constitution for the clergy who had created a breach with the Pope but Napoleon wanted to narrow down these differences due to the following reasons :-

1. The clergy and the vast majority of the French people were dissatisfied. Not only France but most of the European countries had a great reverence for the Pope; hence, Napoleon wanted to befriend the Pope.
2. There were a number of Bishops in France who were propagating against the Revolution in the country. They were getting honorarium from the British Government.

Napoleon wanted to patronise them for the safety of the country but could not be done without the active cooperation of the Pope.

After a prolonged discussion he succeeded in arriving at agreement on 15th July, 1801 which is known as the Concordat in the history of Europe. The following were the terms of this agreement

- (i) The Pope agreed to the decision of the revolutionary period that the property of the Church which was confiscated during the course of Revolution would not be given back.
- (ii) The educational institutions would be controlled by the state. No official of the Church was to be allowed to open educational institution without the prior permission of state.
- (iii) No clergyman was to be allowed to leave his parish.
- (iv) All the Bishops would be appointed by the Pope from the proposed list of the state. The lower clergy were to be appointed by the Bishops.
- (v) All the officials of the Church would receive their salary and take an oath of loyalty to the government.
- (vi) The clergymen who were imprisoned during the course of Revolution were to be released; and those who had fled France, were to be permitted to return to France.
- (vii) Catholicism was declared the state religion and the right of public worship was granted to the Catholic Church.

Thus the Church became a part of the state due to the Concordat, and Napoleon received the favours of his opponent Church. He did never approve the atrocities perpetrated by the miscreants in the name of liberty.

Napoleon held the view that the French Revolution was an outcome of social maladjustment and economic inequality. He, therefore, curtailed liberty and chose equality.

8.4 Lets sum up

Thus Napoleon, through his conquests, had built up a huge European empire. He came to power at a time when the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity were well established in France. Napoleon called himself a child of the Revolution. He introduced the Code Napoleon and a sound administrative system in every country that he conquered. Equality before the law and equal educational opportunities were ensured. Career was open to talent. Thus Napoleon gave equality to the people of the conquered countries.

8.5 Glossary

- **The legion of Honour-** The Legion of Honour, with its full name National Order of the Legion of Honour is the highest French order of merit for military and civil merits, established in 1802 by Napoléon Bonaparte
- **Equality** -the state of being equal, especially in status, rights, or opportunities-
- **Liberty-** Liberty, in philosophy, involves free will as contrasted with determinism. In politics, liberty consists of the social and political freedoms to which all community members are entitled
- **Napoleon code-** The Napoleonic Code is the French civil code established under Napoleon I in 1804. It was drafted by a commission of four eminent jurists and entered into force on 21 March 1804
- **Concordat** - an agreement or treaty, especially one between the Vatican and a secular government relating to matters of mutual interest
- **Bishops-** a senior member of the Christian clergy, usually in charge of a diocese and empowered to confer holy orders.

8.6 Check yours progress

1. **Write a short note on the efforts of Napoleon in the field of Education.**

2. What was the Legion of Honour ?

3. How the Beautification and Art was done by Napoleon?

8.7 Self Assessment questions

1. Discuss the reforms taken by Napoleon as a first Counsel.
2. What were reforms taken by Napoleon to improve the condition of Higher Education?
3. Describe in detail the "Concordat" of Napoleon .
4. Do you think that Napoleon was successful as First Counsel of France ?

8.8 Suggested Reading

1. Will Durant and Ariel Durant "The story of civilization" MJF Books, 1993
2. Norman Lowe, "Mastering Modern World History" Palgrave Publication, 1998
3. Arjun Dev and Indira Arjun Dev "The History of Modern World", Oriental Publication 2001
4. Jain and Mathur , " Modern World History", Bookman Publication , 1998
5. Andrew Robert, "Napoleon - A Life" Penguin Publication, 2000

CONTINENTAL SYSTEM OF NAPOLEON

Ms. Romika Bassin

- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Objectives
- 9.3 Why did Napoleon adopt the Continental system?
- 9.4 The Continental system
- 9.5 The working of the Continental system
- 9.6 Fatal effects of continental system
- 9.7 Causes of the failure of the Continental system
- 9.8 Let us sum up
- 9.9 Glossary
- 9.10 Check your progress
- 9.11 Examination Oriented Questions
- 9.12 Suggested Reading
- 9.13 Model Test Paper

9.1 Introduction:- The continental system is the term that Napoleon himself applied to that set of measures by means of which he confidently expected to ruin English economic prosperity as a preliminary to the destruction of England's political influence.

9.2 Objectives:- The study of this lesson will help you to understand:

Why he started continental system

Measures take by Napoleon for the continental system

How it effect the trade and commerce

9.3 Why did Napoleon adopt the continental system?

By 1807, Napoleon had humbled Russia, Prussia & Austria England was his only enemy which could not be subdued. He had still to deal with the English. He made a plan to invade England in 1803 but he failed miserably. The English ruined his fleet in the battle of Trafalgar in 1805 and smashed the Navy of France. He was fully convinced that it is difficult to defeat England with the help of Franch fleet & armies. If the French armies had established their superiority on land, the British Navy had established its supremacy over the sea. Napoleon was bent upon bringing England to his knees. But, English channel & Navy were a great hurdle in his way.

After his failure to attach England directly, he thought of invading her indirectly. He was of the view that the source of the strength of England was her trade. He called the English a Nation of shopkeepers and so he wanted to carry on economic war against them and destroy their prosperity which depended on trade.

Napoleon thought that if he could ruin her trade and commerce and close foreign markets to British goods, her prosperity would be destroyed, her factories would close down and thousands of labourers would be thrown out of employment and there would be internal disorder and revolts in England. By killing her trade, he wanted to bring England on the verge of bankruptcy and make it impossible for her to carry on incessant war against France. He devised a new menthod of hitting at Great Britain. To ruin her trade and commerce, he introduced the continental system which involved the economic blockade of England.

9.4 The Continental System:-

Napoleon's plan of bringing England to her knees by ruining her trade and shattering her economic structure is known as the continental system. This plan was announced by him in Nov. 1806 through his famous **Berlin Decrees**. According to this plan, he declared the blockade of British Isles. France and her allies stopped trade with England and boycotted the British goods. Ports of France and her allies were closed to the British ships. The British traders were arrested and British goods within the borders of France and her allies were confiscated.

Great Britain hit back by issuing '**orders in council**' on 7th January 1807. According to these orders, all ships trading with France and her allies were liable to be seized. Neutral vessels were ordered to touch at a British port before sailing to any port of Europe.

Napoleon strengthened and extended his continental system by issuing various decrees. **The Warsaw Decree issued on 25th January, 1807** led to complete boycott of British goods in the commercial towns of France and her allies. Napoleon issued decrees from Milan in 1807 under this declaration, Napoleon threatened to capture neutral vessels sailing from British port or her colonies. By Trianon Tariff rules issued on 5th August 1808, Napoleon decided to impose 50% duty on the smuggled British goods sold in the British Colonies. By the **decree of Fontainebleau (1810)**, Napoleon ordered to confiscate or burn all British manufactured goods if found in the French Empire. Special Tribunals were established to try those persons who violated this decree. He ordered his officials to enforce it strictly.

9.5 The working of the continental system

At the close of 1809 Napoleon's political position on the continent was safe against immediate attack, but meantime his economic position had been weakened by the failure of the commercial war. The decrees, culminating in the Milan Decree of December, 1807, had not accomplished their avowed objective of shutting the continent to English products. Attention has already been called to the fact that neither country actually intended to maintain a blockade of the other, the formal declaration to that effect notwithstanding. Insurmountable difficulties soon arose to militate against the success of the continental self-

blockade during the early years from 1806 to 1810. The major obstacles were three: the deficiency of the administrative personnel, the extensive ramifications of smuggling activities, and the wide use of English License to trade with the continent. The Napoleonic conception of a continent hermetically sealed to the English was so heroic in its vastness that its effectiveness depended upon agents similarly inspired. Instead, the entire staff of civil and military authorities employed in the execution of the continental system suffered both from unwillingness and from incapacity to carry out instructions. Graft and corruption, laxity, indifference, or hostility characterized the great majority of the emperor's servants. The military corps, the naval port officials, the customs staff, the border police, and local administrators, with few exceptions, could not be relied upon. They found it profitable to encourage the commercial traffic which they were employed to suppress.

The operations of smugglers were not a notable instrument of this commercial intercourse. Smuggling, which had played an extremely important part in the commercial relations of France and England during the entire eighteenth century, not only acquired greater scope, but also became an ordinary, quasi-respectable method of trade. It was based upon definite business practices, with fixed commissions proportionate to the risks involved. A large part of the smuggling trade was carried on through northwest Germany and Holland, whose affable monarch, Louis Napoleon, entertained slight hope for the success of his brother's scheme. The emperor threatened as early as 1807, to annex Holland to the French empire, but in the meantime he contented himself with closing the French frontier to all colonial goods coming from Holland. The channel islands, Sardinia, Sicily and Malta were also favourite points from which smugglers carried on their trade with European ports, while from Saloniki goods were carried overland into Hungary and then sent up the Danube into central Europe. In the early years of the continental system, the small island of Helgoland in the North Sea, not far from the mouths of the Weser and Elbe, and the Hanseatic cities Bremen and Hamburg assumed a vital importance in smuggling operations. Occupied by the English late in 1807, it soon became a veritable "Little London", its volume of business for 1808 being reported as eight million pounds sterling or a sixth of the total exports of Great Britain. The homely expedients of the small army of smugglers included such devices as the mixing of sand with raw sugar, false declarations, concealing of colonial products on one's person, organization of mock funerals in which hearses rolled solemnly along laden with colonial goods or bales of merchandise and many

others too numerous to mention. These devices of human ingenuity coupled with the corruption and the almost open connivance of customs officials, reduced the efficiency of the self-blockade to the vanishing point.

The expenses and risks of the smuggling trade swelled the price of the forbidden goods for the petty consumer, but the latter's desire for them was sufficiently strong to insure a large turnover for the smugglers. Even with the higher prices and the risks the smuggler's profit ran up to forty or fifty percent. Despite the risks the contraband trade was profitable because the British machine-made goods were in competition with the vastly more expensive goods produced in France. In other words, the profits of the smugglers were so many francs subtracted from the customs receipts of the French treasury, which decreased by eighty percent between 1806 and 1810.

The tightening of French military control over the north German coast and the welcome adherence of Denmark to the continental system tended to diminish the volume of traffic in the North sea after 1808, but the smuggling activities were then transferred to Sweden and the ports of the southern Baltic, whence the goods were carried as before into Germany. Königsberg, Riga, Stralsund, and Memel replaced the Hanseatic towns and the Dutch ports as centers of the contraband trade. England's breach with the United States (following the enactment of the Embargo Act) temporarily diminished her exportation to the continent, but the decline was more than balanced by England's gain in central and South America. After the flight of the Portuguese royal family to Brazil the ports of the latter country were reopened to British shippers. The deposition of the Bourbons in the Spanish peninsula had its political consequences overseas in the revolt of the Spanish colonies, with which England had long enjoyed a profitable contraband trade, and in the formal opening of the Spanish colonial ports to British and neutral commerce. This move enabled England to gain control of the colonial trade, most markedly that of Cuba and Porto Rico, and to open new markets for the immense accumulations of manufactured products (cotton cloth in particular) that were stored in the warehouses. As a result there was a boom in sales and industrial activity and frantic speculation in the South American Trade, which lasted for two profitable years, from 1808 to 1810.

The situation, from Napoleon's point of view, grew worse during 1809, when the war against Austria was in full swing, and Napoleon's preoccupation with the military

situation in central Europe resulted in diminished vigilance in the northern parts. The volume of English and American commercial relations, despite the American legal prohibition of trade and the enhanced activity of smugglers in the Baltic ports still further lessened the emperor's prospects of success. Finally, the third of the factors militating against Napoleon made itself most sharply felt. The sale of licenses to trade had increased enormously, from some 2000 in 1806 to 18,000 in 1810. A license saved the shipper, whether English or, as was more likely, Prussia, Russian, or Swedish from capture at sea by British war vessels and privateers, netted the English treasury a handsome income from fees and kept the continent open to British goods. On arrival at an enemy continent port the master of the ship produced his easily procured false paper, which proved the non-English character of his cargo and his departure from a non-British port. Not without reason has the supple system of commercial intercourse been characterized as a parallel to open smuggling.

The failure of the self blockade prompted Napoleon in 1810 to adopt a policy which led him far from the original purposes of the continental system. Publicly and formally Napoleon never admitted that his original aims had in any way been modified. The underlying cause of the new system was his inability to interrupt the carriage of colonial and manufactured goods to the continent. The hope which inspired it was that of a substantial increase in the French customs revenue, and the consequences were the ruthless promotion of French interests at the expense of the Napoleonic allies and dependencies. "I have found a combination", he exclaimed, "for turning the tables on the English and the smugglers". In January, 1810, he authorized the sale at auction of prize cargoes, prohibited goods included, provided that the purchaser paid a duty of forty percent. To make sure that the revenue from these sales would be sufficient to offset the steady losses in the ordinary French customs dues, he let customs officials understand that prohibited goods might be admitted into the ports, on the condition that they were falsely labeled as "Prize goods". Cotton, however, was not included in these operations, being destroyed in return for an indemnity to the captures. In August he established the fundamental law of his new system, the Trianon tariff. By this measure he legalized the importation of such colonial products as coffee, coca and sugar on the payment of a duty amounting to fifty percent. The duty on raw cotton, however, was more severe and in the case of American cotton, prohibitive. In this way he became his own smuggler, adding to the revenues of the state in customs duties approximately the same percentage of profit that private smugglers had derived from their

illegal operations. The revenue of the treasury immediately showed a prodigious increase, but the difficulties that these measures caused to dealers in colonial products and to cotton manufacturers speedily contributed to a fatal depression. Thus he hoped to make the profits of the treasury pay for the costs of the war against England.

By the **Trianon tariff** Napoleon had endeavored to regulate colonial trade so as to make his government rather than smugglers the beneficiary of this trade. At the same time, further to increase his fiscal revenues, he encouraged on a large scale and at a high price the sale of temporary trading licenses to favor French merchants, who could now evade in secret those laws which he rigorously defended in public. The importation of British colonial good and most of the prohibited manufactured products was permitted on condition that French products of equivalent value were exported by the merchant. So far as the importation of these French silks and cloths into England was concerned, the situation was hardly affected, for these products were excluded from England and not many of the favoured French merchants complied honestly with the regulation concerning the export of French products of an equivalent value. Instead they shipped empty chests or chest full of sand, which were cast into the sea as soon as the vessel left the shore. On the other hand, Napoleon hoped, by means of the license system, to promote the exportation of French manufactured products to the continental states in which British goods were still forbidden.

Napoleon's more pressing concern at that moment was in suppressing what remained of illicit colonial trade and in rendering impossible sales of British industrial products not permitted by his licenses. This he endeavored to effect by the **Fontainebleau Decree of October, 1810**, which ordered the destruction everywhere in the empire of all British manufactured products except the comparatively few articles that had been admitted under Licenses. To enforce the decree he spurred on the confiscatory activities of his military corps in Germany and established customs courts for the trial and punishment of all violators. This decree was rigorously executed. The seizures of presumed British goods, particularly in the north German states, excited popular feeling to a pitch of fury against the French military agents. Some of the goods were sold at auction, but cotton and silks were publicly burned. Napoleon firmly believed that these holocausts of British merchandise insured the success of his mighty efforts. But the loss incurred was not felt by the British, for the greater part of the goods destroyed had already been paid for by French or Fourman

merchants. He had by now completely denatured the great aim of his continental system. His later system stood fully revealed as a pernicious and imperialistic fiscal expedient which, under the pretext of combating the English, contrived to squeeze money out of his continental allies and to promote the growth of French industries at their expense. Economic retribution was soon to come.

9.6 Fatal effects of Continental System:- Napoleon wanted to destroy British Trade and Commerce through continental system and bring her to her knees but he failed to achieve his aim. On the contrary the continental system proved fatal for him.

- (i) In the beginning, it hit British trade adversely and its goods could not go to European markets due to blockade in Europe. Many factories were closed and too many workers were thrown out of employment. They created unrest in the country. Prices of wheat also shot up and it increased the suffering of the people.
- (ii) The continental system did not affect England so adversely as it affected other countries of Europe. Their trade and industry were hit hard. Industries of Holland and Switzerland were shattered very badly. It created panic in the countries around the Baltic sea. In Hamburg alone only one or two sugar mills out of 428 were in working condition.
- (iii) This system greatly ruined the trade and industries of Europe. It led to rise in prices of articles of daily use. People lost their means of livelihood and were surrounded by destruction on all sides. The enhanced prices of sugar, tobacco, coffee and cotton etc. added to the suffering of the people without harming the people of England.
- (iv) The people of Europe had to suffer terrible hardships. This created discontentment among the people of the various countries of Europe. They turned against Napoleon. They began to hate him because he was selfish and tyrannical and interfered in the private life of the people. Both Napoleon and his system became very unpopular.
- (v) To enforce this system, Napoleon had to fight peninsular war against Portugal and Spain which proved very harmful and brought about his fall.

- (vi) The continental system added to the sufferings and difficulties of Napoleon's allies. Instead of helping them to solve their problems and remove their hardships, he took strong measures against them. It created discontent among them. As a result of this Napoleon lost the sympathies of Russia, Prussia, Portugal, Holland and Italy and they turned against him. These wars proved very destructive and costly and within three years (1812, 1813, 1814) his empire was shattered like a wall of sand. His continental system was an utter failure and became the principal cause of his downfall.

9.7 Causes of the Failure of the Continental System:-

- (i) It is true that Europe was under the influence of Napoleon when he implemented his continental system. But he ignored the fact that England had built her own colonies and it was trifling to ban her import and export in Europe. Britain would acquire raw materials from her colonies and sell her finished products there. Therefore, it was useless to expect the success of continental system until effective restrictions were imposed upon British colonies which were spread all over the world. In the absence of a massive and powerful fleet it was impossible for France to defend its sea coasts and capture other ships in the open sea. For want of a huge army, it was not possible to put an effective check on imports through the vast frontiers of Europe.
- (ii) It was an impractical scheme. It was quite insensible to expect that every country would follow his scheme which was fraught with unbearable sufferings. The states dominated by Napoleon accepted his scheme under duress but others overthrew it at the earliest opportunity. Napoleon waged battles against many countries in order to compel them to accept his scheme. Consequently, they became Napoleon's sworn enemies.
- (iii) There was scarcity of food grain in England. So with a view to fleecing England of her money, Napoleon continuously supplied food grain to England at exorbitant rates. If Napoleon had not fed England people might have died of starvation & England would have signed the treaty under great compulsion.

- (iv) Napoleon thought that economic restrictions would benefit French industries and they would be able to meet the needs of Europe. But it was not possible to develop French industries in such a short time.

Because of corrupt officers, restricted goods were smuggled into Europe on a large scale and it ascertained the failure of his scheme.

- (v) Napoleon's scheme was impracticable. He made unremitting efforts to fulfil multifarious demands of European countries but he had to depend upon England for the supply of leather shoes, woollen coats and other articles. In order to accomplish his scheme, he entangled himself in European wars so closely that he lost track of his goal. As a dictator, Napoleon could have implemented any law in his own country but it was not possible to continue the imposition of restrictions over other countries for a long time.

On the whole, the wars with Prussia, Russia and Spain that ensued with the implementation of the continental system aborted his scheme. It became the chief reason of his downfall.

9.8 Let us Sum up

No doubt, that Napoleon started the system to let down the Britain's Economic as well as political power.

This system also introduced new problems. Thus source of the Nations particularly Portugal and Spain revolted against the continental system first of all and the others followed. Thus it became one of the reasons for Napoleon's ultimate downfall.

9.9 Glossary

- (i) **Fontainebleau:-** French pronunciation is a commune in the metropolitan area of Paris, France. It is located 55.5 kilometers south-southeast of the centre of Paris.
- (ii) **Tilsit:-** The treaties of Tilsit were two agreements signed by Napoleon-I of France in the town of Tilsit in July 1807 in the aftermath of his victory at Friedland.

(iii) **Islet:-** A small island.

9.10 Check your Progress

1. Which of the statement is right or wrong
- (i) Napoleon announced continental system on March 1806.
- (ii) Great Britain issued 'orders in Council' on 7th Jan. 1807.
- (iii) Continental system was against American.
- (iv) In 1810, Napoleon took the entire North-Western Coast of Japan.
- (i) Wrong (ii) Right (iii) Wrong (iv) Wrong

9.11 Examination Oriented Questions

- Q1. What was the continental system? How far was it responsible for Napoleon downfall?
- Q2. Estimate the reasons for the failure of Napoleon's continental system?
- Q3. What was the continental system? How did Napoleon seek to enforce it and with what results?

9.12 Suggested Reading

1. Modern European History by Raghbir Dayal.
2. A history of the Modern World by Ranjan Chakrabarti.
3. History of Modern Times C.D.M. Kettley.
4. Modern Europe upto 1950 Charles Downer Hazen

9.13 Model Test Paper

1. What was continental system?
2. What the role played by England for continental system?
3. Give five reasons for the failure of continental system?

CAUSES OF THE DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON

Ms. Romika Bassin

- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Objectives
- 10.3 Causes of Napoleon's downfall
 - 10.3.1 Napoleon at the zenith of his power
 - 10.3.2 Elements of weakness in the structure
 - 10.3.3 The spirit of Nationality
 - 10.3.4 Reorganisation of Prussia
 - 10.3.5 Abolition of serfdom
 - 10.3.6 Rupture of the Franco-Russian alliance
 - 10.3.7 The invasion of Russia
 - 10.3.8 The campaign in Russia (1812)
 - 10.3.9 The retreat from Moscow
 - 10.3.10 The campaign in Germany
 - 10.3.11 The battle of Leipsic
 - 10.3.12 The campaign in France (1814)

- 10.3.13 The abdication of Napoleon
- 10.3.14 The restoration of the Bourbons
- 10.3.15 The mistakes of the Bourbons
- 10.3.16 The return from Eba
- 10.3.17 The battle of Waterloo
- 10.4 Let us sum up
- 10.5 Glossary
- 10.6 Check your progress
- 10.7 Lesson end exercise
- 10.8 Reference
- 10.9 Model Test paper
- 10.1 Introduction**:- The process of the fall of Napoleon set in even before the completion of his empire building project. His political life came to an end with his defeat at Waterloo in 1815. Yet Napoleon became a legend with in his lifetime. He left a permanent imprint on every department of the French administration due to his original thinking. Ironically, his failures had been predetermined by precisely those very qualities which helped in his spectacular rise.
- 10.2 Objectives**:- After going through this lesson you will able to understand the major causes of the downfall of Napoleon Bonaparte. You will learn as to what was the lasting influence on the history of France as well as other European countries.
- 10.3 Causes of Napoleon's downfall**:- Napoleon attained the height of his power in 1808 and after that his decline began. Many factors were responsible for the rapid fall of the man who had brought nearly the whole of Europe under his control.

10.3.1 Napoleon at the Zenith of his power:

Napoleon now ruled directly over an empire that was far larger than the former kingdom of France. In 1809 he annexed what remained of the Papal states in Italy, together with the incomparable city of Rome, thus ending, for the time at least, the temporal power of the Pope. In 1810 he forced his brother Louis to abdicate the kingship of Holland, which country was now incorporated in France. He also, as has already been stated, extended the Empire along the northern coasts of Germany from Holland to Lubeck, thus controlling Hamburg, Bremen, and the mouths of the important German rivers. Each one of these annexations was in pursuance of his policy of the continental Blockade, closing so much more of the coast line of Europe to the commerce of England, the remaining enemy which he now expected to humble. Napoleon was Emperor of a state that had 130 departments, whereas the former kingdom had only eighty three. He was also king of Italy, a state in the northeastern part of the Peninsula. He was protector of the confederation of the Rhine, which included all Germany except Prussia and Austria, a confederation which had been enlarged since to formation by the addition of Westphalia and Saxony and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, extending, therefore, clear upto Russia. His brother Joseph was king of Spain, his brother Jerome king of Westphalia, his brother-in-law Murat king of Naples. All were mere satellites of his, receiving and executing his orders. Russia was his willing ally. Prussia and Austria were also his allies, the former because forced to be, the latter at first for the same reason, and later because she saw an advantage in it. No ruler, incomparable preeminence had been won by his sword, supplement by his remarkable statesmanship and diplomacy.

England alone remained outside the pale; England alone had not been brought to bend the knee to the great conqueror. Even she was breathing heavily, because the continental system was inflicting terrible damage upon her. Factories were being forced to shut down, multitudes of laborers were being thrown out of work or were receiving starvation wages, and riots and other evidences of unrest and even desperation seemed to indicate that even she must soon come to terms.

10.3.2 Elements of Weakness in the structure: This vast and imposing fabric of power rested upon uncertain bases. Erected by the genius of a single man, it depended solely upon his life and fortunes and fortunes are notoriously fickle. Built up by war, by conquest,

it was necessarily envired by the hatred of the conquered with every advance, every annexation, it annexed additional sources of discontent. Based on force, it could only be maintained by force. There could be and there was in all this vast extent of empire no common loyalty to the emperor. Despotism, and Napoleon's regime was one of pitiless despotism, evoked no loyalty, only obedience based on fear. The more conquests, the more enemies, all waiting intently for the moment of liberation, scanning the horizon everywhere for the first sign of weakness which to them would be the harbinger of hope. This they found in Spain, and in the Austrian campaign of 1809, in which the machinery of military conquest had creaked, had worked clumsily, had threatened at one moment to break down.

10.3.3 The Spirit of Nationality: There was a force in the world which ran directly counter to Napoleon's projects, the principle of nationality. Napoleon desired this feeling, and in the end it was his undoing. It might have been that it had been the strength of France a few years earlier, that now this spirit had passed beyond the "natural" boundaries and was waking into a new life, was nerving to a new vigor countries like Spain, even Austria, and most conspicuously Prussia.

10.3.4 Reorganization of Prussia: Prussia, after Jena, underwent the most serious humiliation a nation can be called to endure. For several years she was under the iron heel of Napoleon, who kept large armies quartered on her soil. But out of the very depth of this national degradation came Prussia's salvation. Her noblest spirit were aroused to seek the causes of this unexpected national calamity and to try to remedy them. From 1808 to 1812 Prussians, under the very scrutiny of Napoleon, who had eyes but did not see, worked passionately upon the problem of national regeneration. The result surpassed belief. A tremendous national patriotism was aroused by the poets and thinkers, the philosophers and teachers, all bending their energies to the task of quickening among the youth the spirit of unselfish devotion to the fatherland. An electric current of enthusiasm, of idealism, swept through the educational centres and through large masses of the people. The university of Berlin, founded in 1809, in Prussia's darkest hour, was from the beginning, a dynamic force. It and other universities became nurseries of patriotism.

10.3.5 Abolition of Serfdom: Particularly memorable was the work of two statesmen, Stein and Hardenberg. Stein, in considering the causes of Prussia's unexampled plight,

came to the conclusion that they lay in her defective or harmful social and legal institutions. The masses of Prussia were serfs, bound to the soil, their personal liberty gravely restricted, and as Stein said, “Patriots cannot be made out of serfs”. He persuaded the king to issue an edict of emancipation, abolishing serfdom. The Prussia king, he said was no longer “The king of slaves, but of freeman”. Many other reforms were passed abolishing or reducing class distinctions and privileges. In all this Stein was largely imitating the French Revolutionists who by their epoch-making reforms had released the energies of the French so that their power had been greatly increased. The army too was reorganized, opportunity was opened to talent, as in France, with what magical results we have seen. As Napoleon forbade that the Prussian army should number more than 42,000 men, the ingenious device was adopted of having men serve with the colors only a brief time, only long enough to learn the essentials of the soldier’s life. Then they would pass into the reserve and others would be put rapidly through the same training. By this method several times 42,000 men received a military training whose effectiveness was later to be proved.

Thus Prussia’s regeneration proceeded. The new national spirit, wonderfully invigorated, waited with impatience for its hour of probation. It should be noted, however, that these reforms, which resembled in many respects those accomplished in France by the constituent Assembly and the convention, and which were in fact suggested by them, rested, however, on very different principles. There was in Prussia no assertion of the Rights of Man, no proclamation of the people as sovereign. In Prussia it was the king who made the reforms, not the people. The theory of the divine right of the monarch was not touched, but was maintained as sacred as ever. There was reform in Prussia but no revolution. Prussia took no step toward democracy. This distinction colored the whole subsequent history of that kingdom. Stein’s reforms were not carried out completely, owing to opposition from within the kingdom from without. But, though in complete, they were very vitalizing.

10.3.6 Rupture of the Franco-Russian Alliance: The Franco-Russian Alliance, concluded so hastily and unexpectedly at Tilsit in 1807, lasted nominally nearly five years. But during those years there were many sources of friction between the two allies. Alexander I, having obtained some of the advantages he had expected from his alliance, was irritated, now that he did not obtain others for which he had hoped. Moreover, he was alarmed by Napoleon’s schemes with the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, a state made out of the Polish

provinces which had been acquired by Prussia and Austria. Alexander had no objection to Prussia and Austria losing their Polish Provinces, but he himself had Polish provinces which he did not wish to lose, and he dreaded anything that looked like a resurrection of the former kingdom of Poland, any appeal to the Polish national feelings. But the main cause of Alexander's gradual alienation from his ally was the continental Blockade. This was working great financial loss to Russia, as it was nearly destroying the commerce with England in wheat, flax, timber, the chief sources of Russian wealths. Moreover, its inconveniences were coming home to him in other ways. To enforce the system more completely in Germany Napoleon seized in 1811 the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, which belonged to Alexander's brother-in-law.

10.3.7 The Invasion of Russia: In 1812 the Alliance snapped, and loud was the report. Napoleon would not allow any breach of the continental Blockade if he could prevent it. He resolved to force Russia, as he had forced the rest of the continent, to do his bidding. He demanded that she live up to her promises and exclude British commerce. The answers were evasive, unsatisfactory and in June, 1812, Napoleon crossed the Niemen with the largest army he ever commanded, over half a million men, the "army of twenty nations", as the Russians called it. About one half were French. The rest were a motley host of Italians, Danes, Croations, Dalmatians, Poles, Dutchmen, Westphalians, Saxons, Bavarians, Wurtembergers, and still others. For the first time in his military career Napoleon commanded the cooperation of Austria and Prussia, both of which were compelled to send contingents.

10.3.8 The Campaign in Russia (1812): Napoleon spoke of the new expectation as the "Last act" of the play. It was not quite that, but it was supremely important act, one full of surprises. From the very start it was seen that in numbers there is sometimes weakness not strength. This vast machine speedily commenced to crack beneath its own weight. The army had not advanced five days before the commissary department began to break down and bread was lacking. Horses, improperly nourished, died by the thousands, thus still further demoralizing the commissariat and imperiling the artillery. The Russians adopted the policy of not fighting but constantly retreating, luring the enemy farther and farther into a country which they took care to devastate as they retired, leaving no provisions or supplies for the invaders, no stations for the incapacitated as they burned their villages on leaving them. Napoleon, seeking above everything a battle in which he hoped to crush the

enemy, was denied the opportunity. But this policy of continual retreat, so irritating to the French Emperor, was equally irritating the Russian people, who did not understand the reason and who clamored for a change. The Russians therefore took up a strong position in Borodino on the route to Moscow. There a battle occurred on September 7, 1812, between the French army of 125,000 men and the Russian of 100,000. The battle was one of the bloodiest of the whole epoch. The French lost 30,000 the Russians 40,000 men. Napoleon's victory was not over Whelming, probably because he could not bring himself to throw in the old Guard. The Russians retreated in good order, leaving the road open to Moscow, which city Napoleon entered September 14. The army had experienced terrible hardships all the way, first over soaked by constant rains, then later over roads intensely heated by July suns and giving forth suffocating clouds of dust. Terrible losses, thousands a day had characterized the march of seven hundred miles from the Niemen to Moscow.

10.3.9 The Retreat from Moscow: Napoleon had resolved on the march to Moscow expecting that the Russians would consent to peace, once the ancient capital was in danger. But no one appeared for that purpose. He found Moscow practically deserted only 15,000 there, out of a population of 25,0000. Moreover, the day after his entry fires broke out in various parts of the city, probably set by Russians. For four days the conflagration raged, consuming a large part of the city. Still Napoleon stayed on, week after week, fearing the effect that the news of a retreat-might produce, and hoping, against hope, that the Tsar would sue for peace. Finally there was nothing to do, after wasting a month of precious time, but to order the retreat. This was a long drawn out agony, during which an army of 100000 men was reduced to a few paltry thousands, fretted all along the route by which they had come by Russian armies and by Cossack guerrilla bands, horrified by the sight of thousands of their comrades still unburied on the battlefield of Borodino, surfing indescrible hardships of hunger and exhaustion, and finally caught in all the horrors of a fierce Russian winter, clad, as many of them were, lightly for a summer campaign. The scenes that accompanied this fight and rout were of unutterable woe, culminating in the hideous tragedy of the crossing of the Beresina, the bridge breaking down under the wild confusion of men fighting to get across, horses frightened, the way blocked by carts and wagons, the pontoons raked by the fire of the Russian artillery. Thousands were left behinds, many fell or threw themselves into the icy river and frozen to death. A few thousand out of all the army finally

got out of Russia and across the Niemen. Many could only crawl to the hospitals asking for “The rooms where people die”. History has few ghastlier pages in all its annals. Napoleon himself left the army and traveled rapidly incognito to Paris, which he reached on December 18.

10.3.10 The campaign in Germany: The year 1813 saw Napoleon battling for his supremacy in Germany, as 1812 had seen him battling for it is Russia. The Russian disaster had sent a thrill of hope through the ranks of his enemies everywhere. The colossus might be, indeed appeared to be, falling. Had not the auspicious moment arrived for annihilating him?

10.3.11 The battle of Leipsic: Napoleon, working feverishly since the return from Russia, finally got an army of over 200000 men together. But to do this he had to draw upon the youth of France, as never before, calling out recruits a year before their time for service was due. A large part of them were untrained, and had to get their training on the march into Germany. He confronted the armies of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, for the two latter powers now joined his enemies. The climax of this new campaign occurred at Leipsic. There a decisive three days battle was fought, the “Battle of the Nations,” as the Germans call it (October 16-18). In point of numbers involved this was the greatest battle of the Napoleonic era. Over half a million men took part, at most 200000 under Napoleon, 3000000 under the commanders of the allies. Napoleon was disastrously defeated and was sent flying back across the Rhine with only a small remnant of his army. The whole political structure which he had built up in Germany collapsed. The members of the confederation of the Rhine deserted the falling star, and entered the alliance against him, on the guarantee of their possessions by the allies. Jerome fled from Westphalia and his brief kingdom disappeared. Meanwhile Wellington, who for years had been aiding the Spaniards, had been successful and was crossing the Pyrenees into southern France. The coils were closing in upon the lion, who now stood at bay.

10.3.12 The campaign in France (1814): Napoleon had said on leaving Germany, “I shall be back in May with 250000 men”. He did not expect a winter campaign and he felt confident that by May he could have another army. The allies, however, did not wait for May but at the close of December, 1813, streamed across the Rhine and invaded France from various directions. France victorious for eighteen years, now experienced what she

had so often administered to others. The campaign was brief, only two months, February and March, 1814. Napoleon was hopelessly outnumbered. Yet this has been called the most brilliant of his campaigns. Fighting on the defensive and on inner lines, he showed marvelous mastery of the art of war, striking here, striking there, with great precision and swiftness, undaunted, resourceful, tireless. The allies needed every bit of their overwhelming superiority in numbers to compass the end of their redoubtable antagonist, with his back against the wall and his brain working with matchless lucidity and with lightening like rapidity. They thought they could get to his capital in a week. It took them two months. However, there could be but one end to such a campaign, if the allies held together, as they did. On March 30 Paris capitulated and on the following day the Tsar Alexander and Frederick William III, the king of Prussia, made their formal entry into the city which the Duke of Brunswick twenty two years before had threatened with destruction if it laid sacrilegious hands upon the king or queen. Since that day much water had flowed under the bridge, and France and Europe had a strange, eventful history, signifying much.

10.3.13 The Abdication of Napoleon: At the beginning of this campaign the allies had offered Napoleon France with her natural boundaries. But these liberal terms he had rejected and the victors were now resolved to tolerate him no longer. He was forced to abdicated unconditionally. He was allowed to retain his title of Emperor but henceforth he was to rule only over Elba, an island nineteen miles long and six miles wide, lying off the coast of Tuscany when his Italian ancestors had sailed for Corsica two centuries and a half before he was born. Thither he repaired, having said farewell to the old Guard in the courtyard of the palace of Fontainebleau, kissing the flag of France made lustrous on a hundred fields.

10.3.14 The Restoration of the Bourbons: On the day that Napoleon abdicated, the senate, so called guardian of the constitution, obsequious and servile to the Emperor in his days of fortune, turned to salute the rising sun and in solemn session proclaimed Louis XVIII King of France. The allies, who had conquered Napoleon and banished him to a petty island in the Mediterranean, thought they were done with him for good and all. But from this complacent self-assurance they were destined shortly to a rude awakening.

10.3.15 The mistakes of the Bourbons: Louis XVIII, the new king, tried to adopt himself to the greatly altered circumstances of the country to which he now returned in the

wake of foreign armies after an absence of twenty two years. He saw that he could not be an absolute king as his ancestors had been, and he therefore granted a charter to the French, giving them a legislature and guaranteeing certain right which they had won and which he saw could not safely be withdrawn. His regime assured much larger liberty than France had ever experienced under Napoleon. Nevertheless certain attitudes of his and ways of speaking, and the actions of the royalists who surrounded him, and several unwise measures of government soon rendered him unpopular and irritated and alarmed the people. He spoke of himself as king by the grace of God, thus denying the sovereignty of the people; he dated his first document, the constitutional charter, from “the nine tenth year of my reign, “as if there had never been a Republic & a Napoleonic Empire; he restored the white flag and banished the glorious tricolor which had been carried in triumph throughout Europe. What was much more serious, he offended thousands of Napoleon’s army officers by retiring or putting them on half pay, many thus being reduced to destitution, and all feeling themselves dishonored. Moreover, many former nobles who had early in the Revolution emigrated from France and then fought against her own received honors & distinctions. Then in addition, the Roman catholic clergy and the nobles of the court talked loudly and unwisely about getting back their lands which had been confiscated and sold to the peasants, although both the concordat of 1802 and the charter of 1814 distinctly recognized and ratified these changes and promised that they should not be disturbed. The peasants were far and away the most numerous class in France and they were thus early alienated from the Bourbons by these threats at their most vital interested, their property rights, which Napoleon had always stoutly maintained. Thus a few months after Napoleon’s abdication the evils of his reign were forgotten, the terrible cost in human life, the burdensome taxation, the tyranny of it all, and he was looked upon as a friend, as a hero to whom the soldiers had owed glory and repute and the peasants the secure possession of their farms, In this way a mental atmosphere hostile to Louis XVIII, and favorable to Napoleon, was created by a few months of Bourbon rule.

Napoleon, penned up in his little island, took note of all this, he also heard of the serious dissensions of the allies now that they were trying to divide the spoils at the Congress of Vienna, of their jealousies and animosities, which, in January 1815, rose to such a pitch that Austria, France, and England prepared to go to war with Prussia and Russia over the allotment of the body. He also knew that they were intriguing at the Congress for his

banishment to some place remote from Europe.

10.3.16 The Return from Elba: The psychological moment had come for the most dramatic and audacious action of his life. Leaving the island with twelve hundred guards, and escaping the vigilance of the British cruisers, he landed at Cannes. That night he started on the March to Paris and on March 20 entered the Tuileries, ruler of France once more. The return from Elba will always remain one of the most romantic episodes of history. With a force so small that it could easily have been taken prisoner, Napoleon had no alternative and no other wish than to appeal directly to the confidence of the people. Never was there such a magnificent response. All along the route the peasants received him enthusiastically. But his appeal was particularly to the army, to which he issued one of his stirring bulletins.

Regiment after regiment went over to him. The royalists thought he would be arrested at Grenoble where there was a detachment of the army under a royalist commander. He admitted that he had made mistakes and assured the people that henceforth he desired only to follow the paths of peace and liberty. On March 20 Louis XVIII fled from the Tuileries. That evening Napoleon entered it.

10.3.17 The Battle of Waterloo: Napoleon's happiness was limited to less than the "Hundred Days" which this period of his reign is called. Attempting to reassure France and Europe he met from the former, tired of war, only half hearted support, from the allies only relentless opposition. When the diplomats at the congress of Vienna heard of his escape from Elba they immediately ceased their contentions and banded themselves together against "This disturber of the peace of Europe". They declared him an outlaw and set their armies in motion. He saw that he must fight to maintain himself. He resolved to attack before his enemies had time to effect their union. The battlefield was in Belgium, as Wellington with an army of English, Dutch, Belgians and Germans, and at some distance from them, Blucher with a large army of Prussians were there. If Napoleon could prevent their union, could defeat each separately, he would be in a stronger position when the Russian and Austrian armies came on perhaps, indeed the latter would think it wiser not to come on at all but to conclude peace. Thus in Belgium occurred a four days campaign culminating on the famous field of Waterloo, twelve miles south of Brussels. There on a hot Sunday in

June, Napoleon was disastrously defeated (June 18, 1815). Six years later he died of cancer of the stomach at the age of fifty two, leaving an extraordinary legend behind him to disturb the future.

10.4 Let us Sum up

These were the several reasons which led to Napoleon's downfall. To a certain extent, he himself was responsible for his decline his adamant behaviour, militarism, displeasing the pope, the continental system, Peninsular war, underestimation of enemy's strength, Moscow campaign were the reasons for his decline. Holland rose has stated, "Napoleon's adamant behaviour was the chief cause of his downfall".

10.5 Glossary

- (i) **Despotic:-** Typical of a despot.
- (ii) **Tyrannies:-** A government in which all power belongs to one person.
- (iii) **Heterogeneous:-** Diverse in character or content.
- (iv) **Guerilla Warfare:-** The activities involved in a war fought by small groups of irregular soldiers against typically larger regular forces.

10.6 Check your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks:-

- (i) What was Napoleon's last battle _____.
- (ii) Battle occurred on _____ between Russia and Napoleon.
- (iii) Waterloo _____ miles south of Brussels.
- (iv) What nation was Napoleon Bonaparte from _____.

(i) Waterloo (ii) September, 7th, 1812 (iii) 12 (iv) France

10.7 Lesson end Exercise

Short answer type question:-

- Q1. What was conflict with Pope?
- Q2. Give any two causes for the downfall of Napoleon?
- Q3. What was continental system of Napoleon?
- Q4. Who was Charles IV?

10.8 Reference

- 1. A history of the Modern World by R.R. Palmer, Joel Colton, Lloyd Karmner.
- 2. History of Modern Europe since 1789 by V.D. Mahajan.
- 3. Modern European history by Raghbir Dayal.
- 4. World History by B.V. Rao.
- 5. Modern Europe upto 1950 by Charles Downer Hazen

10.9 Model Test Paper

- Q1. What were the causes of the downfall of Napoleon?
- Q2. Describe briefly the various factors that were responsible for the downfall of Napoleon?
- Q3. What were the major military, internal and international reasons for the downfall of Napoleon?

SETTLEMENT OF 1815 AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Ms. Romika Bassin

- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Objectives
- 11.3 The problems before the Congress
- 11.4 The leading personalities at the Congress
- 11.5 The aims of the Congress
- 11.6 Principles on which the Congress based its settlement
- 11.7 Difference among big and small powers
- 11.8 The territorial settlement
- 11.9 Consequences of the Settlement of 1815
 - 11.9.1 Peace in Europe for forty years
 - 11.9.2 Military power of France reduced
 - 11.9.3 Prussian influence increased in Germany
 - 11.9.4 Influence over Russia and England
 - 11.9.5 Unification of Italy and Germany
 - 11.9.6 End of Slave Trade

11.9.7 International laws regarding navigation

11.9.8 Barbary Corsairs

11.10 Conclusion

11.11 Glossary

11.12 Check your Progress

11.13 Lesson and Exercise

11.14 Suggested Reading

11.15 Model Test Paper

11.1 Introduction :- Napoleon had badly mutilated the political map of Europe. He had torn away territories from some states and added them to other states to suit his convenience. However, when he was overthrown in 1814 and sent to the Island of Elba, the problem before the European statesmen was how the map of Europe was to be redrawn. As Metternich had played the most important part in the overthrow of Napoleon, Vienna was chosen as the venue of negotiation and the settlement of Europe. Many emperors, foreign ministers and statesmen assembled at Vienna and carried on deliberations during the winter of 1814-15.

11.2 Objectives :- With the help of this lesson you will be able to understand the:-

1. Restoration of the social order in Europe after the fall of Napoleon.
2. About the important steps taken in this congress for the boundary in Europe.
3. To reshape the map of Europe.
4. How Austria became a dominant power.

11.3 The Problems before the Congress

The congress had to deal with the following problems :-

1. **Problem of France :-** What should be the future government and boundaries of France and what punishment should be meted out to her for causing so much bloodshed during the last 25 years?
2. **Reconstruction of the Political Map of Europe :-** The wars waged by revolutionary France and Napoleon had completely changed the political map of Europe. Over 200 petty states in Germany had been abolished and the Holy Roman Empire had ceased to exist. New states like the confederation of the Rhine, the kingdom of Westphalia, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the kingdom of Italy, etc. had been created by Napoleon. Boundaries of old states like Austria, Prussia and Russia had been altered several times. In short, the upheaval of the last 25 years had brought about vast political changes in the boundaries of European states. Therefore, the Congress of Vienna had to redraw the political map of Europe and was confronted with the problem of whether to restore or not the old Princes who had been dispossessed of their states by France.

11.4 **The leading Personalities at the Congress :-**

It will be interesting to analyse the character of the leading diplomats in whose hands the destinies of Europe were entrusted. Tsar Alexander I of Russia, Emperor Francis I of Austria, King Frederick William III of Prussia and the kings of Denmark, Bavaria and Wurttemberg represented their respective countries.

“The Congress was a pageant”, and was associated with much gaiety, feasting and merry-making. The representatives of various countries indulged in an eating and drinking orgy to celebrate their deliverance from the tyranny of Napoleon.

In this galaxy of monarchs and diplomats, the following persons stood out by virtue of their towering personality and they played a significant part in the deliberation of the Congress.

- (a) Foremost among them was **Tsar Alexander I**, a great idealist and dreamer who was swayed at times by the high ideals of the gospel of Christianity and sometimes was dominated by selfish motives. He was curious combination of “Shrewdness with mysticism ambition with compassion”. He was young imaginative and liberal

in his outlook, but was “changeable and egoistic and influenced by fear”. On the whole, he stood for a just and fair settlement.

- (b) **Emperor Francis I of Austria** was obstinate and narrow-minded and reactionary in his outlook. “Keep yourselves to what is old, for that is good” was his principle.
- (c) **King Frederick William III of Prussia** was slow, timid and weak and a great traditionalist. He was terribly fascinated by the Tsar and was extraordinarily reverential to Emperor.
- (d) **Metternich** was the most commanding personality from 1815 to 1848. This period in European History is called the “Era of Metternich”. He was the central figure in European diplomacy and was “without a peer in his age or in his style”. He was shrewd statesman and was a postmaster in diplomacy, tact and finesse. Like his master, the Emperor, he was also a great reactionary and the most vehement opponent of liberalism. He disturbed all innovations and new ideas and therefore tried his best to maintain the old orders.
- (e) **Lord Castlereagh, the representative of Great Britain**, was essentially liberal in his outlook, and was an astute statesman, who wielded considerable influence in bringing about compromises when there were deadlocks among the allies.
- (f) **Talleyrand, who represented France**, was cunning, shrewd and quick to take advantage of the differences among the allies. He had a very keen sense of observation and could exploit the weaknesses of others to his own advantage. He served France ably and saved her from utter humiliation by flattery, chicanery and intrigue. He was so successful in his mission, that, a representative of the vanquished country, he played a leading role in laying down the policy which formed the basis of the settlement of Vienna. The ‘Big Four’, Austria, Great Britain, Russia and Prussia had to admit to their counsels.

11.5 **The Aims of the Congress**

The deliberation of the Congress had been temporarily suspended by Napoleon’s escape from Elba. After his final defeat at Waterloo, it once again continued with its meetings. Its aims were as follows :-

- (a) **To Redraw the Political Map of Europe :-** The wars of the last 23 years had so changed the political boundaries that it was impossible to restore all the European states which existed in 1789. It was not easy to restore the Holy Roman Empire, as the boundaries of some states had been altered several times. The 200 and odd German princes who had been dethroned by Napoleon could not be restored. Notwithstanding this difficulty the Congress still aimed as far as possible to restore the old rulers to their original boundaries.
- (b) **To secure permanent Peace in Europe :-** Revolutionary ideas should be nipped in the bud : never again should France be allowed to spread the principles of Revolution. All germs of liberal opinion must be promptly destroyed.

Therefore, the Congress aimed at suppressing all revolutionary movements, wherever they raised their head. For the next ten years or so, the Congress tried to suppress liberalism in Europe by means of the “Concert of Europe” or by means of an alliance of Great powers.

- (c) **To surround France by a Ring of Strong States :-** France should not be allowed to disturb the peace of Europe in future, and hence she should be surrounded by strong and powerful states on her frontiers. To achieve this end, Prussia, Netherlands and Sardinia were made strong by the addition of large territories so that they might form a bulwark against any further French aggression.
- (d) **To distribute the spoils of war among the Allies :-** All those countries which had fought against France were to be rewarded at the cost of France and those who had helped her. Therefore territories snatched away from France or her allies were distributed among those who had fought against France. In short, the aim of the congress was to “divide among the conquerors the spoils of the conquered”.

11.6 **Principles on which the Congress based its settlement**

The congress mainly worked on the following threefold principles :-

- (a) **The Principle of “Legitimacy”** :- Metternich’s aim was to restore as far as possible the “rightful” rulers to their old states. This idea was in agreement with the principle of ‘Legitimacy’ which was ably propounded by Talleyrand who cleverly won over Tsar Alexander I to accept this principle and thus saved France for the Bourbons.

In pursuance of this principle, the Bourbons were restored in France and to the thrones of Spain and the kingdom of two sicilies. The House of Orange was restored in Holland, the house of savoy got Sardinia and Piedmont and Austria regained Tyrol.

- (b) **The Principle of “Balance of Power” or “Compensation”** :- But the principle of legitimacy could not be applied to all the states, because during the course of the long wars Great Britain had conquered and annexed a number of colonies belonging to France or to her allies. All of them could not be restored. The British navy had played a very significant role in defeating Napoleon and her services could not be ignored by the Congress. Therefore she was allowed to appropriate most of the conquered colonies like Mauritius, Tobago, Malta, etc. But those countries besides France which had lost their territories, were compensated in order to maintain the balance of power. Holland got Belgium, Sweden which had lost Finland to Russia was compensated with Norway and Austria which had renounced her claim to the Austrian Netherlands was rewarded with territories in Italy.
- (c) **To suppress the Republics** :- The Congress which was dominated by absolute monarchs and reactionary diplomats was hostile to republics and so the Republics of Genoa and Venice were not restored.

11.7 **Difference among the Big and Small Powers**

The carrying out the aims and policy of the congress there were serious differences of opinion among the big and small power on two issues :-

- (a) **The Future of France** :- The Big Four wanted to decide everything themselves and ignored the small powers like Spain, Portugal and Sweden. The latter invoked

the Treaty of Paris and claimed an equal say in determining the future of France and Europe. Talleyrand took advantage of this cleavage and played the role of a mediator, thus securing for France a voice in the deliberations of the congress.

- (b) **Difference over Poland and Saxony :-** Differences also arose between the Big Four over the question of the future of Poland and Saxony. Tsar Alexander, on the eve of the battle of Leipzig, had promised Austria and Prussia a share of Poland. But after the battle he changed his mind and now he wanted to appropriate the whole of Poland. In order to win over Prussia, he proposed that Saxony should be given to her.

Metternich was suspicious of the Tsar's intentions and would not approve of the aggrandizement of Russia and Prussia at the cost of the whole of Poland and Saxony respectively. So supported by Castlereagh he opposed the proposals. And it seemed that the differences between Russia and Prussia on one side and Great Britain and Austria on the other might lead to the failure of the Congress or even to another war. But Talleyrand's diplomacy and tact once again stood him in good stead and he eventually suggested a compromise.

Poland was to be repartitioned between Russia, Prussia and Austria but Russia kept the lion's share the so called "Congress Poland", Austria retained Galicia, Prussia got Posen and the corridor. Two fifths of Saxony was also given to Prussia.

11.8 **The Territorial Settlement**

Having ironed out the differences, the following territorial readjustment were agreed to by the congress :

- (a) France was limited to her boundaries of 1792 (these had been reduced to those of 1790, after the battle of Waterloo, by the second Treaty of Paris)
- (b) The Bourbons were restored and Louis XVIII returned to his ancestral throne.
- (c) Holland received Belgium and the House of Orange was restored to the united kingdom of Netherlands. Thus a strong barrier state in the north-east of France was established.

- (d) Prussia was considerably enlarged by the addition of the following territories :-
 - (i) She retained Posen and the corridor in Poland.
 - (ii) Surden gave her Pomerania.
 - (iii) Two fifths of Saxony was annexed by her.
 - (iv) She also recovered her Rhinish provinces and Cologne and Treves. Thus a formidable state was created in the east of France as a barrier against French aggression.
- (e) Austria, she was compensated for the loss of Austrian Netherlands by the cession of Lombardy and Venetia in Italy. She recovered Tyrol, Illyrian provinces and Salzburg.
- (f) A German confederation was formed under the leadership of Austria.
- (g) Russia got the Lion's share of Poland. She also got Finland from Sweden.
- (h) Sweden was compensated for the loss of Finland by the annexation of Norway which was taken away from Denmark.
- (i) Sardinia got Piedmont, Savoy, Nice and Genoa and thus a powerful state was created in the South-East of France.
- (j) Great Britain retained most of her colonial conquests including Malta, Heligoland in the North Sea, Ionian Islands, Cape Colony, Ceylon, Mauritius, St. Lucia, Tobago and Trinidad.
- (k) Empress Marie Louise got the Duchy of Parma.
- (l) Princess of Modena and Tuscany were restored.
- (m) Papal states were restored.
- (n) The kings of Spain and Naples were restored.
- (o) Switzerland received three more cantons.

(p) Hanover became a kingdom.

11.9 Consequences of settlement of 1815:-

11.9.1 Peace in Europe for forty years: - Napoleon had devastated Europe during his continuous war for twenty five years. The European countries had witnessed the horrors of war and havoc and destruction caused by it. So they wanted peace now .The decisions and the settlements made by Congress of Vienna assured peace in Europe for next forty years. No war was fought between 1815 and 1853, and then the Crimean war broke out between Russian and England in 1853

11.9.2 Military power of France reduced: - Carnot and Napoleon reorganised the military in France and set up a large and powerful army which rocked Europe badly for long time. The incessant wars carried out by Napoleon proved destructive for France and it smashed her military power .The Congress of Vienna further reduced the military power of France. An Army composed of one and half lakh soldiers was stationed in France under command of Lord Wellesley to maintain peace there .Its expenses were to be borne by France. Consequently, France could not follow an aggressive and forward policy for a long period.

11.9.3 Prussian influence increased in Germany :- The decisions of the Congress of Vienna reduced the influence of Austria in Germany and increased that of Prussia .Now Austria alone was not responsible for the protection of the confederation of Rhine . Prussia also got control over some of the territories of the Rhine. By and by, Prussian culture and civilization found their way in the remaining parts of Germany also and , consequently , Prussian championed the cause of the Germany against France

11.9.4 Influence Over Russia and England :- Russia annexed the eastern part of Poland and got Bessarabia from Turkey . So Russia got a chance to gain foothold in Turkey and to increase her influence in the east. England also expanded her colonial power and maintained her superiority over the seas.

11.9.5 Unification of Italy and Germany :- The policy of the Congress of Vienna was reactionary but it paved the way for the unification of Germany and Italy . Prussia's influence

increased in Germany and it became more powerful there in place of Austria. Finally, the work of unification of Germany was completed under the leadership of Prussia. In Italy Sardinia got Genoa, Piedmont and Savoy. It brought about national unity in Italy and it was unified under the guidance of the House of Savoy.

11.9.6 End Of Slave Trade: - The custom of slavery prevailed in many countries of Europe which was unjust and inhuman custom. Vienna passed a resolution against this custom as Great Britain had already abolished slave trade in 1807. Spain and Portugal opposed it. Ultimately it was decided that the abolition or retention of this custom would depend on the will of the states of the continent.

11.9.7 International Laws regarding Navigation:- The creation of international laws was another significant and commendable work of the Congress. Accordingly to it, the state of the continent were granted the right to use seas in peace, war and for commercial purposes. All rivers were thrown open to them to carry on trade by means of ferries. England opposed these laws to safeguard her commercial interests and to retain her naval supremacy. The result was that these laws could not be enforced.

11.9.8 Barbary Corsairs: - They had been indulging in the piracy along the coasts of Mediterranean and thousand of Christian subjects had been captured and enslaved by them. The Congress of Vienna authorized Great Britain to take action against them. A British squadron led by Lord Exmouth bombarded Algiers and set free a large number of Christian slaves.

The work of Congress was completed to the satisfaction of the Czar of Russia and Metternich and they wanted to establish an institution to safe guard the peace of Europe and to ensure that the revolutionary and liberal movements would not raise their heads in any part of Europe. Therefore two more documents were signed at Vienna --- The Holy alliance and Quadruple alliance.

11.10 Conclusion :-

The peace settlement of 1814 – 1815 was a remarkable achievement. Never before had statesmen been faced with such complex and manifold problems as those created by the revolutionary upheaval which had convulsed Europe continuously from 1792 to 1815. Yet the statesmen of Vienna, in a surprisingly

short time, succeeded in composing the many divergent interests and ambitions among them and reaching a settlement which, with only minor alteration, endured longer than any general peace settlement before or since.

It was of course, a conservative and what was deemed by liberals a “reactionary” success. It involved nevertheless a minimum of ideological passion and a maximum of realism. While taking precautions against possible renewal of French aggression by strengthening buffer states of Prussia, the Netherlands, and Sardinia, it refrained from penalizing defeated France and actually utilized it as a counterweight, in the restored balance of power, against newly threatening Russian aggression. No wonder that the conservative peace settlement at Vienna enhanced the popular conservative reaction during the ensuing years.

11.11 Glossary

1. **Tyranny :-** Cruel and oppressive government or rule.
2. **Principle of Legitimacy :-** Principle of legitimacy is based on the three things. First of all, the people who are asked to obey authority have to feel like they have a voice, that if they speak up, they will be heard. Second, the law has to be predictable and third the authority has to be fair.
3. **Platitude :-** A settlement that expresses an idea that is not new.
4. **Aggrandizement :-** To make great or greater.

11.12 Check your Progress

1. Which of the statement is right or wrong.
 - (i) The Congress of Vienna started in 1918.
 - (ii) Congress want to reconstruct the map of Europe.
 - (iii) The leading members of the Congress were Japan, India and America
 - (iv) Lord Castlereagh was the representative of Netherland.

(i) Wrong (ii) Right (iii) Wrong (iv) Wrong

11.13 Lesson end Exercise

Short answer type question

- Q1. Explain briefly the problems before the Congress of Vienna.
- Q2. What was 'Era of Metternich'?
- Q3. Give the name of 'Big Four'?
- Q4. How did Austria become a dominant power?
- Q5. What was 'Balance of Power'?

11.14 Suggested Reading

- 1. A History of the Modern World by R.R. Palmer, Joel Cotton, Lloyd Karmar.
- 2. Modern European History by Raghbir Dayal.
- 3. A History of the Modern World by Ranjan Chakrabarti.

11.15 Model Test Paper

- Q1. Evaluate the work of the Congress of Vienna.
- Q2. Discuss the principles of the Vienna Settlement of 1815. What were its defects?
- Q3. What were the difficult problems before the Congress of Vienna and how did it solve them?
- Q4. Specify clearly the work done by the Congress of Vienna.

REVOLUTION OF 1830-CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES**Ms. Romika Bassin**

- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 Objectives
- 12.3 Causes of the July Revolution of 1830
 - 12.3.1 Neo-peasant group
 - 12.3.2 Industrialization in France
 - 12.3.3 New Monarchy
 - 12.3.4 Reactionary policies of Charlex X
 - 12.3.5 July Ordinances
 - 12.3.6 Orleanist dynasty
- 12.4 Consequences
- 12.5 Conclusion
- 12.6 Glossary
- 12.7 Check your progress
- 12.8 Lesson end Exercise
- 12.9 Suggested Reading
- 12.10 Model Test Paper

12.1 Introduction:- Louis XVIII, younger brother of the unfortunate Louis XVI who was executed in 1793, was restored to the ancestral throne in 1814 on the defeat of Napoleon and his 'retirement' to Elba. He was cynical, old, and at heart a reactionary. But years of exile and the stay in Great Britain had sobered him a little. So when he returned to Paris, he did not try to restore the Ancient Regime, though the Tricolour was replaced by the Bourbon white flag. He dared not undo the work of the Revolution and therefore retained much of its work. He issued a new charter to his people.

12.2 Objectives

With the help of this lesson you will be able to understand :-

1. Origin of the Revolution of 1830.
2. Impact of the revolution.
3. Role of different parties in France.
4. Causes and effects of the revolution of 1830 on the other countries of Europe.

12.3 Causes of the July Revolution of 1830

The spirit of revolution took such deep root in France that a number of revolutions took place in that country subsequent to the great Revolution of 1789. In 1830, France witnessed a revolution popularly known as the July Revolution, which constitutes an important landmark in the history of modern Europe. In this context, a review of post-Napoleonic France in all her socio-economic implications is necessary. The Revolution of 1789 demolished the feudal structure of landholding and land passed into the hands of the peasants and peasant proprietors. Church property also met with a similar fate. Napoleon accepted this Revolutionary Settlement and left no scope for the recovery of land already distributed to the peasantry. This arrangement ushered in a great change in the social pattern of France.

12.3.1 Neo-Peasant Group:- As an outcome of the elimination of feudalism, an affluent and neo-peasantry emerged in the social spectrum. This group acquired considerable influence in their rural setup and became too strong to be ousted from their holdings. However, these neo-peasants who profited from the revolution were apprehensive of dispossession in the event of a return to power by the Bourbons in France. So, when Louis XVIII was restored to the French throne in 1814, after the fall of Napoleon Bonaparte, these peasants viewed him with great suspicion even though he had recognized their individual rights. As the peasants had no franchise, they apprehended that the franchised section in the Assembly might injure their interests with new laws enacted in the Assembly. Hence, Louis XVIII began his reign at a disadvantage due to the distrust of the neo-peasant group which was growing into a considerable force.

12.3.2 Industrialization in France:- It has to be admitted that the Industrial Revolution in France was a delayed process and came only after the Fall of Napoleon (1815). France lacked conditions necessary for such industrialization:-

- (i) In France, capital could not be properly exploited. Constant war expenses and lavish court luxuries forced capital to be loaned out to the state whereas in Britain, advancement in agriculture and expansion of trade multiplied British capital which was utilized in industrialization.
- (ii) The forced enclosure system in Britain for sheep breeding precluded open field agriculture and dislodged many peasants from the land who then formed the core of the industrial labour force. France was basically an agricultural country and the peasants were attached to their land and so the labour force was not so strong.
- (iii) England had its market in the colonies whereas France had lost many of her colonies by the eighteenth century. Though Britain had lost her thirteen colonies which formed the United States, she retained a wide empire yet France lacked a wider market.
- (iv) The policy of protection followed by France was not conducive to industrial development.
- (v) France did not have a sizeable merchant navy like England.

- (vi) Raw materials were abundant in Britain, especially coal, whereas France was not rich in coal which was essential for industrialization.
- (vii) British entrepreneurs had an advantage as they could work or function spontaneously and free from state control. In France, state control was rigid and entrepreneurs had to work under constraints.
- (viii) Scientific inventions in Britain created newer fields for industrialization but in the eighteenth century France was more engrossed in the revolution. In spite of all these disadvantages, industrialization did take place in France after the fall of Napoleon. Though the process was not so rapid and was comparatively narrow in scope, it gave rise to far-reaching social changes.

Industrialization in France enormously enhanced the economic prosperity of the bourgeois class. In pre-revolutionary France, the nobility enjoyed a superior position in society because of their aristocratic backgrounds and landed wealth. The Revolution snatched away their power and privileges. The bourgeoisie became the most prominent social group and the post-Napoleonic period witnessed their phenomenal rise due to concentration of wealth in their hands. The upper bourgeoisie consisted of bankers, industrialists, and shipping magnates who were social climbers, preferring to establish matrimonial connection with the aristocrats in order to exalt their family background. The middle group consisted of the mercantile community while the petty bourgeois group was composed of people engaged in small trade or who were salaried people such as teachers, lawyers, professional, men and bureaucrats. This class was numerically superior. Below this level were the urban labour force and the rural peasantry. Industrialization gave birth to a class of industrial labourers. The sans-culottes of the revolutionary days now came to be known as the proletariat. The condition of the labourers in France was far from satisfactory for they had no trade union rights and strike was forbidden and so labour discontent was widespread. The rural peasantry was in a similar state and they were under the heels of the rural moneylenders and there was no law for their protection.

The period witnessed growth of new cities besides Paris and Versailles like Lyons, Avignon and Orleans, and the concentration of population in these cities brought accompanying problem like shortage of accommodation, water scarcity and health hazards.

Simultaneously however, communication improved and distance posed no problem. It brought the French people of different places closer.

12.3.3 New Monarchy:- The Vienna settlement of 1815, in its attempt to reject the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era as a mere interregnum in the monarchical establishment of France, confirmed the restoration of Louis XVIII (1814-24), brother of ill-fated Louis XVI of the Bourbon dynasty, as the King of France. The restoration of the monarchical order and crowning of a Bourbon ruler however, did not signify, as was expected by the Vienna Stalwarts, the restoration of the old regime. In fact, very little was restored except the Bourbon dynasty.

Like other Bourbon monarchs, he was a believer in the divine right theory, but his long exile had made him realize that the days of traditional rule and ignoring the people were over. This softened his attitude and made him relatively liberal, hence the new monarchy had a promising start. With an attitude of compromise and accommodation, he granted a charter on 4 June 1814 to his people which promised a constitutional parliamentary regime.

According to this Charter :-

- (i) The executive power was vested in the king and foreign policy, the signing of treaties, declaration of wars, and the appointment of ministers and officials were his prerogative.
- (ii) The Legislative Assembly had the right to pass laws which were to be ratified by the king.
- (iii) France was to have a bicameral legislature made up of : (a) the council of peers and (b) the chamber of Deputies, which could enact or amend laws subject to royal assent.
- (iv) Voting power was confined to a property qualification by which any person who paid a direct tax of 300 francs on property was eligible to vote.
- (v) The code Napoleon and the principle of equality before law was recognized.
- (vi) The revolutionary settlement was recognized.

(vii) Personal liberty and freedom of worship of the French people were also recognized.

Supposedly, the charter limited the despotic power of the Bourbons but it was not without limitations :-

- (1) Louis XVIII sought to fuse together the traditional concept of the divine right of kings and the new spirit of liberalism. It proved to be an uncomfortable blend.
- (2) According to the Charter, the ministers of the king were not responsible to the Legislative Assembly, so the Assembly had no control over the executive.
- (3) In the fresh elections the Moderates came to power led by Decazes and Guizot and their motto was to make royal of the nation and nationalization of the crown. Under these moderates, France entered into a new phase and their rule won the confidence of people. State finances were organized and annual budget were prepared so. France was able to pay off her war indemnity. As a result, the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1815) voted for the withdrawal of the allied army from France and she was admitted to the concert of Europe. France was at peace but this peace was to be a mere interval.

In 1820, a fanatic Republican named Louis Pierre Louvel murdered the Duke de Berry who was a nephew of Louis XVIII (son of count of Artois, the younger brother of Louis XVIII), and therefore the future successor of the Bourbon monarchy. Aiming to eliminate monarchy this gave a severe blow to three years of progress. There was a great reaction against the moderates for their inefficiency to prevent such an incident in which the Ultra-Royalists were favored by the people.

In 1821, therefore, a reactionary Ultra-Royalist ministry under Villele was formed. It undid the work of the Moderates. Taking advantage of Louis XVIII's illicit relation with Madame du Cyla, Villele was able to profoundly influence the king through this lady and started his policy repression.

In order to restore the old Regime the following measures were adopted :-

- (1) Civil liberties were curtailed

- (2) Press censorship reimposed
- (3) Universities were brought under Church control
- (4) Franchise was restricted by a further increase in the property qualification so nearly three-fourth of the voters lost their franchise.

In foreign policy, France moulded to the reactionary policies of the concert of Europe and helped to crush the liberal movement in Spain (1823) and to suppress its constitution. In 1824, Louis XVIII died and his policy of compromise fell into disuse since he was under the spell of the Ultras and his death closed a chapter in the history of France.

12.3.4 Reactionary Policies of Charles X:- On Louis XVIII's death in 1824, his brother the Duke of Artois ascended the throne with the title of Charles X (1824-30). The reactionary phase now attained new heights through his ruthless efforts to revive the ancient regime. Charles X's coronation contained elaborate rituals of the pre-Revolutionary era and signified early on his determination to revert France to the ancient regime. His reign witnessed a hardening of reactionary attitudes.

The Villele ministry formed during Louis XVIII's reign retained power until 1827. With the help of Villele Charles X adopted some reactionary steps :-

- (i) Indemnity law, or the law of compensation, was passed in order to pacify the émigré nobles who had been dispossessed of their estates by the Revolution. To meet this colossal expenditure, he reduced the interest on government loans from 5 percent to 3 percent. This affected the income and profit of the upper bourgeoisie and bankers hence they were infuriated. Political parties also resented this policy of compensation for the émigrés for they were considered traitors.
- (ii) The importance of the clergy was highlighted and a bishop was brought in to head the educational department. Penalties for blasphemy (abusing religion) and sacrilege (non-sever to religion) became more stringent. These measures hurt the anti-clerical sentiments of the bourgeoisie.

- (iii) In 1827, the National Guard (the citizens militia organized in Paris after the Fall of Bastille, 14 July 1789) was disbanded.
- (iv) New laws were passed on the succession question which emphasized the rule of primogeniture (property inheritance by the first born), thus making a mockery of the revolutionary principle of equality.

Under tremendous pressure, this law had to be abandoned and Villele had to resign in 1828. The ministry of Jean Baptiste Gay, Vicomte de Martignace lasted only for 2 years (1828-29) but he was a liberal among the moderates and it was his initiative that was responsible for the abandonment of the law of primogeniture. However, his liberalism was frowned upon by Charles X and he lost his power.

12.3.5 July Ordinances:- In 1829, Charles X brought Polignac, an ex-emigre, to power. He was very reactionary and was hated by Moderates and Liberals alike. A petition demanding his dismissal was submitted to the king and tension prevailed so the king dissolved the Chamber of Deputies. French elections were held in March 1830 and the liberals won the majority. As the new chamber was more hostile, the king refused to summon the chamber. Instead he issued four ordinances on 26 July 1830 known as July Ordinances. The July ordinances contained moves :-

- (i) To dissolve the chamber of Deputies before it could meet.
- (ii) To silence the press.
- (iii) To revise the electoral law by which a large number of the bourgeoisie were disfranchised.
- (iv) To annul the charter of 1814.

Such a reactionary move was furiously disapproved of by all the deputies and different political parties registered their protest.

Journalists such as Thiers, Mignet and Carrel who were associated with Le National instigated the people to resist these ordinances which violated the fundamental rights granted by the charter. Liberals joined with the journalists and the Parisian students played a significant role in this protest movement. Barricades were constructed and street fighting

and near civil war ensued. When the situation was almost out of control, Charles X proposed to repeal the July Ordinances, but the decision came too late. Revolution broke out, the royal army was overpowered, and Charles fled on 30 July 1830, leaving the throne of France vacant. The self exile of Charles X during the revolution, meant that a sort of revolutionary arrangement was needed and so the liberal deputies of the chamber proclaimed Louis Philippe (1830-48) the Bank of Orleans as the new king. Louis Philippe I (1830-48) was a member of the secondary branch of the Bourbon family. His father, Philippe Egalite, was a cousin of Louis XVI, Louis XVIII and Charles X but he was liberal and supported the execution of Louis XVI. His son Louis Philippe took an active part in the Revolution of 1789 and the capture of Bastille. He had no sympathy for the Bourbons and so the people's choice fell on him to be the head of state. Significantly, he was titled not the king of France but the king of the French by the will of the people. The white lily flag of the House of Bourbons was discarded in favour of the tricolor (the revolutionary flag bearing revolutionary nostalgia).

12.3.6 Orleanist dynasty:- The dynasty also changed to an orleanist dynasty instead of that of the Bourbons. In the new constitution some restraints were imposed on the royal power :

- (i) In the new constitution, reference to the divine right of king deleted.
- (ii) The charter no longer remained a voluntary gift of the king to the people but the king himself was bound by it.
- (iii) Article 14 of the previous charter (4 June 1814) which authorized the promulgation of the July ordinances (26 July 1830) was discarded, signifying that no royal ordinances could over side or flout the laws of the realm.
- (iv) Catholicism, which had been described as the religion of France (or the state religion), became officially known as the religion of the majority of the people. This change paid homage to the secular ideals of the French Revolution.
- (v) The electoral laws were revised by relaxing property qualifications, even though a large majority were still deprived of voting rights.
- (vi) The new constitution restored civil liberties and the freedom of the press.

(vii) Finally, it also reduced the personal expenses of the monarch.

12.4 Consequences

The whole process that is known as the July Revolution of 1830 was fought and won not for the establishment of an extreme democracy or a republican government but to get rid of the aristocratic and clericalist attitude of the restored Bourbons. It aims at creating a subtle balance between authoritarian and parliamentary systems, and in this respect, the Revolution bore close semblance to the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in England. The greatest significance of this revolutionary upsurge was that it proved the futility of both the Vienna settlement of 1815 and the concert of Europe, and it nullified the stagnant and artificial status which they tried to maintain in the name of the preservation of peace. Though the revolutionaries had not yet succeeded in dislodging the reactionary edifice created by Metternich, they gave an effective forewarning of the serious cataclysm that would ultimately topple the entire Metternich structure of repression.

The July Revolution and the Orleans monarchy which followed in its wake did not bring any radical change. Many scholars including Robinson and Beard, are reluctant to call it a real Revolution for the Revolution of 1830 made only a few innovations. Cobbani suggests that the July Revolution was essentially a conservative revolution. Though the Revolution was condemned and Louis Philippe was ridiculed as the 'king of the barricades', the great powers made no attempt to restore Charles X to the throne or to dislodge the revolutionaries. By implications, it proved the inherent strength of the Revolution. A great significance of the Revolution was its abruptness and speed for as there was no real civil war, the powers of Europe could not directly intervene. Equally, the entire episode caught them unaware and gave them no time to deliberate on a plan of action. From this angle it was a spectacular performance : the July Revolution destroyed the king – clergy – nobility axis : established the supremacy of the wealthy bourgeoisie, and gave Europe no time to intervene.

The Revolution created a reawakening of the masses. Political activities and discussions increased in societies and clubs and the labour force began to stir. The socialist doctrines of St. Simon were widely circulated during this time. The July Revolution was not confined to the geographical limits of France H.A.L. Fisher has observed that : "Sparks

from the Paris France flew fast & far and fell among the unsound timbers of the Congress of Europe". It triggered repercussions in Belgium, Poland, Germany and Italy. The independence of Belgium from Holland in 1831 was the first nationalist triumph to be effected by the influence of the July Revolution. Though reactionary forces triumphed in Poland, Germany and Italy, the Revolution did shake conservative Europe with its new message of national and political awakening. Britain recognized the July monarchy and other powers could not venture to repudiate it. This Revolution profoundly influenced Britain and led to the Parliamentary reforms of 1832 which liberalized the franchise. This stir affecting other European countries was a revolution by itself.

12.5 Conclusion

It is clear from the above description that the July Revolution of 1830 was a significant event in the history of Europe. It also exerted influence on the people of the countries of other continents like America. The slave system was abolished there as a result of this revolution. The constitutional monarchy was established in France. These events indicated the failure of the reactionaries and the success of the nationalists. This revolution was a death warrant of the autocratic monarchs.

12.6 Glossary

1. **Republican:-** A party in France which was hostile to absolute monarchy and despotic rule of the Bourbon dynasty.
2. **Ultra Royalists:-** An Ultra-royalist (French ; ultrayaliste, Collectively Ultras) was a French political label used from 1815 to 1830 under the Bourbon Restoration.
3. **Liberals:-** A party in France which favours the constitutional monarchy.
4. **Bonapartists:-** Bonapartism is the political ideology of Napoleon Bonaparte and his followers and successors.
5. **Moderates:-** Its part consisted of the nobles, feudal lords and the higher clergy and their ideology contained the element of liberalism.

12.7 Check your Progress

1. Right or Wrong

- (i) July Revolution was started in China.
- (ii) Louis XVIII was restored to the French throne in 1814.
- (iii) Louis XVIII died in 1824.
- (iv) The condition of the labourers in France was good.

(i) Wrong (ii) Wrong (iii) Right (iv) Wrong

12.8 Lesson end Exercise

Short answer type questions

- Q1. Who were the Bonapartists?
- Q2. Give the meaning of Ultra-Royalist?
- Q3. Explain the role of Bourbon dynasty?
- Q4. What were the four ordinances of July 1830?

12.9 Suggested Reading

- (i) European History (1789-1914) by C.A. Leeds.
- (ii) Modern Europe by C.J.H. Hayes.
- (iii) Modern European History by Raghubir Dayal.
- (iv) A History of the Modern World by Ranjan Chakrabarti.

12.10 Model Test Paper

- Q1. What do you know about the causes, effects and importance of the July Revolution of 1830?

- Q2. Describe briefly the July Revolution of 1830 with special reference to its causes and effects?
- Q3. Why did the July Monarchy of 1830 become unpopular? Explain?
- Q4. Discuss the important causes and consequences of the French Revolution of 1830.

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: GENESIS AND CONSEQUENCES

Mr. Kashab Kumar

STRUCTURE

13.1 Introduction

13.2 Objectives

13.3 Geneses of Industrial Revolution

13.3.1 Enormous Expansion in Overseas Trade of Britain

13.3.2 Availability of Capital

13.3.3 Practical Bent of Mind of the English Researchers

13.3.4 Small population

13.3.5 Social and Political Stability

13.3.6 The Availability of Coal and Iron Mines Close to Each Other

13.3.7 The Agriculture Revolution

13.3.8 Presence of Enterprising People

13.3.9 Risk taking Private Sector

13.3.10 Better Means of Transport

13.3.11 Geographical Location

13.3.12 Flexibility of English Social and Political System

13.4 Path that led to Industrial Revolution

13.4.1 Drill Machine

13.4.2 Conversion of Animal Husbandry

13.4.3 Enclosure Acts

13.4.4 New Technique of Farming

13.4.5 Change in Manure Pattern

13.4.6 Use of Machine

13.4.7 Beginning with Textile Industry

13.4.8 Invention of Flying Shuttle

13.4.9 Cotton Gin Invented

13.4.10 Water Power and Wind Power

13.4.11 Revolutionary Changes in Transportation

13.4.12 Iron and Steel

13.4.13 Changes in Water Transport

13.4.14 Invention of Railway Engine

13.4.15 Improvement in Communication System

13.4.16 Petrol Engine

13.5 Impact of Industrial Revolution

13.5.1 Population and Economic Growth

13.5.2 Standard of Living

13.5.3 Women, Children and Industry

- 13.5.4 Class and Class Consciousness
- 13.5.5 Industrial Landscape
- 13.5.6 Industry, Trade and Engine
- 13.5.7 East Asia- Opium War
- 13.5.8 India- Anexation and Trade
- 13.5.9 Latin America – An Empire of Trade
- 13.6 Lets us sum up
- 13.7 Glossary
- 13.8 Check your Progress
- 13.9 Self Assessment Questions
- 13.10 Suggested Reading

13.1 Introduction

Industrial Revolution began in England and soon spread to Continental Europe and North America. It roughly corresponds to a period between 1750 to 1860. The first major industry to taste the Industrial revolution was Textile Industry. However, it was the **Agricultural Revolution** in England that eventually paved the way for Industrial Revolution.

13.2 Objectives After going through this unit you will be able:-

- a. To know about the causes of Industrial Revolution
- b. To understand the impact of Industrial Revolution
- c. To discuss the different dimensions of Revolution
- d. To evaluate the social impact of Industrial Revolution
- e. To understand the expansion of trade due to industrial Revolution

13.3 Genesis of Industrial Revolution

The genesis of Industrial revolution can be traced from different factors as discussed as follows:-

13.3.1 Enormous Expansion in Overseas Trade of Britain:

Enormous expansion in Britain's trade in overseas markets was one of the major causes of technological revolution. During the 17th and 18th centuries Britain had carved out an extensive colonial empire and successfully excluded the other powers like Spain, Holland and France from their markets. As a result, Britain acquired a sort of monopoly in these markets.

The growing demand for the British goods in these markets gave a stimulus to the British manufacturers to adapt machine methods. It is well known that the mechanical inventions of the 18th century such as spinning, jenny of Hargreaves, the water-frame of Arkwright, the mule of Crompton and the power-loom of Cartwright etc. were invented to increase the production of cotton cloth which was in great demand in India. According to Birnie, 'These inventions are sometimes spoken of as the primary cause of the Industrial Revolution'.

In reality, these were a secondary cause only. Machines for turning out cheap goods in large quantities are useless unless there is a market capable of absorbing the increased output. The market must come first; the inventions follow. Mechanical discoveries have often the appearance of being due to accident, but unconsciously the successful inventor works within limits laid down for him by the changing needs of society.

13.3.2 Availability of Capital:

The vast amount of capital which England had accumulated out of profits of her growing trade enabled her to make large outlays on machinery and buildings, which in turn contributed to new technological developments. In addition England also possessed a large amount of loanable capital obtained by the Bank of England from the rich trade of other countries. This capital also helped England to steal a march over other European countries.

13.3.3 Practical Bent of Mind of the English Researchers:

Another factor which contributed to England's lead in the technological revolution was that the English scientists and engineers had a very practical bent of mind. They made inventions keeping in view the needs of the time. They concentrated mainly on those inventions of science which had practical utility. This was in complete contrast to the continental scientists who concentrated on research in electricity; chemicals etc. which were not of immediate applied relevance.

13.3.4 Small Population:

The small size of England's population, which could not cope with England's growing trade, also necessitated that new devices should be found out to keep production in line with the growing demand. This is best exemplified by the changes in the textile industry as well as the coal industry. The shortage of the labour force compelled the owners to encourage and apply new mechanical devices.

13.3.5 Social and Political Stability:

Britain not only enjoyed complete freedom of trade but also an insular position which saved her from the disastrous consequences of war, which ravaged the countries of Europe. This social stability prevailing in England encouraged the people to invest in sectors where they could hope to receive high dividend in future. This led to adoption of new techniques and promotion of new industries.

13.3.6 The Availability of Coal and Iron Mines Close to Each Other:

The location of the coal and iron mines close to each other encouraged the English to evolve new techniques for the manufacture of iron and utilization of the coals. It is well known that the availability of coal and iron ores in large quantities greatly helped the growth of numerous industries in England.

The needs for large quantities of coal for smelting of iron ores, transportation etc. necessitated improvement in the techniques of coal mining. Metal cages and tubs were used to lift coal. Even the use of wire ropes for lifting of coal was started a little later. Engines were invented to pump out the water from the mines.

13.3.7 The Agricultural Revolution:

In Britain the agricultural revolution had already taken place which greatly transformed the English society. It not only made available necessary raw materials to run the new industries but also provided a large number of agricultural laborers for employment in the new factories.

13.3.8 Presence of Enterprising People:

Finally, the technological changes in England were made possible because of the presence of a sizable section of people who possessed enterprising spirit and requisite technical qualities. Further this class of people also possessed organizing abilities and was accustomed to the handling of large enterprises and labour force. These people were willing to invest money for the discovery of new techniques and give a fair trial to these techniques.

13.3.9 Risk-Taking Private Sector:

The presence of a sizable private sector in the country with great capacity of the individual businessmen to take risks also greatly contributed to the industrial revolution. These business men were willing to take a chance on new things. In this way they were also supported by the government.

13.3.10 Better Means of Transport:

England possessed a far better network of means of transportation than any other country of Europe which greatly helped the industrial revolution. In this task the government played an important role which spent considerable amount on the improvement of roads and construction of canals.

13.3.11 Geographical Location:

The geographical location of England also greatly helped in industrial revolution. Being cut off from the mainland of Europe, England remained immune from wars and upheavals of Napoleonic conflicts and conditions remained quite stable in the country. These stable conditions enabled England to develop their industrial capacity without fear of battle, damage or loss of life.

13.3.12 Flexibility of English Social and Political System:

Above all the flexibility of the English social and political system also greatly contributed to industrial revolution in England. The members of the upper classes in Britain, unlike their counterparts in the continent, pursued their wealth in the new industrial framework with great enthusiasm. They worked in close co-operation with the middle classes and artisans which greatly facilitated the industrial revolution.

In short, we can say that in comparison to other European countries England was more favourably placed in many respects and no wonder stole lead over them in the field of technological revolution and industrialization.

13.4 Paths that Led to Industrial Revolution:

To begin with, there is no exaggeration in saying that Industrial Revolution would not have occurred without agricultural revolution. Even by the end of the 17th century, generally the same techniques, apparatuses and tools were used in the agricultural field as had been used for many centuries.

There were no changes in the agricultural technique because the demand for agricultural tools did not exceed their consumption in the state. The population in cities increased in proportion to the development of workshop system and the majority of people lost their self-dependence.

Under those circumstances, village farmers had to grow more food-grannies and produce more cotton for the urban people. Owing to the steady increase in the demand for these commodities, it became imperative to apply scientific techniques in agriculture and manufacture special machines for this purpose.

Other reason, which caused important change in the field of agriculture, was that till then people cultivated the fields to meet their domestic requirements but now they had started investing money in agriculture to earn profit. It was not possible to earn profit from the cultivation by using old and conventional methods.

Therefore, a number of scientific method and more advanced apparatuses were discovered. Primarily, the rich farmers made progress because only they had money as well as time to conduct experiments. In this way, investment of capital in the field of agriculture paved the way for an agricultural revolution.

13.4.1 Drill Machine:

First of all, a British landlord of Workshire J. Tull invented a machine called ‘Drill’ by which, seed could be sown in fixed rows in adequate quantity. The job of sowing seeds could be done more systematically and properly by using that machine. After that, another British landlord Townshand pointed out to farmers the advantages of growing crops in rotation.

By adopting that technique, it was not necessary now to leave one third of land fallow every time. That process doubled the yield in each area of land and the soil also yielded fodder for animals.

13.4.2 Conversion of Animal Husbandry:

Around 1770, an Englishman called Robert Bakewell converted animal husbandry into a profitable occupation. In order to improve the breed of sheep and cows, he made many experiments. By means of new scientific method of artificial insemination, he got success in breeding the sheep, which had treble weight than the ordinary sheep.

He succeeded in breeding cattle, which yielded enough milk and meat as well as sheep, which yielded enough wool and meat. Charles Colling working upon Bakewell’s system reared a new breed of sheep.

13.4.3 Enclosure Acts:

In order to introduce scientific technique, assimilating several small fields created large agricultural farms and ‘an enclosure’ was put around them. And for that purpose 956 Enclosure Acts were passed in England between 1792 and 1815. In consequence of that Act, enclosure put around one lakh acres of arable land.

On the one hand, the Enclosure Act accounted for an increase in the agricultural produce and on the other, it constrained poor farmers to surrender their small fields and they were relegated to the miserable position of landless labourers. Hence, the Act proved advantageous in view of long-term effects on economy in as much as a large number of people who were evicted from their land under the Enclosure Act, were compelled to work in factories. It is needless to reiterate that the Act paved the way for Industrial Revolution.

13.4.4 New Technique of Farming:

A rich English farmer Arthur Young visited England, Ireland and France to make an intensive study of contemporary agricultural systems. After that, he disseminated the 'New technique' of farming. Under the new technique of farming, he described the technique of making large agricultural farms out of small fields and the details of profit accruing from such farms.

A part of the land remained uncultivated in small fields and machines could not be used properly in small open fields. In order to diffuse his ideas, Arthur Young contributed many articles and wrote several books. He also published a journal called 'Annals of Agriculture'.

13.4.5 Changes in Manure Pattern:

By the end of 1840, farmers manured their fields according to old system. But in the same year, a German Chemist Juston Von Leebling proved that the fundamental diet for plants is potash, nitrogen and phosphorus. The fertility of soil increases as a result of mixing a sufficient quantity of those ingredients with manure. After that, fertilizers were used on a large scale and this augmented production enormously.

13.4.6 Use of Machines:

Growth of population, need for more agricultural produce for industrial machines, and desire to save human labour inspired people to use machines in agriculture. Scarcity of wage earners in America prompted people to use machines and soon America became a leader for other countries in using machines on a large scale for agricultural purpose.

In 1793, an American citizen called Whitney invented a threshing machine. In 1834, Cyrus H. McCormick invented a mowing machine. Later on F. Appleby made the mowing machine more useful by attaching a double garnering binder to it. During that period, other inventors introduced several machines like the horse drawn rake disc harrow etc.

By and by, the use of machines in agricultural field increased without stop. The inventions of power-operated machines brought revolution in agriculture. Between 1760 and 1860, there was a tremendous increase in agricultural produce because of improvements in the field of agriculture.

13.4.7 Beginning with Textile Industry:

Industrial Revolution started chiefly from the Textile Industry. In the middle of 18th century, Europe had two methods of producing yarn: spinning wheel and distaff. But old industries failed to satisfy the increasing demand for cloth. By 1750, industries began to use a new type of staple cotton. Earlier, England imported cotton cloth from India.

Undoubtedly, enormous opportunities and possibilities cropped up when machines in Textile Industries replaced the use of manpower. The manual work system decreased to a great extent. As a matter of fact, the idea of planting spinning and weaving machines took a concrete form due to technical innovations, which had been made for many decades in the past.

13.4.8 Invention of Flying Shuttle:

In 1733, a weaver called John Kay invented a '**Flying Shuttle**' by which the work of weaving cloth could be done quickly. By that machine a weaver would now use as much yarn as ten workers produced in a day because earlier a weaver had to use both his hands in order to throw woof through wrap on the hand looms.

The flying shuttle was a technical device to do so. A weaver could now weave wider cloth and could use more yarn because he did not need to throw woof through the wrap. This raised production. In 1764, James Hargreaves invented '**Spinning Jenny**'. Eight yarns could now be spun at a time by means of '**Spinning Jenny**'.

In 1769, Richard Arkwright improved ‘**Spinning Jenny**’ and made a weaving machine called the ‘Water-Frame’, which worked with waterpower. It was the first spinning machine, which used waterpower in place of manpower. According to scholars, Industrial Revolution actually started in 1769.

They maintained that Arkwright’s invention laid the foundation of massive cotton cloth industry and introduced factory system. In 1779, Samuel Crompton combined the mechanism of spinning jenny and water-frame and made a new machine called the ‘Mule’. It could spin fine yarn very rapidly.

As a result of those inventions, huge stock of fine yarn came into the market and weaving machines came into use in proportion to the availability of yarn. In 1785, Edmund Catwright invented ‘Power-loom’. It could be operated both by steam-power and water-power. Because of the use of power-loom, the price of fine cloth dropped too low to believe. After a few years, power-loom became an integral part of every factory.

13.4.9 Cotton Gin Invented:

For spinning machines, the supply of cotton fell short because the process of ginning was very slow at that time. In 1793, Elly Whitley invented a cotton ginning machine called ‘Cotton gin’. That machine brought revolution in the cotton industry. It could separate cotton fibers from the seeds as quickly as 50 workers would do.

The chain of inventions also continued in the 19th century. In 1825, Richard Roberts made the first automatic spinning machine. After 1846, fine ready-made clothes were sold in the market on a large scale because an American citizen Alias Hobbe had invented the sewing machine.

13.4.10 Water Power and Wind Power:

New machines were being invented. The need for new sources of power to run the newly invented machines was increasing day by day. Water power and wind powers were used to operate machines but they had limitations. Factories had to be constructed near the place where strong current of water flew.

The strong currents of water were not only few but located very far from the reach of workers, raw materials and markets. Therefore, several people discovered the method of using steam power. In 1712, an Englishman Thomson Newcomen, first of all, invented a steam engine to drain water from trenches but that engine consumed too much fuel and was too bulky to carry to several places.

In 1769, James Watt removed the defects of Newcomen's engine and made a new steam engine, which was cheap and very useful. In 1775, James Watt established a factory in partnership with an industrialist for manufacturing steam engine. James Watt's steam engine was planted in all the textile mills of England.

13.4.11. Revolutionary Changes in Transportation:

The field of transport was influenced by the revolutionary changes, which occurred in the world of textile and steel industries. Owing to the increase in trade and industry, necessary improvements were carried out in the means of transport. A Scottish engineer Mc Adam (1756-1836) invented the process of making roads.

He put a thick layer of heavy stones under the lower part of the road and after that he deposited another layer of small, broken stones and covered those layers with tar and asphalt. Roads built with the Mc Adam process proved to be very durable and useful. He became famous not only in England but also in Canada and America where he built roads.

13.4.12 Iron and Steel:

But after a few years, the source of charcoal started depleting day by day. Hence, other sources of fuel were discovered. Around 1750, it was discovered that coke might be used in place of charcoal. The credit for discovering coal as substitute for charcoal goes to Abraham Derby and John Roebuck. Extreme heat of coal smelted and refined the iron more rapidly and easily. The demand for coal also increased.

Consequently, the number of coal mines increased. By and by, new types of furnaces were prepared and modified, and hard steel was manufactured. In 1784, Henry Court discovered the technique of puddling by which very pure and standard quality of steel was manufactured.

The discovery of puddling brought about revolutionary changes in the production of steel and it became very easy to manufacture various types of machines with fine quality of iron. By and by, steel became a substitute for iron. Prior to 1856, the manufacturing process of steel was very costly. And English engineer Henry Bessemer discovered the process of making steel rapidly and economically, which became popular as the ‘Bessemer Process’.

Under the ‘Bessemer Process’ steel was made by blasting air through molten pig iron in a large container. Steel was produced on a large scale by means of the ‘Bessemer process’ and other refined processes.

13.4.13. Changes in Water Transport:

Attention was now focused on inventing faster means of water transport. An American engineer Robert Fulton invented in 1807 the first steamboat-Clermont. When his steam-boat-Clermont sailed through the Hudson River, a few persons made fun of Fulton’s invention.

Some people called it ‘**A tool of demon**’. When he successfully crossed the Hudson River in his steamboat, the grudging rivals filed suits against Fulton. But the scientific progress defeated superstition. Although, ‘Clermont’ was a small vessel, it marked the beginning and steamers (steam-ships) were built based on the technique of steam-boat.

In 1838, the steam-boat ‘Serious’ crossed the Atlantic Ocean for the first time in eighteen days. During the first decade of 1850, screw propellers were fitted in steam-boats in place of paddle-wheel and this greatly increased their speed.

13.4.14 Invention of Railway Engine:

The invention of railway engine brought a revolution in the field of road transport. An English engineer George Stephenson invented his famous steam engine ‘Rocket’ in 1814. The engine could run automatically with steam power on iron rails and drag wagons loaded with various goods.

As a result of that invention, the first railway train ran between Manchester and Liverpool in 1830. The train hauled carriages loaded with goods at a speed of 39 miles an

hour and surprised the world. Coal steel and other Industrial products were transported over distant places in a short time and at very low cost.

13.4.15 Improvements in Communication Systems:

Significant improvements were made in the field of communication system. A blind English man Rolland Hill started a system in 1840, through which anybody could send a letter at any place in Great Britain by affixing a one-pence stamp on the letter. Other countries followed the system soon. In 1844, Samuel Morse invented a practical telegraph machine.

Telegraphy was used to establish immediate contacts among the continents of the world. In order to establish a connection between two continents, under water telegraphy was introduced, first of all, between North America and Europe and was called '**Atlantic Cable**'. It was promoted in 1866 by an American Industrialist Cyrus Field.

In 1876, Graham Bell invented telephone which proved to be the culmination point in communication at that time. Thus, in the beginning of the 19th century, a close connection was established between science and Industrial advancement. During the past years, a lot of researches had been made in various branches of science. On the basis of scientific researches, a lot of new experiments were carried out in the Industrial field.

13.4.16 Petrol Engine:

The inventions of petrol engine, in about 1880, brought another revolution in the field of transport. With its success, several companies opened in America to manufacture motorcars. Here, Henry Ford manufactured motor-cars at a low cost and popularized them. Motor-car manufacturing factories were established in France, Germany and England also.

In 1839, Charles Good Year discovered that the process of vulcanization hardens rubber. This invention played a remarkable role in all the success of motor industry. Rubber tyres made travelling very comfortable.

13.5 Effects of Industrial Revolution:

Industrialization affected every aspect of human life.

13.5.1 Population and Economic Growth:

One of the most important changes was the continuous expansion of the population and the economy. Most observers in the 18th century did not believe that expansion of the population and the economy could be sustained indefinitely. **Thomas Malthus** (1766-1834) argued that population naturally grows faster than the food supply, and therefore malnutrition, famine, and disease will correct the imbalance.

Malthus's cycle of expansion and contraction did not take place. The population had consistently expanded as the greater agricultural productivity permitted maintaining an adequate food supply. The industrial economy had been able to employ large numbers of workers. Despite economic swings, industrialized nations continued to experience an increase in the gross national product and per capita income.

13.5.2 Standards of Living:

There has been much debate about the impact of industrialization on the working class. The optimists have pointed to the long-term effects of industrialization, which have helped avoid Malthus's predictions, such as the rise of individual income. Pessimists have emphasized the fact that improvements did not appear for several decades after the beginning of industrialization.

Pessimists blame the system of industrial capitalism for the laboring population's hardships. In an effort to reduce costs and maximize profits, employers kept wages low and utilized labor-saving devices. Pessimists also point to the early decades of industrialization, when people were forced to live in decrepit housing around the factories. The monotonous, demeaning, and exhausting nature of factory work adds to the pessimists' argument against the positive effects of the Industrial Revolution.

13.5.3 Women, Children and Industry:

During the early Industrial Revolution, large numbers of women and children were part of the workforce. They were willing to accept lower wages and were more easily disciplined. The factory system changed family life. In the early years of the Industrial

Revolution many families worked together in the factories and mines.

As mothers found it impossible to care for their small children while working, they began to leave the factory. The British Factory Act of 1833 enforced restrictions against child labor. Eventually, the trend was that the man earned a living outside of the home while the woman stayed home to care for their children.

13.5.4 Class and Class Consciousness:

Writers began to describe industrial society as divided into three classes based on the type of property they owned. The aristocracy owned land. The bourgeoisie owned capital enterprises and gained their wealth from profits. The working class owned only their labor and received wages.

There is great debate over the extent to which the people of the 19th century were conscious of their class status. Some historians argue that worker exploitation and conflicts between capital and labor over wages led to the formation of class identity. Others argue that workers were more conscious of their trade, ethnic, or local identity than they were of their class identity.

13.5.5 Industrial Landscape:

The Industrial Revolution changed the landscape. Small towns grew into huge cities. In the countryside, bridges, viaducts, rail-road lines, and canals were built to improve transportation. The destruction of the natural beauty of the landscape triggered a nostalgic reaction in art and literature.

Some of the new industrial architecture, such as the new bridges, were romanticized and thought to be architectural marvels.

13.5.6 Industry, Trade and Empire :

By the middle of the 19th century, Britain produced 66% of the world's coal, 50% of the cotton cloth and iron, and 40% of the hardware. In the search for raw materials and markets, the interests of industry, trade, and empire worked closely together.

13.5.7 East Asia: The Opium War, 1839-1842:

For three centuries after the arrival of the Europeans, China maintained a tight control over trade with Europeans. In the 1830s conflict broke out between China and the British over the trade of opium, which was causing severe problems in Chinese society. When the Chinese authorities began seizing and destroying chests of opium, the English declared war.

The British, with their superior technology, attacked and defeated China. In the aftermath, the Chinese were forced to open several ports to English merchants and allow the ports to be governed by British consuls who were not subject to Chinese law.

13.5.18. India: Annexation and Trade:

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Britain gained control of India. Political control of India served British merchants' interests. British merchants controlled the trade between India and the rest of Asia. India also became a market for British textile goods, which destroyed India's own textile industry. India also became a major source of revenue for the British government.

13.5.9 Latin America: An Empire of Trade:

In Latin America, Britain was an ardent supporter of the movements to gain independence from Spain and Portugal. Once independent, these countries became markets for British goods and capital. While these countries remained politically separate from Britain, they became economically dependent on the British in the same way India had become. Latin America's village artisan economies were destroyed and Latin America became a market for British finished goods.

13.6 Let us sum up

*Thus Industrial revolution not only led to **Colonialism** and **Imperialism** but also led the development of new markets around the world, and the need for resources to supply the factories of Europe.* The demand for raw material and look for markets led to exploitation of the colonies. This led to a large inequality between the industrialized West and the rest of the world. A competition among industrialized countries to seize the colonies and their economic resources started.

13.7 Glossary

- **Thomas Malthus** - *Thomas Robert Malthus* was an English cleric and scholar, influential in the fields of political economy and demography. *Malthus* himself used only his middle name, Robert. In his 1798 book *An Essay on the Principle of Population*.
- **Imperialism** a policy of extending a country's power and influence through colonization, use of military force, or other means.-
- **Colonialism**- the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically.
- **Flying shuttle** The *flying shuttle* was one of the key developments in the industrialization of weaving during the early Industrial Revolution. It allowed a single weaver to weave much wider fabrics, and it could be mechanized, allowing for automatic machine looms
- **Spinning Jenny**- a machine for spinning with more than one spindle at a time, patented by James Hargreaves in 1770.

13.8 Check yours progress

1. What do you mean by Industrial Revolution ?

2. Give any five causes of Industrial revolution .

3. How standard of Living improved after Industrial Revolution?

4. Do you think that Industrial Revolution improved Trade and commerce in world?

13.9 Self Assessment Questions

1. Discuss the various dimensions of Industrial Revolution
2. Highlights the various causes of Industrial Revolution.
3. Discuss the impact of Industrial Revolution on Trade and Commerce
4. How Industrial Revolution spread British Imperialism in different parts of the World?

13.10 Suggested Readings

1. Will Durant and Ariel Durant “The story of civilization” MJF Books, 1993
2. Norman Lowe, “Mastering Modern World History” Palgrave Publication, 1998
3. Arjun Dev and Indira Arjun Dev “The History of Modern World”, Oriental Publication 2001
4. Jain and Mathur , “ Modern World History” , Bookman Publication , 1999

UNIFICATION OF ITALY

Mr. Kashab Kumar

STRUCTURE

- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Objectives
- 14.3 Stages of Unification of Italy
 - 14.3.1 The Carbonari Movement
 - 14.3.2 Young Italy Movement
 - 14.3.3 Piedmont Sardinia and Victor Emmanuel -II
 - 14.3.4 Cavour
- 14.4 History of Unification of Italy
 - 14.4.1 Settlement of 1815 and Italy
 - 14.4.2 Revolt of Naples-1820
 - 14.4.3 Revolt in Piedmont- 1821
 - 14.4.4 Lombardy
 - 14.4.5 July Revolt and Italy
 - 14.4.6 Risorgimento

- 14.4.7 Events of 1848-49
- 14.4.8 Venetia-1866
- 14.4.9 Rome-1870
- 14.5 Role of Mazzini
- 14.6 Role of Garibaldi
- 14.7 Lets us Sum up
- 14.8 Glossary
- 14.9 Check your Progress
- 14.10 Self Assessment Questions
- 14.11 Further Suggested Readings

14.1 Introduction

Unification of Italy refers to the Italian movement for independence. The movement truly began in 1848, when there were many revolts occurring throughout Italy after Klemens Wenzel von Metternich lost his office of Austrian Chancellor. The movement for independence succeeded in 1859 through the efforts of Count Cavour, the Piedmonts prime minister, as well as Giuseppe Garibaldi, an Italian national hero, who united the South, which allowed King Victor Emmanuel to become the first King of Italy.

14.2 Objectives After going through this lesson, you will be able:-

- a. To know about the various stages of Unification of Italy.
- b. To understand the role played Count Cavour.
- c. To discuss the challenges faced during the Unification of Italy
- d. To know the Role played by Italian National Hero Garibaldi.
- e. To discuss the contribution of Mazzini in the Unification.

- f. To understand the history of Italian Unification

14.3 Stages of Unification of Italy

With the downfall of the Roman Empire, the glorious sun of Italy began to set down. During the fifth century Italy was divided into small pieces. Due to foreign invasions and the conflict between the king and Pope, Italy began to divide into small pieces. Taking the advantage of this, France and Austria occupied many portions of Italy. Napoleon occupied the small states of Italy and formed a vast Italian Empire. Metternich, the great diplomat of Austria said, 'Italy is nothing more than a geographical expression'. But later on the great persons like Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour rose in the political horizon of Italy who united Italy and formed the nation State.



The Position of Italy in the Vienna Settlement:

After the downfall of Napoleon the 'Congress of Vienna' was convened in 1815. According to this Congress, 'Lombardy' and 'Venetia', the two prosperous states of Italy were given to Austria. The provinces of 'Parma', 'Modena', 'Tuscany' were ruled by the Austrian Princes. Rome was ruled by the Pope. The Bourbon dynasty ruled over Naples and Sicily 'Piedmont' and 'Sardinia' were ruled by the Savoy dynasty. The national unity of Italy was dissolved by the system of the Vienna Congress.

14.3.1 The Carbonari Movement:

The nationalists of Italy could not tolerate the injustice made by the Vienna Settlement to their state. They were annoyed with the dominating activities of the newly established rulers. So, the government employees and the soldiers of the middle class formed a Secret Committee was named as the 'Carbonari Committee'.

The Carbonaries agreed to unite Italy into one nation state. The Carbonaries organised a revolt against king Ferdinand IV in Naples. They demanded the liberal constitution of Spain. In 1821 Austria sent his army and defeated the Carbonaries in the battle of Reiti.

On the return journey, this army also defeated the revolutionaries at piedmont in the battle of Novara. In 1830-31 Austria also crushed the revolts at Parma and Modena. The Carbonaries bitterly failed in their first attempt but this paved the way for the unification of Italy.

14.3.2 Mazzini and the young Italy Movement:

Joseph Mazzini blew the first trumpet of Italian unification. He was born in Genoa in 1805. He joined the Carbonari Committee in his childhood in order to liberate his motherland. He played an active role in the Carbonari Movement and was imprisoned in the Savona fort. After his release from the prison he established a revolutionary organization of the youth of Italy, which was called the 'Young Italy'.

The main object of this organization was to arouse the political consciousness of the people who lived in different parts of Italy. Men below 40 years joined this party and had to contribute 50 percent of their income to the party fund. Each member had to

provide a dagger, a rifle and fifty bullets. The Slogan of this party was-“God, the people and Italy”.

By 1833 there were as many as 60,000 members of this party. Having great faith on the Youth Mazzini told that Italians could unite Italy one day. Mazzini had a profound faith on God and dreamt to construct a bridge of equality between religion and politics. His speech and writings encouraged the people of Italy.

It created a flame of patriotism among the Italians. In 1843 the “Young Italy” revolted in Sicily but failed in its mission. But in 1848 by the revolt of this party in Naples king, Ferdinand granted a constitution to Sicily. In course of time the fame of Mazzini increased. In the whole of Italy he was regarded as an angel.

In due course of time the patriots of ‘Young Italy Party’ joined the ‘Red Shirts’ of Garibaldi. Under the leadership of Mazzini, the republicans of Rome revolted against the pope and abdicated him from the throne. But later on, France sent army to Rome and destroyed the Roman Republics established by Mazzini and re-established the Pope in Rome.

By this, the dream of Mazzini to unite the whole of Italy was scattered into pieces. But his clarion call ‘Italy is one Country and the Italians are one Caste’ paved the way for the unification of Italy.

14.3.3 Piedmont Sardinia and Victor Emanuel II:

The people of Tuscany dismissed their ruler Leopold and established a republican government there. The revolt also broke out in Florence. Austria marched forward to suppress the revolts. With, the request of the people, Charles Albert the king of Piedmont-Sardinia declared war against Austria.

In 1849 he was defeated by Austria. He was so much disappointed that he abdicated the throne. At this critical juncture his son Victor Emanuel II ascended the throne of Piedmont- Sardinia. With him a new era began in the formation of Italy as a nation state. With the help of his Prime Minister Cavour and Commander Garibaldi he marched forward for the unification of Italy and became successful.

14.3.4 Cavour:

Whose brain was always active for the unification of Italy, he was Count Camille de Cavour. His 'Resorgimento' or the Revival Movement paved the way for the unification of Italy. He was born in 1810 in a royal family of Piedmont. After receiving defense education, he joined the army. But due to his liberal opinions he resigned from his post.

In 1848 he encouraged Piedmont to declare a war against Austria. He realized that the unification of Italy could be possible only by Piedmont-Sardinia. He was appointed as the Advisor of King Victor Emanuel II in order to make Piedmont an ideal state.

He took measure for the development of agriculture and for increasing the number of soldiers in the army. As a great diplomat Cavour joined the Crimean War. He also made an alliance with King Napoleon III of France and declared war against Austria. He played an important role for the formation of Italy as a nation state.

14.4 History of the Unification of Italy

Mazzini believed that the young men of Italy could bring about the unification of Italy if they quote him "Place youth at the head of the insurgent multitude; you know not the secret of the power hidden in those youthful hearts nor the magic influence exercised on the masses by the voice of youth."

14.4.1 Settlement of 1815 and Italy:

The Vienna Settlement of 1815 failed to unify Italy. As a matter of fact, it was divided into a large number of States under different rulers.

Ferdinand I was restored to Sicily and Naples, the Pope was restored to Rome and the Papal States, and Parma, Modena and Tuscany were given to the members of the Habsburg family.

It was on account of the division of Italy into many independent parts that Metternich referred to Italy as a geographical expression. Mazzini described the condition of Italy in these words "Country, liberty, brotherhood, all are wrested from them; their faculties are mutilated, curbed, chained within a narrow circle traced

for them by men who are strangers to their tendencies, to their wants, their wishes; their tradition is broken under the care of an Austrian corporal; their immortal soul feudatory to the stupid caprices of a man seated on a throne at Vienna.”

The restorations of 1815 were followed generally by reactionary or demoralizing administrations. Ferdinand I restored the hated police system, the press censorship and the authority of the clergy. He persecuted liberal opinion, gave preference to Royalists and offended the people of Sicily by abolishing the autonomous constitution of that Island. In the case of the Papal States, the Inquisition, the Index and all the paraphernalia of medieval church government were restored.

A corrupt and inefficient administration created a lot of discontentment. There was social anarchy in the country. There was a tyrannical government in Modena. In the case of Venetia and Lombardy, a deliberate attempt was made to “Austrianize” the political life of the people. In the case of Piedmont and Sardinia, Genoa smarted under the humiliation of subjection to Piedmont. On the whole, there was excessive provincialism in Italy and everything was dominated by Austria.

The Napoleonic regime had infused new life into Italy’ and given an impulse to union which had been strengthened on many a battlefield. As the restored princes followed a policy a reaction, the democratic and nationalist ideas began to work among the people like leaven. Patriots were roused to a sense of their country’s humiliation and democrats inspired to resist oppression as Italians and not as Sicilians, etc. Secret societies began to spread all over Italy and the Carbonari was the most important.

It had its mystic rites and symbols, but it concealed and fostered a determined political purpose which was the expulsion of the foreigner and the achievement of constitutional freedom. All classes joined it whether they were nobles, military officers, peasants or priests. However, the liberal and democratic ideas had taken the deepest roots among the gentry, and the bourgeoisie. The Carbonari spread beyond Italy and the black, red and blue of the Carbonari became the flag of the revolution.

14.4.2 Revolt in Naples (1820):

Under the impetus of secret societies, a revolution began in 1820 and was not exhausted for 30 years. The first revolt broke out in Naples. Ferdinand I had pledged himself solemnly to respect the liberal constitution of Sicily at the time of his restoration to the throne in 1815. However, in 1816, he cancelled that constitution so that it may not serve as a model for other States of Italy.

The excitement created by the Spanish revolution of 1820 spread to the Italian dominions of the Spanish Bourbons. The people of Naples, supported by the army, demanded a constitution on the model of Spain. Ferdinand granted the demands of the rebels with eagerness. He thanked God that He had given him an opportunity to confer that blessing upon his people.

He also ratified the concession in a solemn manner. In the presence of the court and ministers, he proceeded to the altar and took the following oath “Omnipotent God who with infinite penetration looks into the past and into the future, if I lie, or if I have had in mind to break the oath do Thou at this instant hurl on my head the lightning of Thy vengeance.” The king kissed the Bible, the oath was repeated by his sons and the new constitution was publicly proclaimed.

However, Ferdinand I sent a secret message to the sovereigns assembled at Troppau informing them of his intention “to leave his kingdom and with the help of Austrian troops to resume absolute power.” In December 1820, he left for Laibach. As soon as he was safe in Austrian territory, he asked for the help of the sovereigns to restore him to absolutism. The result was that an Austrian army was sent to Naples. The troops of Naples ran away. Ferdinand was restored. The constitution was torn up. The rebel leaders were put in prisons or hanged.

14.4.3 Revolt in Piedmont (1821):

The revolutionary movement was not confined to Naples alone. The whole of Italy at that time was honeycombed with secret societies. The Government of Victor Emmanuel in Piedmont was weak and reactionary and in March 1821, an insurrection broke out there. However, there was no hostility to the House of Savoy.

The slogans of the people were the following. “Our hearts are faithful to our king, but we wish to deliver him from perfidious counsels. War against Austria; at home a constitution; such are the wishes of the people.” When the Austrian armies marched to Naples, the Liberals of Piedmont decided to attack the Austrian troops from the rear. However, the movement was badly led and the plans hopelessly failed. Victor Emmanuel resigned his crown in favour of his brother Charles Felix. There were people who wanted the throne to go to Charles Albert. In the midst of divided counsels, the movement collapsed.

14.4.4 Lombardy:

In the case of Lombardy, the Austrian yoke was reimposed with great vigour. The rebel leaders were taken to Austria where they had to spend their lives in prisons. The young-men were conscripted for the Austrian armies. The jails of Lombardy were full of political prisoners. All the subjects were thoroughly watched. Torture was employed to get confessions.

14.4.5 July Revolution and Italy:

The July Revolution of 1830 in France also affected the Italian politics. The Papal States were very badly affected. From the Papal States, the movement spread to Piedmont, Parma and Modena. However, the rising were everywhere successful. Pope Gregory XVI asked for the help of Austria. Metternich sent the Austrian armies into Italy and the Papal States were occupied by the White coats.

Order was restored and the authority of the Pope was re-established. Francis IV was restored to his throne in Modena and Marie Lousie in Parma. However, as soon as the Austrian troops left Italy, fresh revolts broke out and they had to return once again. At this time, France also sent an army to occupy Ancona (1832) and for 6 years Austrian and French troops continued to confront each other in the Papal States.

The insurrections failed because the democratic efforts were disunited and not systematic. The people were not ripe for revolution. Unity was the cry of only a few leaders and not the creed of the masses. However, one thing was clear and that was the weakness of the reactionary States in Italy. They were saved only by the intervention of Austria.

14.4.6 Risorgimento:

There were many revolts in Italy against the existing conditions and thousands of persons were sent to prisons or in exile. They stimulated the deep and wide movement of thought and feeling which became so important in Italian history that they were given the title of Risorgimento, the revival or resurrection.

The **Risorgimento** movement was at bottom a moral one. It was based on the ideal of a free and united Italy. It got strength from the Romantic Movement. It reminded the Italians of their greatness in the past. Politically, the revival was patriotic and national. It was a protest against Austrian domination and a demand for unity.

It was liberal and democratic. There was a demand for parliamentary form of government, freedom of press, reduction of powers of the church, and the establishment of a republic. It presented the aspirations of the middle classes of Italy to develop themselves economically. It was linked up with the growth of knowledge and science. Such a broad movement could not be incorporated in one single programme. The views and efforts of persons like Mazzini came within its scope.

14.4.7 Events of 1848-49:

The year 1848 opened with many problems, popular agitation was increasing in Naples and Sicily for reforms. The democratic parties in the Papal States, Tuscany and Piedmont were demanding a new constitution which transferred real power into the hands of the people. In the case of Lombardy and Venetia, the Austrian yoke was becoming intolerable. The movements of 1848-49 were democratic and nationalist.

In January 1848, a revolution broke out in Palermo which demanded reform, Sicilian autonomy and the constitution of 1812. The demands were granted after some resistance. There were demonstrations in Naples and they also got a new constitution. The result was that there were popular demonstrations in favour of a constitution in Piedmont, Tuscany and the Papal States. In March 1848, Piedmont and Tuscany got liberal constitutions which established constitutional governments in those States.

The same month news came that there was a revolt in Vienna and Budapest and Metternich had run away to London. The revolution broke out in Milan, the Viceroy ran

away and the Austrian troops under Radetzky withdrew. A republic was proclaimed in Venice. The rulers of Modena and Parma also ran away.

There was a demand for war to end the Austrian domination in Italy. Cavour appealed in these words. “The supreme hour of the Sardinian monarchy has sounded. There is only one path open to the government, the nation, the king—immediate war.” Charles Albert declared war against Austria.

Tuscany, Naples and the Papal States sent their contingents. However, after some time they were all withdrawn. Charles Albert was defeated in the Battle of Custoza in July 1848. Lombardy and Venetia came under the control of Austria. The result of Custoza was that the Moderates were discredited and the Extremists under Mazzini came to the front. “The war of the princes was finished, that of the peoples begun.”

A republic was proclaimed in Rome under the leadership of Mazzini. The authority of the Pope was abolished and the Pope ran away to Naples and appealed to the Powers for help. In March 1849, Charles Albert renewed the war against Austria but he was again defeated in the Battle of Novara. He abdicated and his son Victor Emmanuel II made peace with Austria. After Novara, reaction started in Italy. Sicily was reconquered by Naples.

The ruler of Tuscany was restored. Louis Napoleon, the French President, sent an expedition to Rome. Garibaldi was defeated and the Pope was restored. Venice was also captured by the Austrians in August 1849. Absolutism and reaction triumphed everywhere in Italy except Piedmont which did not cancel the liberal constitution given in 1848. Although the movement of 1848-49 had failed, something had been gained.

Those who stood for a republican government for Italy or a government under the Pope were discredited and things were cleared for the unification of Italy under the monarchy of Piedmont. Moreover, during this movement, the people from all over Italy participated unmindful of the fact whether they belonged to one part of Italy or the other. The people of Italy became conscious of themselves. The movement gave the Italian cause “a dynasty to represent it and a people to defend it.”

The failure of the revolts in Italy before the rise of Cavour was due to many causes. Austrian position was very strong in Italy and it was not possible to oust her without foreign help. However, the motto of the Italian patriots was that they would be able to achieve their independence and unification without any outside help. That was impossible. It is true that as a result of the Carbonari and Young Italy of Mazzini, ideas of nationalism were spreading all over Italy, but still there was provincialism and selfishness among the people.

Very few people thought in terms of Italy as a whole. There was no collaboration among the princes of Italy for Italian unification. As a matter of fact, excepting Piedmont, all others were opposed to it. Austria, Lombardy and Venetia were opposed to Italian unification.

The same was the case with the Austrian rulers of Parma, Modena and Tuscany. The Pope was the greatest enemy of Italian unification, because the unification of Italy was bound to deprive him of his territory, capital, income and prestige and he was helped by France and others in his efforts to keep Italy disunited. The Italian patriots had different objectives. Some stood for a Republican Government, others for the leadership of the Pope and still others that of Piedmont. The lack of unity weakened the cause.

The patriots pulled in different directions and consequently their divided forces could not achieve much. This was the condition when Cavour came to the front. However, it must be remembered that the failure of the above revolts facilitated the work of Cavour. The cause of Republicanism and that of the leadership of the Pope was discredited and thus all the people of Italy could work together for the unification of Italy under the House of Piedmont. Moreover, during these revolts, Piedmont proved herself to be the leader of the people of Italy.

Until his death in 1861, the most important man in Italian politics was Cavour. As a Youngman, he had travelled widely in England, France and Switzerland. He was a keen student of advanced Western methods in agriculture, industry and parliamentary government and was fascinated by them. It became a mission of his life to westernize Piedmont and eventually the whole of Italy.

He was convinced that railways, factories, banks, milk and business enterprises as working in France and Britain were the only road to economic prosperity in Italy. In October 1850, he was appointed Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Marine of Piedmont. He made a series of commercial treaties with England, France and Belgium and thereby linked Piedmont to the free trade countries of Western Europe.

As a Minister of Finance, he raised capital by internal loans for immediate needs and an external loan from England. A part of it was spent on the construction of rail-roads. In November 1852, he formed his own Ministry. In his new capacity, he started in earnest the improvement of the roads, rail-roads, docks and ports of Piedmont. He expanded her commerce and strengthened her finances.

As a young engineer in the army, Cavour had acquired the outlook and aptitude of a technician. He approached the problems of politics with a systematic well-informed and logical mind. He was always prepared to analyse them patiently and carefully in order to find out a solution.

By 1854, he had succeeded in running Piedmont on sounder business-like lines. Keeping England and France as his models, he passed the necessary legislation to modernize the structure of business corporations, banks and credit institutions, co-operative societies, the civil administration and the army. After the end of the Crimean War in 1856, Cavour took further a more intensive programme of economic development.

He tried to acquire more military and economic strength for his country. The railways of greatest strategic importance were expanded. The Mont Cenis Tunnel was planned to pierce the Alps and link up the territory of Piedmont with France.

Genoa was changed from a naval base into a great commercial port with new docks and leading facilities. Piedmont was linked very closely with the West by rail and steamship. By the time Cavour died in 1861, he had created by diplomatic alliances and wars, a new kingdom of Italy with Piedmont as its core, but still excluding Venetia and Rome.

Before Cavour came on the scene of Italian politics, the boast of the Italian was “Italia fara de se” (Italy will act by itself). However, the conviction of Cavour was that Italy

herself was not so strong militarily as to fight against Austria. This had been proved by the defeats of Custoza and Novara. Italian unification was possible only with foreign help. Cavour would have preferred British help and Britain was generally sympathetic to the cause of liberal nationalism in Italy and had no immediate demands to make from Italy in return.

However, the British Government had made it clear on many occasions that it would not help the people of Italy by military support. Palmerston believed that the survival of the Austrian Empire was necessary for the maintenance of balance of power between Russia and France in Europe.

When in 1857, the Archduke Maximilian became the Viceroy of Lombardy, his policy of leniency and conciliation was warmly approved by British diplomats at Vienna and Turin. At the most, Cavour could expect benevolent neutrality from Britain. Britain was determined to avoid any involvement in a general war.

Cavour joined the **Crimean War** in 1855 on behalf of England, France and Turkey and against Russia. It is true that Piedmont had no interest in the Eastern Question, but he got an opportunity to raise the status of Piedmont. It was a master-stroke of his policy. When the Italian troops complained of mud in the Crimea, Cavour wrote back thus. "Out of this mud, Italy will be made." After victory over Russia, the Congress of Paris was held in 1856.

It was before that Congress that Cavour was able to condemn the Austrian rule in Italy and raise the Italian question from the level of a local question to that of an international question. Moreover, he wanted the sympathy of Europe for his cause, particularly that of Napoleon III.

Napoleon III himself had sympathy for the cause of Italian unification. He had once been a member of the **Carbonari**. The Liberals of France also encouraged him to help the people of Italy. Napoleon III was always ready to embark on foreign adventures in order to gain fresh prestige for his regime. He had tasted the fruits of popularity and prestige from the Crimean War.

He favoured the idea of north Italian kingdom coming into existence with French help. The people of France would like the idea of acquiring Nice and Savoy. Napoleon III

also felt that by helping Italy, he will be doing what Napoleon I had done in his own time. He will be completing the work started by Napoleon Bonaparte.

In January 1858, bombs were thrown on Napoleon III and the Empress when they were going to the opera. It is true that both of them escaped unhurt, but many persons were killed and wounded. Many Italians were arrested and it was found that Orsini was the chief agent in the plot. Orsini declared that what he had done had sprung from his belief that Napoleon had betrayed the cause of Italy.

From his prison, he wrote two letters to Napoleon III appealing to him to free Italy. To quote Orsini, "So long as Italy is not independent, the tranquillity of Europe no less than that of Your Majesty, is a concrete chimera. Deliver my country and the blessings of twenty-five million citizens will follow you in posterity." On the scaffold of the guillotine, the last words of Orsini were "Vive Italie" (Long Live Italy!). Victor Emmanuel had sent General Delia Rocca to congratulate Napoleon III on his escape.

However, the protests of the French Minister were so hostile that they evoked separate replies from both Victor Emmanuel and Cavour. These replies along with the courage shown by Orsini at the time of his death, confirmed Napoleon III in his resolve to help the cause of Italian unification. Napoleon III is stated to have observed. "Now that is what I call courage." He also published Orsini's last letter appealing to him to support the cause of Italian unification. He took the really decisive step in June 1858.

Napoleon III sent a message to Cavour through a private source that he was going to spend the summer in Plombieres and he would be glad to see him there. Cavour met the Emperor on 21-22 July 1858 at Plombieres and had a long discussion with him, first at his residence and then on a long drive round the town while Napoleon himself held the reins. An agreement was arrived at between Cavour and Napoleon III. France promised to support Piedmont in a war with Austria on the condition that Cavour provided a pretext which would justify the action of France in the eyes of the people of Europe.

The Austrians were to be driven out of Italy. The North was to form a kingdom of Italy under Victor Emmanuel II. The whole of Italy was to be united in a federation under the Presidency of the Pope. Victor Emmanuel was to marry his 16-year-old daughter to Prince Napoleon, the cousin of Napoleon. France was to get Savoy and Nice although

Savoy was the cradle of the royal house and of the state of Piedmont and Nice was the birthplace of Garibaldi.

The first step in the fulfillment of the Pact of Plombieres was the marriage of the daughter of Victor Emmanuel with the cousin of Napoleon III. In September 1858, little Clotilde agreed to meet Prince Jerome and promised "if he is not actually repulsive to me, I have decided to marry him." Jerome was found to be not repulsive and the marriage was solemnised. In January 1859, the Pact which was so far verbal was embodied in a formal treaty between the two Governments.

It was provided in the secret treaty that in case of war, France was to provide 200,000 men and Austria was to be driven out of Italy. Cavour wrote, "We have Austria in a cleft stick and she cannot get out of it without firing the cannon." The people of Northern Italy were excited. They cheered Victor Emmanuel and the kingdom of Italy. They cried, "Long live the war!"

In March 1859, Russia was won over by a treaty whereby Napoleon III agreed to support a revision of the Treaty of Paris of 1856 in return for Russia's approval of the changes in the settlement of 1815 in so far as it affected Italy. This ensured against Russian intervention. There was no danger of intervention from Britain because popular sympathies in Britain were with the people of Italy. Prussia was expected to follow Britain in seeking mediation and she was not averse to seeking Austria humiliated.

Piedmont and Austria began to mobilize as tension began to increase. Cavour had only one aim in view and that was to force Austria to issue an ultimatum at the right moment and thereby put herself in the wrong. Mobilization in Piedmont dislocated everything. It was more than a precautionary measure. It nearly amounted to a declaration of war. Under pressure from different quarters.

Napoleon III began to show signs of backing down. By 18 April 1859, it appeared that the concert of Europe was reviving to prevent an outbreak of war. Great Britain, and to a lesser extent Russia, urged the possibility of settling trouble by means of a European Congress. That was also one of the ideas of Napoleon III and he could not refuse to consider it. His will was so unstable that Cavour was in despair. For a moment, peace seemed to be certain.

Cavour is said to have remarked, “Nothing remains for me but to put a bullet through my head.” Then came an incident which has not been fully explained. It is possible that Austria was tired of the long delays. It is also possible that he was encouraged by the assurances of loyalty from the different parts of the Empire. Austria despatched to Turin an ultimatum demanding disarmament “within three days” and sent her troops into Piedmont on 19 April 1859. Nobody welcomed the war more than Cavour did.

On that occasion, Cavour is said to have observed, “The die is cast and history is made.” The Austrian Emperor declared that he was fighting for “the rights of all people and states and for the most sacred blessings of mankind.” The general feeling was that Austria had broken the peace. Victor Emmanuel was declared Dictator by the Parliament of Piedmont and the war began.

Every great Power in Europe seemed to be interested in the Italian war and there was much talk of intervention. The attitude of Great Britain and Russia did not matter much, but the action of Germany and Prussia was really the most critical question. Austria was primarily a German power and she was at the head of the Germanic Confederation. Despite her grievances against Austria, Prussia could not be expected to remain unconcerned when Austria was being defeated by the armies of France and Italy.

The federal army and the Prussian army were both put on a war footing. The diplomacy of Austria could not induce them to go further than that. However, the fear of German or Prussian intervention was always in the mind of Napoleon III and was partly responsible for stopping the war after the battle of Solferino.

In spite of all this, the armies of Austria had to bear the attacks of their enemies without any allies. Although General Benedek won high reputation for his management of the campaign and the Austrian soldiers displayed great bravery in the battlefield, Austria was defeated. The different national elements in the Austrian army had no interest in the issue of the campaign and no wonder they could not give their very best.

Moreover, the higher ranks in the Austrian armies were confined to the nobles alone and these too were great handicaps. The situation in Italy was highly favourable to the national cause. There were spontaneous risings all over the North of Italy. There were

risings in Modena. Parma expelled its ruler. There were movements of utmost importance in Tuscany, particularly its capital, Florence.

There were great popular meetings in Florence which cheered for “War, independence and Victor Emmanuel.” The King of Piedmont was asked to undertake the military dictatorship of Tuscany. These demonstrations in Tuscany were against the desire of Napoleon III who wanted to make Prince Jerome somehow the ruler of Tuscany. In the Romagna and the Legations, the Papal troops were driven out and the popular cry was for union with Italy and Victor Emmanuel.

There was no hope that Pope Pius IX would join the national cause. An effort was made to bring in the kingdom of Naples. Ferdinand II, the ruler of Naples, had just died and he was succeeded by his son Francis II who was married to the sister of the Austrian Empress. No wonder, an attempt to win him over to the national cause failed.

As regards the actual war, the Austrians were undecided. Their troops came in slowly. Count Gyulai held the supreme command and was thought to have owed his promotion over the heads of others on account of his influence at the court. On the Italian side, great reliance was placed on “Hunters of the Alps” who were a body of irregular troops collected from the most enthusiastic elements among the patriots of Italy and commanded by Garibaldi who was considered by the people as the incarnation of the romance of daring and the poetry of the national cause.

As the Allied forces advanced into Milan, Garibaldi acted on the left flank along the foothills of the Alps. However, the main brunt of the fighting fell on the French troops. It is conceded that without the support of the armies of France, the national armies were doomed. The Austrians would have fared better if they had remained on the defensive under cover of the fortresses of the “Quadrilateral”, but they decided to defend Milan. The issue was decided in two great battles.

The battles of Magenta were fought on 4 June 1859 and after heavy fighting the Austrians were defeated. They were defeated but not crushed and hence they retreated towards the “Quadrilateral.” The battle of Solferino was fought on 24 June 1859. It was a long drawnout and murderous battle.

In the centre and on the right, the French and the Italians won a complete victory. Although the Austrians under Benedek held their ground on their right, the battle was lost in other parts of the field. The losses on both sides were very heavy. The battle of Solferino was a crushing defeat for Austria although it was not decisive of the whole campaign. However, through the action of Napoleon III, the whole campaign ended.

A question has been asked why Napoleon III stopped after having won the battle of Solferino. It is true that Napoleon III was the victor in the field. He had crushed Austria and called a free Italy into existence. When he entered Milan after the battle of Hagenta, he was given a rousing reception which very few conquerors have received. He was called “Our liberator, our saviour our benefactor.”

His way was strewn with flowers by the women of Milan. He told the people of Italy that he will do nothing to force his will on them. “Use the good fortune that presents itself to you. Your dream of independence will be realized if you show yourself worthy of it. Unite in one great effort for the liberation of the country.”

The cordiality between Napoleon III and the people of Italy did not last long. The slaughter at Solferino profoundly affected the mind of Napoleon III and he would not like to go further in the war. The Italians also did not show themselves easily manageable as expected by Napoleon. The scheme of Napoleon III to put Prince Jerome on the throne of Tuscany completely failed on account of opposition from the people of Tuscany. Although his name was Napoleon, he was not a soldier.

He was an expert more in diplomatic combinations and appeals to the imagination of the people than in the art of fighting. Napoleon III also found danger from the side of Prussia whose army had already been placed on a war footing. Prussia now prepared her whole forces and proposed that she should be given the command of the army of Germany. She proposed to Great Britain and Russia to join her in an offer of mediation to both the parties. There was a fear that the French forces may not be compelled to protect the Rhine frontier.

It was under these circumstances that Napoleon decided to stop the war without consulting Piedmont. While doing so, he acted more as a conspirator than a statesman. Napoleon III sent General Fleury on a private mission to the headquarters of Francis

Joseph, the Emperor of Austria with an offer of an armistice. The Austrian Emperor was willing to meet half way. He knew his own critical position. His armies had been defeated in two battles.

Hungary was threatening revolt and troops were wanted to suppress it. Austria was not favourably inclined towards Prussian help as in that case she will have to make concessions to Prussia in Germany and she was not willing to do the same. It was under these circumstances that Francis Joseph met Napoleon III at Villafranca and the preliminaries of peace were arranged. Lombardy was to be handed over to Napoleon III who was to transfer the same to Victor Emmanuel.

Both France and Austria were to support the formation of an Italian Confederation under the titular Presidency of the Pope. Venetia was to remain with Austria but was to form a part of the Italian Confederation. The rulers of Modena, Parma and Tuscany were to be restored. The Pope was to be urged to introduce reforms in his state. A meeting of the representatives of all the states concerned was to be held to ratify the terms of the Peace of Villafranca.

It is worthy of notice that the armistice of Villafranca was signed by Napoleon III without consulting Piedmont. The result was that too many Italians and particularly to Cavour, it seemed treason to their cause. Cavour was disappointed. He is said to have remarked, "Nothing can come out of this peace. I will turn the conspirator and revolutionary, but this treaty shall not be carried out." After a violent interview with Victor Emmanuel, he resigned his post as Prime Minister, but later on came back to his post again.

It was found that the people of Tuscany, Modena, Parma and the Romagna were not prepared to allow the Emperors of France and Austria to hand them back to their old rulers. Farini had kept the national standard flying in Modena and in Parma. A similar part was played by Ricasoli in Tuscany.

A representative Assembly in Florence declared unanimously in August 1859 that Tuscany desired to become a part of the strong Italy under the constitutional rule of Victor Emmanuel. Victor Emmanuel himself praised the wonderful example of moderation and unity shown by the people of Tuscany and he gave an assurance that he would represent

the claims of Tuscany in the coming congress. The people of Parma, Modena and Bologna also demanded union with the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel.

It was found difficult to carry into effect the terms of the peace of Villafranca. The representatives of France, Austria and Sardinia met together at Zurich. Lombardy was annexed to Sardinia, but the Pope did not show any inclination in the creation of an Italian Confederation. The central Italian states refused to submit. It was proposed to refer the matter to a further congress which was to meet at Paris.

However, the congress never met. The Pope refused to participate as it had been made clear to him directly or indirectly that the territories of the Papacy were to be reduced to a minimum. Austria was also hostile to the idea of a new congress and hence the same had to be given up. Cavour who had taken over as Prime Minister again in January 1860 decided to settle the Italian question by direct secret negotiations. Cavour employed Napoleon's favourite method of plebiscites in Italy.

An enormous majority in Tuscany and an almost unanimous vote in other places declared for a union with the Kingdom of Victor Emmanuel. Savoy by 1,30,538 votes to 235 and Nice by 24,448 to 160 votes declared for union with France. Thus, Napoleon III was given Nice and Savoy and he was to agree to the union of Tuscany, Parma, Modena, etc., with Piedmont. When Napoleon III accepted Nice and Savoy, Cavour observed, "Now we are accomplices."

In the words of Cavour, "They have stopped me from making Italy by diplomacy from the North, I will make it by revolution from the South." With great caution and skill, he embarked upon one of the most amazing enterprises in the history of the Italian union. The mass of the people of Sicily and Naples were uneducated and illiterate and they took little interest in the political revolution in the country. There were a large number of secret societies working there.

There was a section of the people who were full of enthusiasm for Italy. However, it was not certain whether the people of Sicily and Naples would be willing to merge their independence in the kingdom of Piedmont or not, even if it assumed the name of Italy.

There was a strong party that desired some form of autonomy King Francis II was planning to give reforms to his people to satisfy the sentiments of his people but before he had done that, Garibaldi, had landed in Sicily, Garibaldi was a great hero. He was known for his courage.

He was the leader of irregular forces. He was devoted to the cause of Italian unity. The annexation of Naples and Sicily depended as much on Garibaldi as on Cavour. Although Cavour and Garibaldi did not see eye to eye with each other, they had to work in cooperation for the sake of Italian unification. On 5 May 1860, Garibaldi left the port of Genoa with two vessels and 1,136 volunteers to whom were distributed red shirts on the way.

They landed at Marsala on 11 May 1860. The force at the disposal of Garibaldi could not have overcome the resistance of the troops of Sicily and Naples. However, much depended upon the impression which Garibaldi could produce on the mind of the people of Sicily. Garibaldi possessed reckless courage and that stood him in good stead. He advanced on Palermo and won a wonderful victory outside Palermo and later on captured the city itself.

This first victory decided the fate of the campaign in Sicily. King Francis had no supporters in Sicily outside the fortress of Messina. The nationalists of Naples appealed to Garibaldi for help, Victor Emmanuel forbade him to pass the Straits and at the same time suggested to him the language in which he should refuse the command. Garibaldi landed at the extreme south of Italy and marched on Naples. There was no resistance. King Francis was betrayed by many of his ministers and soldiers and he left Naples for Gaeta on 6 September 1860. Garibaldi entered Naples and he was welcomed by the people. The triumph of Garibaldi was amazing.

Cavour was happy that King Francis of Naples and Sicily had been overthrown but he was anxious to know what was to take its place. Garibaldi had always declared that he was acting in the name of Italy and Victor Emmanuel but it was not certain as to what he might do in actual practice. The future was uncertain. Mazzini and his followers were working for a republic. There was a strong party which wanted to give to Naples and Sicily a separate and independent status in a free and united Italy.

The possibility of the restoration of King Francis could not be ruled out because he was still holding out at Gaeta. It appeared to Cavour that time had come when he and his master must act in order to save the situation. He had no confidence in the intellectual capacity of Garibaldi to deal with the same. He also saw an opportunity of not only completing the settlement of Naples but also adding the Papal lands to Italy.

There were revolts in the Marches and in Umbria. It was difficult to attack the Papal territory as the Pope was recognized as a part of the state system of Europe. However, Cavour declared in a dispatch to Pope Pius IX that the King of Sardinia felt himself bound “in the cause of humanity” to prevent the Papal troops from suppressing with violence the popular movements in Umbria. On this pretext, the Italian army entered the Papal states and defeated the Papal army at Castelfidardo.

The forces of Victor Emmanuel then pushed on into Naples and took over the authority which had been exercised so far by Garibaldi as a dictator. To begin with, Garibaldi declared that he had no confidence in Cavour and he would not declare annexation to the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel until Rome was conquered. There was some danger of a clash between the Red shirts of Garibaldi and the troops of Victor Emmanuel.

However, the danger passed away. King Francis was forced to leave Gaeta and he retired to Rome. Garibaldi met Victor Emmanuel who thanked him for the great services rendered by him to the cause of the country. However, Garibaldi refused to accept any reward for his services and retired to his Island home Caprera. Plebiscites were held in Naples, Sicily and the Papal states and by overwhelming majorities, the people declared for immediate annexation to “the constitutional monarchy of Victor Emmanuel.”

The first Italian Parliament met in Turin in February 1861. In March a new constitutional decree containing a single article was promulgated. “Victor Emmanuel II assumes for himself and his successors the title of King of Italy.” Cavour died soon after, but it cannot be denied that he was the real creator of Italy as a nation.

In the words of Phillips, “Italy as a nation is the legacy, the life-work of Cavour. Others have been devoted to the national liberation, he knew how to bring it into the sphere of possibilities; he kept it pure of any factious spirit; he led it away from barren Utopias; kept it clear of reckless conspiracies; steered straight between rebels and reactions

and gave it an organised force, a flag, a government and foreign allies.”

Another writer says, “If there had been no Cavour to win the confidence, sympathy and support of Europe, if he had not been recognised as one whose sense was just in all emergencies, Mazzini’s efforts would have run to waste unquestionable insurrections, and Garibaldi’s feat of arms must have added one chapter more to the history of unproductive patriotism.” The last words of Cavour at the time of his death were: “Italy is made, all is safe.” Cavour created “Italy of the Italians.”

According to Lord Palmerston, “Cavour left a name, ‘to point a moral and adorn a tale.’” The moral was that a man of transcendent talent, indomitable industry, inextinguishable patriotism, could overcome difficulties which seemed insurmountable, and confer the greatest, the most inestimable benefits on his country. The tale with which his memory would be associated was the most extraordinary, the most romantic in the annals of the world. A people which had seemed dead had arisen to new and vigorous life, breaking the spell which bound it and showing itself worthy of a new and splendid destiny.”

14.4.8 Venetia (1866):

Italy entered into an alliance with Prussia in 1866 with a view to secure Venetia from Austria. When the war started between Austria and Prussia, the Italians also entered the field. However, they were defeated by the Austrian troops, but their entry into the war facilitated the task of Bismarck as Austria was forced to fight on two fronts. No wonder, the Austrians were defeated in the Battle of Sadowa and surrendered. Bismarck did not make any demand on vanquished Austria but merely asked the latter to give Venetia to Italy and the same was done.

14.4.9 Rome (1870):

The unification of Italy was completed in 1870 when Napoleon III was forced to withdraw the French troops from Rome which was stationed there since 1849. That was due to the fact that Napoleon had to fight against Prussia and it was necessary to collect troops from everywhere. It was in this way that the unification of Italy was completed in 1870 as a result of the efforts of the Italian patriots, foreign help and the force of circumstances.

14.5 Role of Mazzini (1805-72):

Giuseppe Mazzini was the son of a doctor and professor of anatomy in Genoa, from his childhood; he was influenced by the nationalist movement in Italy. When he was hardly 10, Genoa was put under Piedmont in 1815. This act was very much resented by the people. During the 1820's Mazzini studied the writings of the romantic writers of Italy, France, Great Britain and Germany.

His favorite writers were Dante, Shakespeare, Byron, Goethe, Schiller, Scott, Hugo, etc. Even when young, he was impressed by the misery of his country. To quote him, "In the midst of the noisy, tumultuous life of the students around me I was sombre, and absorbed and appeared like suddenly grown old. I childishly determined to dress always in black, fancying myself in mourning for my country."

He had a bent of mind for literary life. "A thousand visions of historical dramas and romances floated before my mental eyes." But he gave up that idea for the sake of fighting for his country. He called this as his "first great sacrifice."

He joined the Carbonari not because he approved of its methods but because it was at least a revolutionary organization. He was arrested in 1830 and imprisoned in the fortress of Savona. He was released after six months. The Governor of Genoa told Mazzini's father that his son was "gifted with some talent" but he was "too fond of walking by himself at night absorbed in thought. What on earth has he at his age to think about? We don't like young people thinking without our knowing the subject of their thoughts."

His vast experience helped him to found in 1831 a new organization known as "Young Italy". This society superseded the Carbonari as the centre of nationalist agitation. Its motto was: "God and the People." A member had to take an oath. "To dedicate myself wholly and forever to the task of constituting a free, independent and republican Italy."

Mazzini believed that the young men of Italy could bring about the unification of Italy if they had faith in their mission. To quote him "Place youth at the head of the insurgent multitude; you know not the secret of the power hidden in those youthful hearts nor the magic influence exercised on the masses by the voice of youth."

You will find among the young a host of apostles of the new religion.” Mazzini appealed for martyrs to the Indian cause. He reminded the Italians that they had no citizenship, no country and no national flag. The cries of Young Italy were God, people and Italy. Its methods were education, literary propaganda and revolts.

Mazzini believed that Young Italy must not merely be a body of conspirators. Its main object was to create among the Italians the spirit of self-sacrifice to die for the sake of their country. Mazzini considered the liberation and unification of Italy as a religion.

He was prepared to live and die for it. He was a dauntless leader. He was a man of imagination, poetry, and audacity. He was the master of a persuasive literary style. He had a burning enthusiasm in his heart. All these qualities of Mazzini helped the cause of Italian unification.

Mazzini believed that Austria must be driven out of Italy and the sooner that was done the better. He was not in favour of any foreign help to drive out the Austrians from Italy. To quote him, “The only thing wanting to twenty million of Italians, desirous of emancipating themselves, is not power, but faith.

The great contribution of Mazzini lay in the fact that at a time when the people of Italy considered the liberation and unification of Italy as an impossible dream, he made the same a practical ideal. He was able to create a faith among the people for the holy task. He was able to convert a large number of persons who were fired with the same missionary spirit which he himself possessed for the cause of Italian unification.

High hopes were raised in Italy when Pious IX became the Pope in 1846. He followed a liberal policy and it was felt that he might become the leader of the nationalist and democratic forces in the country. The shouts of Viva Pio Nono were heard from democratic lips. Metternich was upset. To quote him, “We are prepared for anything except a liberal Pope. Now we have got one. There is no telling what may happen.” Austrian troops occupied Ferrara.

Charles Albert of Piedmont was indignant and Great Britain protested. However, the zeal of the Pope slackened very soon. He refused to move forward. In spite of this, in every State in Italy, a new spirit was to be found. The movement was almost universal.

Browning's account of Italy represents the feelings of the common man.

14.6 Garibaldi (1807-82):

Garibaldi was born in 1807 at Nice, then an Italian town. His father was a skipper. He was two years younger to Mazzini. He did not take advantage of the education which his father tried to give him in spite of his scanty means. He acquired "just enough book learning to feed his naturally freedom-loving, romantic and poetical disposition, but not enough to chosen it or to train his mind to wide understanding and deep reflection."

He acquired good experience of the Mediterranean by working in coasting trade for ten years. Thrice he was captured by pirates. He was inspired by Italian patriots and exiles to fight for Italian freedom. "He believed in Italy as the Saints believed in God." He was introduced to Mazzini and he joined "Young Italy" of Mazzini. "When I was a youth and had only aspirations towards good, I sought for one able to act as the guide and counselor of my youthful years. I sought such a guide as one who is athirst and seeks the water- spring. I found this man. He alone watched when all around slept; he alone kept and fed the sacred flame."

In 1833, Garibaldi joined in one of the many conspiracies of Mazzini. His part was to enter the Sardinian Navy and win over the sailors to the plot. The conspiracy failed and Garibaldi was prosecuted. He managed to run away, but he was condemned to death by the Government of Sardinia.

The years between 1836 and 1845 were spent by Garibaldi in South America. There he lived a wild and roving life. He took part in the local wars. "He looked upon batties as a pleasure and the hardship of camp-life as a pastime." He acquired the experience of guerilla warfare which was to be of great use to him later on.

In 1847, Garibaldi offered his services to the Pope who at that time was considered to be the hope of the Italian patriots who wanted unification of their country. In 1848, he came back to Italy and placed his services at the disposal of Charles Albert of Sardinia who had declared war against Austria. Thousands of persons flocked to the standard of "hero of Montevideo" to fight against Austria.

As the campaign failed, he went in 1849 to fight in defence of the republican regime in Rome. His was a heroic defence but after the fall of that city, he managed to escape with 4,000 troops. He was pursued by the Austrians who did not give him rest anywhere. The pursuit was undertaken both in forests and mountains as if he was some sort of a game. Most of his followers lost their lives.

Even his heroic wife, Anita, was killed. Garibaldi himself escaped to Tuscany and from there to Piedmont and ultimately to America. His exploits full of heroism, chivalry and romance moved the Italians to enthusiasm and admiration.

In 1854, Garibaldi came back to Italy with a little money with which he bought a small island of Caprera, near Sardinia. There he built a house in which he lived with the simplicity of a crafter and the status of a King. There he filled his soul with “the breath of liberty, the utter release from crowds and courts and officials and the whole scheme of modern life, to which he was always in mind and heart a stranger; and this liberty would have sufficed him to the end of his days. As he gazed over the unbroken surface of the sea, had he not in his mind’s eye seen beyond the eastern horizon those still enslaved shores.”

In 1856, Garibaldi met Cavour and in 1857 he announced his conversion to the cause of the Sardinian monarchy. It was a very important happening because it was necessary to heal the breach between the republicans and the monarchists and to combine them against the common enemy. At heart Garibaldi continued to be a republican but he remained loyal to Victor Emmanuel to the end. There continued to exist a mutual understanding between Garibaldi and the king although at times the relations between Garibaldi and Cavour were strained to the breaking point.

In 1859, he came out of his retirement and collected a large number of volunteers to fight against the Austrians. He was the idol of soldiers from one end to the other end of the country. There were thousands who were prepared and were ready to follow him blindly. He took part in the war in which Napoleon III himself fought. He was very unhappy when after the battle of Solferino, Napoleon III signed the armistice of Villafranca.

As early as the autumn of 1859, the conspirators in Sicily began to appeal to Garibaldi for help. His presence alone could give them success. He hesitated for some time, but ultimately agreed to help them on the condition that the revolt took place in the

name of Italy and Victor Emmanuel and it was started by the people of Sicily themselves.

His supporters also approached Cavour who understood the political potentialities of a revolt conducted in the name of **Victor Emmanuel**. Outwardly, Cavour maintained an attitude of strict neutrality but he encouraged the conspirators to revolt. The followers of Garibaldi who had fought in 1859 were stirred and were spoiling for fresh encounters.

On 4 April 1860, the Revolution broke out near Messina in Sicily. When Garibaldi heard of its initial success, he agreed to help the rebels of Sicily and himself appealed to Cavour and Victor Emmanuel for authorisation and help. Cavour found himself in a very difficult position. It was impossible to give an official encouragement. At the same time, it was not possible to evade. There was a popular cry for war. The name of Garibaldi was on the lips of everyone and it was difficult to oppose him. Under the circumstances, Cavour played a double game.

He told the ambassadors of the Great Powers that he was completely ignorant of what was happening. At the same time, preparations were allowed to be continued. Volunteers were collected by Garibaldi. The only condition imposed by Victor Emmanuel was that the officers of the Sardinian army should not be enlisted as volunteers. Arms were collected from the arsenals of the national society. The harbour authorities of Genoa connived at the embarkation of the expedition. Admiral Persano of the Sardinian Navy was instructed “to keep between Garibaldi’s ships and the Neapolitan fleet.”

On 11 May 1860, Garibaldi appeared off Massala on the west coast of Sicily and disembarked his troops. This he did practically under the protection of a small British naval squadron. This was a very friendly gesture on the part of the British Government because without that help, Garibaldi might have faced difficulties. A few days later, Lord John Russell declared in the House of Commons, “We had once a great filibuster who landed in England in 1688.” From Massala, Garibaldi advanced to Palermo.

There were only a thousand men at his disposal, but the number of Neapolitan troops opposing him was 20,000. On 15 May 1860, the first battle took place. There was hardly any fighting and towards the end of the day, Neapolitan troops ran away. After a fortnight, Garibaldi entered Palermo and proclaimed himself the dictator of Sicily. By the

end of July 1860, the whole of the island of Sicily except the fortress of Messina and one or two minor ports was in his hands. The name of Garibaldi had worked miracles. The revolutionaries were encouraged and they rallied to his side.

The success of Garibaldi in Sicily put Cavour and Victor Emmanuel in a difficult position. It was certain that Garibaldi would cross to the mainland and ultimately advance towards the Papal state and even to Rome. Garibaldi had become more and more independent and more and more impatient and distrustful of Cavour and his cautious and diplomatic methods.

He was more sympathetic to Crispi and the extreme republicans among his followers. Mazzini himself was in Italy and preparations were being made to invade the Papal state. Cavour was afraid of the intervention of France and Austria if Rome was attacked. However, the diplomatic situation was favourable to the cause of Italian unification. England was friendly. Napoleon III on the whole was sympathetic and was not willing to move without England. Austria was not prepared to act alone as there was the danger of a revolt in Hungary.

Cavour tried to persuade Garibaldi to agree to the immediate annexation of Sicily but failed. After that he decided to play his own game against Garibaldi. He tried to create in Sicily and Naples a strong public opinion against Garibaldi. The agents of Cavour started their intrigues in Naples. Efforts were made to win over the people to the side of Sardinian monarchy. Admiral Persano was sent to win over the Neapolitan fleet.

In the second week of August 1860, Garibaldi crossed the Strait and landed in Calabria. Napoleon III had suggested that an Anglo-French squadron should blockade the Strait of Messina in order to keep Garibaldi in Sicily. But Great Britain did not approve of the proposal.

The result was that Garibaldi was able to cross to the mainland of Italy. On 31 August 1860, Garibaldi captured Reggio and began to advance towards Naples. The progress of Garibaldi, became a simple triumphal march.

He was received by the people as “a second Christ.” On 6 September 1860, the King of Naples left for Gaeta and on 7 September Garibaldi entered the capital by train

from Salerno alone ahead of his army. He did not show that he was leading a hostile force.

The only obstruction he met was from an excited mob which surrounded his train. As he left the station for the centre of the city, his carriage passed through the troops of Naples who could have killed him without any difficulty. Garibaldi stood up folded his arms and looked straight in the face of the Neapolitan troops. Some of them gave him the salute, but no one fired a shot.

It is true that they were acting according to the orders of the King, but anybody could have disobeyed the order and killed him. Garibaldi proclaimed him the dictator of the Kingdom. He appointed Bertani, a follower of Mazzini, as Secretary of State. As a proof of his loyalty to Victor Emmanuel, he handed over the Neapolitan fleet to Admiral Persano of Sardinia. Garibaldi made no secret of his future plans.

After Naples, he was to go to Venice and Rome. He was not prepared to listen to the appeals of Victor Emmanuel and Cavour. He rejected their “hypocritical but terrible pretext of necessity; the necessity of being cowards; the necessity of groveling in the mud before an image of transitory power.” The revolution infection had spread to the Papal States. The troops of the People were getting ready to put down the revolt.

It was under these circumstances that Cavour decided to act to save the situation. He declared, “Italy must be saved from foreigners, evil principles and mad men.” He decided to anticipate Garibaldi and attack the Papal states with the Sardinian troops and defend Rome from Garibaldi. It was a strange situation. Efforts were made to find out the attitude of Napoleon III if a Sardinian army occupied Umbria and the Marches. The reply of Napoleon III was “Do it quickly.” That was all which Cavour wanted. On 11 September 1860, he ordered the invasion of the Papal states.

On 18 September, the Papal army was defeated at Castelfidardo. On 29 September, Ancona fell. Thus, the whole of Umbria and the Marches came in the hands of the Kingdom of Piedmont. There had been a race between Garibaldi and the troops of Piedmont. Cavour had correctly stated, “If we do not reach the Volturno before Garibaldi: reaches La Cattolica, the monarchy is lost, and Italy will remain in the prison-house of the revolution.” Garibaldi was delayed on account of resistance put up by the people of Capua and thus Cavour won.

After the occupation of the Papal States, plebiscites were held in Sicily and Naples and those were in favour of joining the kingdom of Sardinia. That strengthened the hands of Cavour. Garibaldi also found that without the assistance of the Sardinian troops, he could not conquer the fortresses of Gaeta and Capua. It was under these circumstances that Victor Emmanuel entered the territory of Naples at the head of his army. On 27 October 1860, Garibaldi surrendered his power and his army to Victor Emmanuel. After that action was taken against Capua and Gaeta. Capua was captured in November 1860 and Gaeta in February 1861.

On 9 November 1860, there was an imposing ceremony in the Palace of Naples where Victor Emmanuel was declared the King of Sicily and Naples. Garibaldi formally resigned his dictatorship and asked the people to forget their differences and obey the king. On 10 November 1860, with a bag of seed-corn for his farm, Garibaldi returned to his Island of Caprera and there spent the rest of his life in peace and retirement. On many occasions, he appeared in national and international affairs. He joined the war in 1866 against Austria. He was a volunteer in French service in 1870.

It is said that when **Cavour** agreed to give Nice to France as the price of French help against Austria, Garibaldi burst into tears as Nice was his birthplace and its handing over to France was to result in his becoming a foreigner in Italy.

It is difficult to find a more selfless patriot in the history of the world. If all politicians in the world were to act in the manner in which **Garibaldi** acted, the face of the world will be completely changed. There will be a competition to serve and the world as a whole will gain.

Victor Emmanuel was a soldier and a man of action. He was not a dreamer like his father. In spite of his authoritarian character, he maintained the constitution granted by his father. He even favoured the Liberals of Sardinia. He was a realist. He pursued revolutionary aims while seeking to avoid revolutionary means.

14.7 Lets us sum up

Italy, before its process of revolution began, was mostly ruled by foreign powers and absolute monarchs. The country's citizens decided they wanted a change in their government and freedom from the many rulers they experienced. In the beginning, the revolt was not organized and resulted in failure until they united and fought as one large group. With the help of some historical revolutionaries such as Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour and the combination of multiple independence wars, Italy finally saw a reconstruction of its government and a unification of the nation was possible.

14.8 Glossary

- **Carbonari-** The *Carbonari* was an informal network of secret revolutionary societies active in Italy from about 1800 to 1831.
- **Cavour-** *Cavour* was an Italian statesman and a leading figure in the movement toward Italian unification. He was one of the leaders of the Historical Right, and Prime Minister of the Kingdom
- **Garibaldi-** was an Italian general, politician and nationalist. He is considered one of the greatest generals of modern times and one of Italy's "fathers of the fatherland" along with Camillo Benso, Count of Cavour, Victor Emmanuel II of Italy and Giuseppe Mazzini
- **Mazzini-** *Mazzini* was an Italian politician, journalist, activist for the unification of Italy and spearhead of the Italian revolutionary movement. His efforts helped bring about the independent and unified Italy in place of the several separate states, many dominated by foreign powers that existed until the 19th century.
- **Sardania-** *Sardinia* is the second largest island in the Mediterranean Sea (after Sicily and before Cyprus) and an autonomous region of Italy. It is located in the Western Mediterranean, to the immediate south of the French island of Corsica
- **Victor Emmanuel-** *Victor Emmanuel* II was King of Sardinia from 1849 until 17 March 1861. At that point, he assumed the title of King of Italy and became the first king of a united Italy since the 6th century, a title he held until his death in

1878. The Italians gave him the epithet of Father of the Fatherland

14.9 Check yours progress

- 1. What do you know about different parts of Italy before the unification (see the map)**

- 2. Write a short note Risorgimento**

- 3. What do you know about the Carbonari?**

- 4. What was July revolt?**

5. What was the position of Rome in Italy ?

6. What was the political position of Piedmont?

7. Locate the position of Sicily,Nice and Naples on the map of ITALY

8. Draw a life sketch of Garibaldi

9. Write a short note on Mazzini

14.10 Self Assessment Questions

1. Discuss the various Geographical areas of Italy before the unification.
2. Give a brief on various stages of Unification of Italy
3. How Mazzini was instrumental in the Unification of Italy.
4. Discuss the Role played by Garibaldi in the Unification of Italy.

14.11 Suggested Reading

1. Will Durant and Ariel Durant “The story of civilization” MJF Books, 1993
2. Norman Lowe, “Mastering Modern World History” Palgrave Publication, 1998
3. Arjun Dev and Indira Arjun Dev “The History of Modern World”, Oriental Publication 2001
4. Jain and Mathur , “Modern World History”, Bookman Publication , 1999

FOREIGN POLICY OF NAPOLEON-III

Mr. Kashab Kumar

STRUCTURE

- 15.1 Introduction
- 15.2 Objectives
- 15.3 Foreign Policy Of Napoleon-III
 - 15.3.1 Napoleon-III and Rome
 - 15.3.2 Napoleon-III and Crimean War
 - 15.3.3 Napoleon-III and Italy
 - 15.3.4 Napoleon-III and Rumania
 - 15.3.5 Napoleon-III and the Poles
 - 15.3.6 Napoleon-III and Mexico
 - 15.3.7 Napoleon-III and Austro-Prussian War-1866
 - 15.3.8 Napoleon-III and Franco-Prussian War-1870
- 15.4 Napoleon III as an Emperor
- 15.5 Home policy of Napoleon III
- 15.6 Let us sum up

15.7 Glossary

15.8 Self Assessment questions

15.9 Suggested Further Readings

15.1 Introduction

Napoleon-III's foreign policy was much less successful than his domestic policy was. Generally speaking, the aims of his foreign policy were to present France as the champion of oppressed people throughout Europe, to create new countries, which would be grateful to France, to maintain good relation with Britain and to maintain a balance of power between Austria and Prussia.

15.2 Objectives After going through this unit you will be able:-

- a. To understand the Political condition during the time period of Napoleon-III.
- b. To discuss the foreign Policy of Napoleon-III.
- c. To understand the Home policy Napoleon-III
- d. To evaluate the Napoleon –III as an Emperor.

15.3 Foreign Policy of Napoleon-III

Both as the President of the French Republic and Emperor of France, Louis Napoleon professed to stand for peace, but actually he followed a vigorous foreign policy which involved France in many wars. His aggressive foreign policy was due to many causes. Louis Napoleon was a nationalist and he sympathized with the people of Italy, Germany and Poland who were fighting for their freedom and unification.

It was his nationalism which attracted the French masses to him. It was the name of Napoleon that was responsible for his election as President in 1848 and also his popularity later on. He could justify that name only by following in the footsteps of his uncle which meant war. Napoleon also felt that he could carry with him all the people of France by following a vigorous foreign policy as the people of France yearned for glory.

He was also the centre of intrigues and the object of constant appeals for active help to the oppressed nationalities of Europe. The Patriots of Europe looked up to him for assistance. Napoleon himself hoped to get compensation in the form of territories and thereby add to the national pride and prestige.

In the colonial field, Napoleon annexed the whole of Algeria to France and it became a great prosperous dependency. He joined hands with England in a military demonstration against China and many Chinese ports were opened for trade to the Europeans. In 1851, he sent punitive expeditions to Annam and Cochin-China. In 1863, he established a French protectorate over Cambodia. The main highlight of his Foreign policy are as under —

15.3.1 Napoleon III and Rome:

In 1849, Louis Napoleon sent French troops to Rome to overthrow the republican regime and thereby restore the Pope. The republic was defeated and the **Pope** was restored. The French troops remained in Rome from 1849 to 1870. He intervened in Rome with the object of winning over the goodwill of the Catholics of France who wanted the Pope to be restored to his former position.

15.3.2 Napoleon III and Crimean War:

Napoleon III intervened in the **Crimean War** in 1854. The relations between Napoleon and Czar Nicholas I was very bitter. The **Czar** considered Napoleon III as an upstart and Napoleon III would like to have revenge for the French humiliation of 1812. Businessmen, Liberals and Catholics of France hated Russia on various grounds.

There arose certain quarrels between the **Catholic** and Orthodox monks in Palestine. Czar Nicholas I asked Turkey to recognise the right of Russia to protect the Christians of the Turkish Empire. Napoleon III asked the Sultan to resist the Russian “aggression”. The Sultan of Turkey did as he was asked to do and war was declared between Turkey and Russia. Both France and England joined hands to preserve the territorial integrity of the Turkish Empire, Both the French and the English did not do well in the beginning and their troops suffered terribly.

However, things changed for the better after the death of Nicholas I and on Palmerston's becoming Prime Minister of England in 1855. Russia was defeated and peace was made by the Treaty of Paris of 1856. Napoleon satisfied his vanity by presiding over the Congress of Paris. That also raised his prestige.

15.3.3 Napoleon III and Italy:

Napoleon interfered in the affairs of Italy to help the cause of the unification of the country. He himself had been in his youth a member of the Carbonari which was a secret society working for the expulsion of Austria from Italy and unification of the country. The Bonapartes had Italian blood in their veins. A war with Austria for Italian unification was likely to be popular with the Liberals of France.

There was also the possibility of Napoleon getting some compensation. In spite of these factors, Napoleon hesitated to intervene in Italy. He felt that a war with Austria was a risky affair on account of the strength of Austria and her prestige in Italy.

A united Italy might become a serious rival of France in the Mediterranean. The Catholics of France were bound to oppose French intervention to help Italian unification on account of the peculiar position of the Pope in Italy. No wonder Napoleon was on the horns of a dilemma.

However, his indecision was ended when an attempt was made on his life in 1858 by Orsini, an Italian patriot. Napoleon decided to remove the grievances of the potential Italian assassins and cater to the liberal patriots of France. He decided to risk the reproaches of the Pope and the French Catholics.

It was agreed between Napoleon III and Cavour at Plombieres in 1858 that Napoleon III was to help Piedmont to drive out the Austrians from Lombardy and Venetia. He was to get Nice and Savoy as his reward. In April 1859, the Austrian Government gave an ultimatum to Sardinia demanding immediate demobilization.

As that was refused, Austria declared war against Sardinia-Piedmont. As Austria was the aggressor. Napoleon III came to the help of Sardinia-Piedmont and their combined armies won the battles of Magenta and Solferino. After the battle of Solferino, Napoleon III stopped the war all of a sudden and made an armistice with Austria which was ratified by the Treaty of Zurich.

When the Austrian troops evacuated Lombardy according to the Treaty of Zurich, the people of Parma, Modena and Tuscany revolted and turned out their kings. They also voted their union with the Sardinia-Piedmont. By the Treaty of Turin, Napoleon III recognized the annexation of Tuscany, Parma, Modena and Lombardy by Piedmont and he himself got Nice and Savoy.

According to Taylor, “The annexation of Savoy was a turning point in the history of the second empire. Until then it had been plausible to argue that Napoleon was seeking glory by liberating others, not by the direct aggrandizement of France; now he had taken up the revolutionary policy of the natural frontiers, which seemed to lead directly to a French hegemony of Europe. The British Government could not oppose by war a course of events that was helping in the unification of Italy; but they never recovered the faith in Napoleon III which they lost in March 1860.”

Although Napoleon III got Nice and Savoy, he was not a gainer on the whole. Russia was already an enemy and he added Austria to that list. The nationalists of Italy did not forgive him on account of the betrayal of their cause at the most crucial stage. Great Britain began to suspect the designs of Napoleon III. Napoleon III found himself isolated and earned for himself a reputation for dishonesty.

The Italian intervention split up the Nationalist Party of France. The French Catholics blamed Napoleon for going too far and the French Liberals condemned him for not going far enough. The differences between the two began to widen and Napoleon III failed to keep them together. He had to liberalize his government in 1860 to win over the Liberals.

Many reasons have been given for the sudden stoppage of war by Napoleon III after his victory at Solferino. It is pointed out that Napoleon III was a coward at heart and he could not tolerate the sight of bloodshed which he saw at Solferino.

He was also suffering from kidney trouble and his health could not stand further strain. He also felt that if the whole of Italy became one, there would be no place for the Pope in Italy and he had not bargained for such an eventuality.

If he had allowed the Pope to be driven out by the Italian nationalists, he would have found himself in a difficult position on account of the Catholic criticism in France. The

Austrian armies were firmly established in Venetia and there was every possibility of the French troops being defeated there. There was also the possibility of a danger from Prussia which was mobilizing her forces along the Rhine River.

15.3.4 Napoleon III and Rumania:

Napoleon III gained some prestige by championing the cause of Rumania. In 1856, Moldavia and Wallachia were given autonomy in their affairs. Two years after, Napoleon secured for them the right to have their own princes and Parliaments. Three years later, he prevailed upon the Powers to allow the two provinces to be united under one Prince. In this way, he helped the cause of Rumanian unification.

15.3.5 Napoleon III and the Poles:

Napoleon III had the united support of the French people to help the Poles in their efforts to liberate themselves from the subjection of Russia. The Liberals of France stood for Polish independence. The French Catholics wanted Napoleon to help the Poles because the Poles were Catholics.

However, when the Poles actually revolted in 1863, Napoleon III did not help them because he was afraid that Prussia and Austria would help Russia and in that case a war with Russia was bound to be suicidal for France. The result was that the Poles were ruthlessly crushed and consequently both the liberals and Catholics of France were disappointed.

15.3.6 Napoleon III and Mexico:

Mexico became independent in 1823 but she was unfortunate in not having any stable government. In 1861, Juarez became the President of Mexico. Mexico owed money to the creditors of many nationalities, particularly of France, Spain and England. In 1861, Juarez suspended the payment of interest to the creditors for two years. The creditors appealed to their Governments for help. The United States was involved in the civil war and she could not be expected to invoke the Monre Doctrine against the outsiders.

Napoleon III decided to exploit the situation in Mexico. He thought of establishing in Mexico a state under the control of some European Power which would act as a bulwark

against the Anglo-Saxons, 'this aggressive people which, if it be not stopped, will cover all America and then the whole world. Even if this state were not in French hands, it might be used to win valuable alliances for France.

A new chapter in the history of the world might open.' The result was that a joint French, Spanish and British expedition sailed for Veracruz, hoping to exercise pressure which would produce the payment of the required interest on the Mexican debt. Later on, it was found that it would be necessary to conquer the country.

On one ground or the other, Great Britain and Spain withdrew and France was left all alone. The work of conquest proved to be a difficult one. The people of Mexico offered successful resistance to the invaders and it was with great difficulty that the city of Mexico was captured in the summer of 1863.

In 1864, Napoleon III made Maximilian, the brother of the Austrian Emperor, Francis Joseph, the ruler of Mexico. Maximilian was a traveler and a scientist of distinction and was believed to hold liberal views on politics. Napoleon hoped to get from this move the friendship and perhaps the alliance of Austria. Maximilian accepted the offer after some delay and against the advice of Francis Joseph and of Great Britain.

He was supported by the French General Forey and an army of 23,000 men. He was received with an appearance of enthusiasm in the city of Mexico. Unfortunately, his supporters were divided and his opponents were determined. The United States kept quiet so long as the civil war was going on but as soon as the war was over, she applied the Monroe Doctrine and asked France to quit Mexico.

Napoleon III was now weary of the project. It was bringing constant disappointment and expense. Under these circumstances, Napoleon decided to withdraw the French forces in February 1867. Napoleon hoped that Maximilian would also retire but he refused. He decided to fight against his enemies. The result was that in June 1867 he was forced to surrender to native forces at Queretaro and was shot in the courtyard of that town.

It is obvious that the Mexican enterprise proved to be an utter failure. It acted like a boomerang against Napoleon III. The death of Maximilian alienated Austria. On account of the absence of the French troops in Mexico, Napoleon III was not able to intervene

effectively in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866

15.3.7 Napoleon III and Austro-Prussian War (1866):

There was a war between Austria and Prussia in 1866 which lasted for only seven weeks. The Austrian forces were defeated in the Battle of Sadowa and Austria made peace with Prussia. The rapidity and completeness of the Prussian victory upset all the calculations of Napoleon III.

His expectation was that a war between Austria and Prussia would be a long one and he would be in a position to intervene effectively in the war. Napoleon III also thought that Prussia would be defeated and Germany would become hopelessly weak.

However, the Austrian defeat at Sadowa completely upset everything. It was the traditional policy of France to keep Germany divided and weak, but the victory of Prussia and the unification of Germany created a great danger for France. The military success of Prussia was considered to be a challenge to France and even a threat to her security. It was rightly pointed out that it was France that was defeated at Sadowa. Napoleon III would like to have revenge for his diplomatic defeat. War between France and Prussia became inevitable.

15.3.8 Napoleon III and Franco-Prussian War (1870-71):

In 1865, Napoleon III had an interview with Bismarck at Biarritz. On that occasion, Bismarck gave an undertaking to Napoleon III that the latter could have compensation towards the Rhine-perhaps Belgium or Rhineland. After the war of 1866, Napoleon III tried to get compensation for France. He asked for Belgium but in vain. He also failed to get the Rhinish Palatinate. Then he tried to buy Luxemburg.

The King of Holland was willing to sell, but Bismarck objected. As Napoleon III was not prepared for war, the matter had to be referred to a conference of the powers who had signed the treaties of 1815. The settlement was made in London in 1867 and Luxemburg was made an independent State, neutralised and guaranteed by all the Great Powers. Anyhow, Napoleon failed to get Luxemburg also.

The people of France were getting fed up with the policies of Napoleon III. After 1867, many Frenchmen began to think in terms of restoring the Bourbons or the Orleanists. Many middle-class liberals including businessmen and professional men began to think of setting up a republic in France. The growth of the royalist and republican tendencies in France must have weakened the position of Napoleon III.

The parliamentary elections of 1869 returned 50 royalists and 40 republicans. Napoleon III felt that concession must be given to maintain his position. Consequently, he reduced the rigour of press censorship. He promised to give up the practice of paying the election expenses of official candidates for the legislature. The ministers were to be responsible to the legislature and not to the emperor.

He appointed Olivier, a liberal royalist, as his prime minister. A new liberal constitution was drafted for the second empire in 1870. It contained all the concessions given by Napoleon III in 1869. In addition to that, provision was made for a second chamber which was not to be under the influence of the emperor. These reforms might have conciliated partially the liberal royalists, but they did not satisfy the legitimists or the republicans.

In France, there was a lot of anti-Prussian feeling. The liberals of France detested Prussia as a reactionary State. The Catholics of France disliked Prussia as an intolerant Protestant State. The patriots of France hated Prussia because that was a source of danger to their country. The French would like to have revenge for the diplomatic defeat of 1866. Undoubtedly, a war against Prussia would have been popular.

However, Napoleon III had no stomach for a war with Prussia. He was already broken in health. Russia had not forgotten the part which France had played in the Crimean War against her and no wonder she was pro-Prussian and anti-French. The Emperor of Austria also had not forgotten the humiliation in Italy at the hands of Napoleon III.

The people of Italy had no love for France as Napoleon III had betrayed them at the most crucial stage in their war of liberation. The stationing of French troops in Rome annoyed the Italian patriots as without Rome unification of their country could not be completed. The British statesmen and public opinion suspected the designs of Napoleon III.

The southern States of Germany had been won over by Bismarck by a policy of conciliation. No wonder. Napoleon III felt that under the circumstances, a war with Prussia was suicidal. In spite of it, Napoleon III decided to fight against Prussia because there was no other alternative. In the event of a war, there was every possibility of combining all the Frenchmen and also gain some prestige.

Bismarck also believed that a war with France was inevitable because unification of Germany could be completed only after the defeat of France. No wonder, he worked for such a war day and night. A stage came when he was ready to give a blow to France. All that wanted was an excuse to start the war and that was given by the question of the Spanish Succession.

The Spanish throne had already been offered twice to Leopold, a Hohenzollern prince related to the royal family of Prussia, but had been rejected. On the intervention of Bismarck, the throne was once again offered to Prince Leopold and Bismarck tried to make the best of the new invitation.

There was a lot of criticism in France of the new move which was described as a threat to the very existence of France which was between Spain and Prussia. Napoleon III sent protests to Prussia and Spain and it was announced in Spain that the prince had cancelled his acceptance of the throne.

The matter might have ended there, but the French emperor was pressed by his advisers to utilize the occasion to administer an open diplomatic rebuff to Prussia. The French ambassador in Berlin Benedetti was instructed to obtain from the king of Prussia a solemn public promise that he would never allow a Hohenzollern to become a candidate for the throne of Spain. The interview of Benedetti with the Prussian king at Ems was indecisive.

It is stated that Benedetti got instructions from France “to obtain from the king revocation of the acceptance of the prince of Hohenzollern...otherwise it is war.” William I, the Prussian king, was friendly, reasonable and favourable to a peaceful solution.

Benedetti got urgent messages to demand a definite and speedy answer. William I wired to Spain and France that the acceptance had been withdrawn but Gramont and the

French military party, who stood for war, were not satisfied. A draft letter of apology to be got from the Prussian king was also forwarded to the French ambassador. Benedetti pressed for pledges that the throne would never be offered again but the king of Prussia put an end to the interview.

Bismarck was not happy at the prospects of peace on account of the withdrawal of the acceptance of the Spanish throne. However, he got an opportunity when he got the Ems' telegram regarding the interview between Benedetti and the Prussian king. He decided to publish the telegram in a shortened form to the press.

To quote Bismarck, "If I do this, it will have the effect of red rag upon the Gallic bull." Bismarck, Roon and Moltke were happy at the prospect of war. To quote, Roon, "Our God of old lives still, and will not let us perish in disgrace." To quote Moltke, "If I may live to lead our army in such a war, then the devil may come directly afterward and fetch away the old carcass."

The telegram was shortened in such a way that to the French it appeared that their ambassador had been insulted and to the Prussians appeared that their king had been insulted. As regards France, there was a general demand for a war against Prussia. Three Cabinet meetings were held to decide the issue of war or peace. Gramont insisted that, "If you mention a Congress again, I shall throw my resignation at your feet." The result was that France declared war against Prussia. To quote Gramont, "Guarantees we cannot bring you, but we bring you war."

The war was welcomed in both the countries. France was considered to be the aggressor. The southern States of Germany joined Prussia against France. Everywhere in Germany, the songs of the war of liberation were revived and united Germany marched to the front to the strains of *Die Wacht Am Rhein*. While the Germans shouted "Nach Paris!" the Parisians cried out "A Berlin!" The *Marseillaise* was sung again.

Marshal Le Boeuf proclaimed "that the soldiers of Jena are ready to the last gaiter button." However, the French troops had not even the most necessary articles. They had no artillery or baggage, ambulance or magazines. Their training was deficient. Their officers were inefficient and insufficient. Railway accommodation was inadequate and intelligence service was poor.

The French had more maps of Germany which they were going to invade than those of France which they were forced to defend. France did not get help from any quarter. Bismarck had already won over Russia by allowing that country to violate the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris of 1856.

Italy was friendly towards Prussia because the latter had helped her to get Venetia in 1866 and Italy also expected to occupy Rome only if France was defeated in the war. Great Britain under Gladstone followed a policy of neutrality.

The Germans started the offensive and defeated the French in the Battles of Weissenburg, Spicheren, Worth, Gravelotte and Sedan. The victory of Sedan was a decisive one and after that the French army surrendered and Napoleon III was made a prisoner. This led to the fall of the second empire in France and the proclamation of the Third Republic in September 1870. Bismarck was not satisfied with this and he pressed on to Paris which put up a stiff resistance but after a long siege the city surrendered. The war was ended by the Treaty of Frankfurt of 1871.

It is clear from above that the foreign policy of Napoleon III, after a striking beginning, proved to be an utter failure. Success was essential to keep hold over France after 1860 and success evaded him. He could not out-manoeuvre the enemy, nor hold firm the ally. Neither the Danish nor the Polish nor the Austrian Question brought him credit. The attempt to find a Latin Catholic Empire in Mexico, in which he wasted good years of the sixties while Prussia was going strong, ended in disastrous failure.

The strong Anglo-French Alliance of the Crimean War dwindled away by 1864. The rapprochement with Russia which Napoleon III cultivated after the Congress of Paris was destroyed by his sympathies with the Polish revolt of 1863. When Bismarck performed a service, he secured a friend. Napoleon III gave great gifts to Italy, but forfeited her gratitude. The annexation of Savoy wiped out Magenta.

The support of the Papacy lost to him the alliance of Piedmont-Sardinia. In 1866, he alienated Prussia without winning Austria to his side. However, his policy was not as self-seeking as of many other statesmen of Europe of his time. He stood for international peace.

He sympathised with national aspirations although those were accompanied by an innkeeper's bill. He puzzled rather than guided Europe and consequently was neither understood nor trusted. His policy was inconsistent and unreliable. To quote him, "I never form distant plans; I am governed by the exigencies of the moment." It has rightly been said that "Napoleon le Petit" had not the genius of "Napoleon le Grand."

About Napoleon III, David Thompson says that he was always a dreamer and intriguer rather than a practical statesman. He combined a nostalgic faith in the destinies of his family with a genuine concern for the welfare of the poor and of the French people as a whole. Napoleon III has been called "Saint Simon on horseback" and there is no reason to doubt either the sincerity of his desire to improve material conditions or the reality of the benefits his rule conferred.

Politically, his policy vacillated as he sought to appease now the Catholics, now the Liberals, now the Socialists and always the demands of the populace as a whole. His efforts to govern with the masses led to a series of disasters in foreign policy because he believed that the masses wanted glory and were intensely nationalistic.

However, his failures should not obscure the more positive material gains that France derived from his rule. Victor Hugo dubbed him as "Half-pint Napoleon". Judged in terms of military glory or original achievement, the second Empire in France under Napoleon III was merely a pale shadow of the First, but it has considerable importance for the material development of France and the shaping of modern Europe.

About Napoleon III A. J. P. Taylor says that he was neither a revolutionary nor a war-monger. He wanted to accomplish a revolutionary foreign policy without calling on the spirit of revolution and to remodel Europe without a war.

His favourite dream was a "general congress of the great Powers of Europe" which should settle every question in dispute by peaceful agreement. He was a mixture of the idealist and the conspirator. He was consistent only in one thing and that was he could never resist the temptation to speculate.

He plunged in politics in the same way as contemporary capitalists plunged in railway ventures. It is true that he hated war and feared its risks but in the last resort he

always came down on the side of action. His feeling was that while doing so he was interpreting the French sentiment, but that was merely the urge within himself. Napoleon III is stated to have told Hubner, the Austrian minister, “there is an urge for expansion in France which must be reckoned with.”

According to Seaman, One of the most interesting exercises in what might be termed comparative biography is to study the similarities and dissimilarities between Louis Napoleon and Adolf Hitler. In many respects their careers run on parallel lines and a study of it either helps to illuminate one’s understanding of the other. They rose to power in a remarkably similar defiance of the laws of probability.

The performance, the same function of first restoring and then destroying the power of the countries of their adoption, and each destroyed the international foundation on which the Europe of their time was built. In lesser things as in important ones, they are strangely alike. Both were strangers to the people they chose to lead. Hitler spoke German with an Austrian accent. Louis Napoleon spoke French with a German accent.

Each had his abortive putsch and consequent imprisonment. Strasbourg and Boulogne were to Louis Napoleon what the Munich rising of 1923 was to Hitler. And if Landsberg meant much less to Hitler than Ham did to Louis Napoleon.

The Extinction of Pauperism combined with the Memoirs of the first Napoleon bore much the same relation to the origin of the second empire as Mein Kampf did to the rise of the Third Reich. They were both essentially speedy characters and proclaimed it by their looks.

Hitler’s un-kept hair and his belted raincoat produced an inescapable effect of back-street vulgarity, and nothing can prevent Louis Napoleon from looking, in some of the less flattering photographs of him, like a shady Italian waiter recently dismissed from service in a fourth rate hotel. And if the eyes of Louis Napoleon were rarely visible and those of Hitler inescapable, Louis Napoleon’s eyes seem while remaining half-shut, to have hypnotized the men of his generation almost as effectively as did those of Hitler which were almost always wide open.

Both had a gang. Both manoeuvred into power with the connivance of politicians who underestimated their abilities. Both sought to divert the gaze of the masses from politics by a concentration on material prosperity and by a calculated encouragement of public pageantry.

The early propaganda of both reveals an adroit use of the device of stealing the slogans of the rival political forces of their day and pretending that they had found the secret of reconciling what the politicians had made irreconcilable.

Thus, Hitler stole the nationalist label from his dupes and the socialist label from his enemies and persuaded both sides he was their ally. Louis Napoleon likewise offered France both 'democracy' and 'order', both social welfare and social discipline. He came promising universal suffrage to the masses, imperial glory to the army.

Catholic liberties to the clericals, and an open field for profitable investment to the businessmen; just as Hitler simultaneously claimed to be liberating Germany from the monopolistic multiple stores while making it safe for the Ruhr industrialists. Finally one might observe that it was for not dissimilar reasons that the one built boulevards and railways and the other built autobahnen.

"Yet there is an essential difference between Louis Napoleon and most other dictators and usurpers. Hitler included, which it clearly understood, provides the key to his character. Most men of this sort combine great ruthlessness with a daemonic possession. This was not true of Louis Napoleon.

He had none of that fire in the belly that makes a man of action such as Napoleon I or Hitler, or even a Mussolini. He had neither drive nor organising ability, nor the gift of steady application to routine administration such as characterized his uncle, or Frederick the Great, or Louis XIV; and his lack of the ability to come to a clear-cut decision about anything is the most pronounced feature of his character. Whenever decision was at last grudgingly and uncertainly wrung from him he could only with difficulty be persuaded from going back on it.

15.4 Napoleon III as Emperor (1852-70):

The two aspects of the reign of Napoleon III are his home policy and foreign policy. He had already outlined his programme in his Bordeaux address of October 1852. He said, "There is a fear to which I ought to reply. In a spirit of suspicion some people say the Empire is war. I say, the Empire is peace....yet I confess that I, like the Emperor, have many conquests to make. I wish, like him, to conquer, the irreconcilable warring factions and to turn back again into the great popular river the angry side-currents which are likely to lose themselves without profit to anybody.

I wish to conquer to religion, to morality, to prosperity, that part of the population still so large, which in the midst of a country of faith and belief, are scarcely acquainted with the precepts of Christ, which, in the bosom of the most fertile country in the world, can scarcely procure for themselves the bare necessities of life. We have immense tracts of waste lands to bring into cultivation, roads to open, harbours to deepen, canals to complete, rivers to render navigable, a network of railways to link up.

Facing us, opposite Marseilles, we have a vast reality to assimilate to France. We have all our great ports of the West to bring near to France by developing the rapid means of communication which are still lacking. On all sides we have ruins to restore, false gods to overthrow, truths to make triumphant. This is how I should understand the Empire, if the Empire is, indeed, to be restored. Such are the Conquests I contemplate, and all you who surround me, who desire, like myself the welfare of our country, you are my soldiers."

15.5 Home Policy of Napoleon III:

Napoleon III tried to fulfill the promises made to the people. The forces of anarchy were suppressed. Social order was restored. Industry was encouraged. Means of communication were improved. Roads, canals and harbours, were constructed. The railway system of France was completed from north to south and from west to east. Credit was provided for agriculture, industry and commerce.

Two great central banks known as the Credit Foncier, and the Credit Mobilier were established. Land banks were set up in Paris and in the provinces. The improvement of the means of transport added to the prosperity of the peasants.

The government took keen interest in the vineyards and wheat fields of the peasants. The number of agricultural societies was increased. Encouragement was given to the breeding of horses. Marshes were drained and land was brought under cultivation.

Paris was rebuilt and made more spacious, more sanitary, more splendid, and more defensible. Broad boulevards and magnificent public buildings were constructed in Paris. Under the supervision of Baron Haussmann, an attempt was made to make Paris the most beautiful and most attractive city in the world.

Napoleon III tried to impress upon the workers that he was one of them. He went about in engine cabs with locomotive engineers. He talked on the roads with artisans and labourers. He drank to the health of the masons, carpenters and plumbers. Subsidies were given to their organizations. Subsidies were given to the in-keepers to guarantee cheap bread to the labourers. Holidays were given to them.

Schemes were promoted for the provision of dwellings to the workers, and their insurance against accidents and old age. Labour associations were legalized. A law of 1863 allowed the labourers to form co-operative societies for collective buying and selling. The right of the workers to strike was recognized by a law of 1864. A law provided for voluntary insurance of the workers against death and industrial accidents.

The government followed a liberal policy in the industrial field. The control of the government over private business was gradually lessened. Facilities were provided for the introduction of machinery and the organisation of industrial corporations. Savings banks were established. Tariffs were gradually lowered.

In 1860, France entered into a commercial treaty with England by which trade between the two countries was facilitated. In 1855, a Grand International Exhibition was held in Paris and its object was to impress the people with the material progress and prosperity of the country.

Napoleon III consistently followed a policy of keeping the Catholics in good humour. In 1849, he sent the French troops to Rome to restore the Pope. He strengthened the hold of the clergymen upon the universities and public schools in France. One of the reasons why Napoleon stopped in the middle of his Italian campaign in 1859 was the fear of the opposition of the Catholics of France.

The Empress Eugenie gave a lot of charity to the Catholic Church. Napoleon III intervened in the Crimean War to support the cause of the Catholic monks in Palestine. He posed as the champion of Catholicism in the world.

At least up to 1860 Napoleon III was practically a dictator of France. He exercised all control in the country. The press was rigorously controlled. The secret police were employed to watch and check the activities of the people. He controlled the legislature by paying the expenses of the 'official candidates' from the national exchequer while the other candidates had to meet their own expenses.

The electoral machinery was practically in the hands of the emperor. An Act of 1858 provided that every candidate was to take an oath of fidelity to the emperor. Another law of the same year allowed the government to intern political offenders in France or Algeria or to exile them without any formality of a trial.

This state of affairs continued up to 1860 when the Constitution was revised and the government was liberalized. The Senate and the Legislative Body were allowed to debate and vote an annual address in reply to the speech from the throne. Verbatim reports of parliamentary debates were to be published. The executive was required to keep the legislature informed of its activities.

In spite of these concessions, the Republicans swept Paris in the general elections of 1863. Jules Simon, Thiers, Ferry and Gambetta were returned. Although the government got a majority on account of the influence of the prefects, the opposition was strong enough to give headache to Napoleon III.

In 1866, Olivier founded a party to support the idea of a liberal empire. In 1867, the emperor announced "the crowning of the edifice created by the will of the nation." The press censorship was relaxed. A limited right of public meetings was allowed. The Ministers were to sit in the Legislature to answer questions and take part in the debates.

After the general elections of 1869, Olivier was asked to form the Ministry. The new Ministry was liberal in complexion and responsible to Parliament. The Legislature was given complete freedom of debate, to control public finance and legislate without any restriction. To quote Olivier, it was "the most truly liberal Constitution which France has enjoyed since 1789."

In his speech from the throne on 29 November 1869, Napoleon III referred to the attacks on the empire and pointed out to the solidarity of the French empire which was based on universal suffrage. He declared that France “evidently desires liberty but liberty united with order.” “I will answer for order; assist me, gentlemen, to save liberty.” The emperor outlined a further programme of reforms. Authority was to be decentralized. Mayors were to be selected from the councils of the communes.

The councils were to be elected by the people. Cantons were also to have their councils too. Free primary education was to be improved. Child labour in factories was to be regulated. Savings banks were to be set up on the countryside for the good of the people. These reforms were submitted to the people and were approved of by them by a great majority. However, Napoleon III was defeated in the Battle of Sedan in 1870 and surrendered. That led to the abolition of the second empire and the proclamation of the Third Republic in France in September 1870.

15.6 Let us sum up

From the above we can see, Napoleon III’s foreign policy was quite effective in the period of Crimean War.

However, his foreign policy became failure after the year 1860. It not only affected the political development of France up to 1871, but also affected the development in the future.

15.7 Glossary

- **Crimean war-** The *Crimean War* was a military conflict fought from October 1853 to February 1856 in which the Russian Empire lost to an alliance of the Ottoman Empire, France, Britain and Sardinia. The immediate cause involved the rights of Christian minorities in the Holy Land, which was a part of the Ottoman Empire
- **Czar-** Tsar also spelled csar, or *czar*, is a title used to designate East and South Slavic monarchs or supreme rulers of Eastern Europe. As a system of government in the Tsardom of Russia and the Russian Empire, it is known as Tsarist autocracy, or Tsarism

- **Catholicism-** *Catholicism* is the traditions and beliefs of Catholic Churches. It refers to their theology, liturgy, ethics and spirituality.
- **French revolution-** The *French Revolution* was a period of far-reaching social and political upheaval in France and its colonies that lasted from 1789 until 1799. It was partially carried forward by Napoleon during the later expansion of the French Empire. The Revolution overthrew the monarchy, established a republic
- **Pope-** *Pope* is also head of state of Vatican City, a sovereign city-state entirely enclave within Rome.
- **Bismarck-** known as Otto von *Bismarck* was a conservative Prussian statesman who dominated German and European affairs from the 1860s until 1890 and was the first Chancellor of the German Empire between 1871 and 1890

15.8 Self Assessment questions

1. Discuss the relation between Rome and France during the time period of Napoleon-III.
2. Discuss Crimean War
3. Highlight the Home Policy of Napoleon III:
4. Discuss the importance of Foreign Policy of Napoleon-III

15.9 Suggested Further Readings

1. Will Durant and Ariel Durant “The story of civilization” MJF Books, 1993
2. Norman Lowe, “Mastering Modern World History” Palgrave Publication, 1998
3. Arjun Dev and Indira Arjun Dev “The History of Modern World”, Oriental Publication 2001
4. Jain and Mathur , “Modern World History”, Bookman Publication , 1999

UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

Mr. Kashab Kumar

STRUCTURE

- 16.1 Introduction
- 16.2 Objectives
- 16.3 Unification of Germany
 - 16.3.1 The role of Intellectuals and Universities
 - 16.3.2 The Liberal Movement
 - 16.3.3 Carlsbad Decree
 - 16.3.4 The Zollverein or Economic Union
 - 16.3.5 Rapid Industrialization
 - 16.3.6 The Parliament of Frankfurt
 - 16.3.7 Olmutz Treaty
 - 16.3.8 The Role of Emperor William-I
- 16.4 Role of Otto van Bismarck
 - 16.4.1 The Schleswig-Holstein Question
 - 16.4.2 Isolation of Austria

- 16.4.3 The Austro- Prussian War or Battle of Sadowa
- 16.4.4 Treaty OF Prague
- 16.4.5 The Franco-Prussian War or Battle of Sedan
- 16.4.6 The Treaty of Frankfort & Unification of Germany
- 16.5 Let us Sum up
- 16.6 Glossary
- 16.7 Check your Progress
- 16.8 Self Assessment Questions
- 16.9 Suggested Further Readings

16.1. Introduction

Like as we have discussed in the lesson no 14, The unification of Germany into a politically and administratively integrated nation state officially occurred on 18 January 1871, in the Hall of Mirrors at the Palace of Versailles in France. Like Italy it was not easy task rather than an herculean effort. Bismarck played most important role in the Unification of Germany.

16.2 Objectives After going through this unit you will be able:-

- a. To understand the political background of Germany unification.
- b. To discuss the stages of Unification of Germany.
- c. To understand the Role played by Bismarck.
- d. To explain the impact of German unification.
- e. To explain the nature or the character of the Revolt of 1857

16.3 Unification of Germany

The formation of Germany as a nation state was one of the most important event in the history of the world. Napoleon Bonaparte first sowed the seeds of nationalism in

Germany. He destroyed three hundred small states of the Holy Roman Empire and established the 'Confederation of the Rhine'. In the establishment of 'German Confederation' of thirty-nine states **Congress of Vienna** was declared. In due course of time, the cultural unity among these states, the role of universities, rapid growth of industries etc. brought unity among the 'German Confederation of the States'. The rise of **Bismarck** and his shrewd diplomacy gave a chance for the unification of Germany.

16.3.1 The Role of Intellectuals and Universities:

The system which was adopted in the Vienna Congress created hurdles in the unification of 'German Confederation of States', but the intellectuals who lived in different parts of Germany expressed their opinion of its unification. The ideas and writings of the German Philosophers like Hegel and Schopenhauer, Scientists like Hemholtz and Virchow and the historians like Sybel and Droysen influenced the people of different parts of Germany. The German Universities like Jena, Leipzig, Munich and Berlin became centers for the dissemination of liberal national ideas and thoughts.

16.3.2 The Liberal Movement:

The liberal movement also helped in the formation of German National Stage. In 1817 a festival was organised at Wartburg in the memories of the Reformation Movement and the battle of Leipzig which was fought during the reign of Napoleon. It created national consciousness among the German people.

At the Wartburg festival, students made a bonfire and threw to the flame some of the books, such as the 'German History' of Kotzebue, a spy of Russia and various other books. Later on, Kotzebue was murdered. It created the sense of Patriotism among the people of Germany.

16.3.3 Carlsbad Decree:

Considering the murder of Kotzebue as a revolutionary activity, Metternich, the shrewd diplomat of Austria summoned a meeting of the 'German Confederation of States' at Carlsbad in 1819. There he took some reactionary measures. It was known as the 'Carlsbad Decree'.

According to this Decree, restrictions were imposed upon the newspapers. The organisation of the students union was banned. The universities were under the direct guidance of the government. All these measures gave a serious setback to the German Confederation of States.

16.3.4 The Zollverein or Economic Union:

The national economy of Germany was controlled by the 'Economic Union' or 'Zollverein'. Accordingly, Prussia and other German States joined this Union and free trade was established among them. Austria did not join it. By 1850, almost all the German states joined the 'Zollverein' and Prussia became the leader of German States. This economic importance of Prussia helped in its military and political growth in the later period.

16.3.5 Rapid Industrialisation:

In course of time, Prussia made rapid growth in the field of industries. The Prussian Finance Minister Massen abolished restrictions on tariff. Then rapid growth was made in the field of industries under the leadership of Prussia. The growth of railways, trade and commerce among the German States also helped in the growth of their economic life. Thus rapid industrialisation also helped in the unification of Germany.

16.3.6 The Parliament of Frankfurt:

The February Revolution of 1848 had a great impact on the German States. The Revolutionists of Prussia demanded for the establishment of the Constitutional rule in **Prussia**. Fredrick William IV, the King of Prussia accepted the demands of the revolutionists and granted a liberal Constitution. He established a 'National Parliament' in 1848 on the basis of universal franchise. It was famous in the history as the '**Frankfort Parliament**'. It passed a proposal to establish a German Confederation of States excluding Austria.

16.3.7 Olmutz Treaty:

After the success of the Parliament King Fredrick William IV, proposed to establish a German Confederation of states under the leadership of Prussia. But Austria opposed this proposal. So, in 1850 the Olmutz Treaty was signed between Austria and Prussia

Accordingly, Prussia was forced to return its proposal. It was an insult to Prussia. To take average of this insult, Prussia prepared herself.

16.3.8 Role of Emperor William I:

A new era was started in Prussia with the accession of Kaiser William I. After his accession he tried to make the Prussian army strong. He appointed Von Roon as the War Minister and Von Moltke as the Commander. By making the Prussian army very strong and using the 'Needle Gun' in the army Roon increased the ability of the army.

He was a Shrewd man. He advised Emperor William I that only the Prussian ambassador Bismarck could play a leading role at this critical juncture. So, he called Bismarck to return to Prussia.

16.4 Role of Otto von Bismarck:

Otto von Bismarck was the chief hero of the formation of Germany as a nation state. He was born in 1815 in an orthodox family at Brandenburg. After receiving education in Berlin and Göttingen, he joined this Prussian judicial department. After serving in several posts, he was appointed as the Ambassador of Prussia in Paris.

By the call of Emperor William I, he returned to Prussia and appointed as the Prime Minister of Prussia in 1862. He followed the '**Blood and Iron Policy**'. Due to his leadership, the unification of Germany could be possible. He was instrumental in the following:-

16.4.1 The Schleswig-Holstein Question:

The first diplomatic step of Bismarck was the intervention of the Schleswig-Holstein question. These two duchies were under the sway of Denmark in 1850 by the London Protocol. Most of the people of Schleswig were Danish while the people of Holstein were largely Prussians.

Christian IX, the King of Denmark wanted to keep these two duchies under his control. At this time the combined army of Austria and Prussia under the leadership of Bismarck attacked Denmark in 1864.

Denmark was defeated in this war and the Convention of Gastein was concluded in 1865. As per the convention, Prussia got Schleswig and Austria got Holstein. This was the first diplomatic step of Bismarck against Austria.

16.4.2 Isolation of Austria:

Bismarck adopted the policy to isolate Austria in the continent. In 1863, Bismarck helped Russia in the suppression of the revolt of Poland and got the friendship of Russia. He arranged an interview with Napoleon III, the King of France at Biarritz and promised to give Belgium or some portions of the Rhine Valley to him and got the assurance that France would remain neutral in the Austro-Prussian War. He also got the support of Italy. This policy of Bismarck made Austria isolated in the European Politics.

16.4.3 The Austro-Prussian War or the Battle of Sadowa:

Austria did not want to keep Holstein under her control because it was far away from the country. Austria also demanded that Schleswig should return to Denmark and also raised this question in the Parliament. Bismarck declared war against Austria in 1866 as Austria violated the Convention of Gastein.

This War which was continued for Seven Weeks between Austria and Prussia was famous as the Battle of Sadowa. At first it was difficult for Prussia to defeat Austria. But later it defeated the neighbouring States of Austria like Bavaria, Saxon, Brunsweark etc. and then defeated Austria.

16.4.4 The Treaty of Prague and formation of Germany:

After the Battle of Sadowa, the 'Treaty of Prague' was concluded between Austria and Prussia on August 23, 1866. According to this treaty Austria was expelled from Germany. Schleswig and Holstein were given to Prussia Austria ceded Venice to Prussia. Austria had to pay the War- indemnity of £ 30,000,00 to Prussia.

After the treaty of Prague the formation of Germany was started. The states of Schleswig, Holstein, Hanover, Nassau and Frankfurt were annexed to Prussia. The States north to May River were annexed to Prussia and the North Germany Confederation was formed.

Question of Spanish Succession and Ems Telegram:

By that time Queen Isabella of Spain fled away due to the outbreak of an army revolution. The Spanish crown was offered to Prince Leopold of the Prussian Hohenzollern House and the cousin of Emperor William I. But he refused the offer. Napoleon III of France was afraid of Spanish-Prussian relationship which would bring much difficulty for him.

He also opposed the Hohenzollern candidature for Spanish throne. So he ordered his War Minister Piedmont to ask Count Benedetti, the French ambassador in Prussia to extract from the Prussian King William I a written guarantee that he was not interested in the Spanish candidature.

Benedetti met King William I at Ems and informed him about the fact. But William I refused to give such a written guarantee. He sent the description of his conversation with French ambassador by a telegram to Bismarck. It was famous as the 'Ems Telegram' which created a golden opportunity for Bismarck.

He edited the telegram and sent it for publication. The French people thought that their ambassador had been insulted by the Prussian king while the German people thought that their king had been humiliated by the French ambassador. In this way, the field was prepared for war between France and Prussia.

16.4.5 The Franco-Prussian War or the Battle of Sedan:

On July 14, 1870 France declared war against Prussia. At this critical juncture, the states of South Germany joined with Prussia. Prussia marched forward after defeating France in the battles of Wessburg, Warth and Gravelot. Emperor Napoleon III of France was defeated in the famous 'Battle of Sedan' on September 2, 1870 and surrendered with his 83,000 soldiers before Prussia. Then the Prussian army marched towards France and occupied Paris.

16.4.6 The Treaty of Frankfurt and Unification of Germany:

Emperor Napoleon III of France was defeated in the battle of Sedan. France signed the Treaty of Frankfurt with Prussia on May 10, 1871. According to this Treaty, France ceded Belfort to Germany. France also ceded Alsace and Lorraine to Germany.

France was also forced to pay Germany the reparation of war. Till the reparation was paid, the French army was remained in Germany.

When South Germany was united with Prussia during the battle of Sedan, the German Unification was completed. On January 18, 1871 in the ‘Hall of Mirrors’ at Versailles ‘Germany’ was declared as a new state of the world. In this Hall, Emperor William I declared himself as the Kaiser (Emperor) of United Germany. The nation state of Germany was created which was an important event in the history of the World.

The Unification of Germany created a cardinal epoch in the world history. In the Hall of Mirrors, a new state named Germany was inaugurated. The creation of Germany was a stigma (blunder) in international affairs, a heavy price which Germany paid almost after 50 years while signing the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 in the same Hall of Mirrors.

16.5 Lets us sum up

Thus finally Germany became a nation for the first time in history after a nationalistic war against France masterminded by the “Iron Chancellor” Otto von Bismarck. The ceremony took place in the palace of Versailles outside Paris rather than in Berlin – and this overt symbol of militarism and conquest would foreshadow the first half of the next century as the new nation became a major power in Europe.

16.6 Glossary

- **Battle of Sadowa-** was the decisive battle of the Austro-Prussian War , in which the Kingdom of Prussia defeated the Austrian Empire.
- **Blood and Iron policy-** given by Bismarck in which by which he longer pursued his political goals via military methods.
- **Battle of Sedan -**The *Battle of Sedan* was fought during the Franco-Prussian War from 1 to 2 September 1870. It resulted in the capture of Emperor Napoleon III and large numbers of his troops and for all intents and purposes decided the war in favour of Prussia and its allies, though fighting continued under a new French government

- **Treat of Prague-** The Peace of *Prague* was a peace *treaty* signed between the Kingdom of Prussia and the Austrian Empire at *Prague* on 23 August 1866, ending the Austro-Prussian War.
- **Olmütz treaty-** also called the *Agreement of Olmütz*, was a *treaty* between Prussia and Austria, dated 29 November 1850, by which Prussia abandoned the Erfurt Union and accepted the revival of the German Confederation under Austrian leadership
- **Frankfort Parliament-** The *Frankfurt Parliament* was the first freely elected *parliament* for all of Germany, elected on 1 May 1848.

16.7 Check your progress

1. What do you know about the Vienna settlement ?

2. What was Zollverin?

3. What do you know about Olmutz Treaty ?

4. **What do you know about the Battle of Sadova ?**

5. **What was The Schleswig-Holstein Question?**

16.8 Self assessment questions

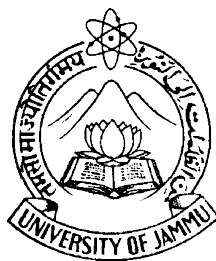
1. Discuss the various political unit of Germany before its Unification
2. Discuss the role played by Bismarck in the unification of Germany
3. Write a detailed note on the ‘ Blood and Iron’ policy of Bismarck
4. What are different stages of Unification of Germany?

16.9 Suggested further Readings

1. Will Durant and Ariel Durant “The story of civilization” MJF Books, 1993
2. Norman Lowe, “Mastering Modern World History” Palgrave Publication, 1998
3. Arjun Dev and Indira Arjun Dev “The History of Modern World”, Oriental Publication 2001
4. Jain and Mathur , “Modern World History”, Bookman Publication , 1999

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SELF LEARNING MATERIAL

B.A. SEMESTER - V

**SUBJECT : HISTORY
COURSE NO. : HT-501**

**UNIT : I - IV
LESSON : 1 - 16**

Dr. Anuradha Goswami
Course Co-ordinator

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B.A. SEMESTER - V

HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE TILL 1870

Course Contributors :

- Dr. Madhulika Singh
- Prof. Kashab Kumar
- Ms. Romika Bassin

***Content Editing and
Format Editing :***

- Dr. Hina S. Abrol

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