Liberalism and Conservatism
19th Century Europe

- Suppressed revolutions (especially 1848)
- Two party system
- Romanticism
- Industrial revolution
Consequences of Industrial Revolution

- Urbanization and working poor
- Poor working conditions
  - Child labor laws
  - Labor unions
- Economic swings
- Skilled artisans lost jobs
- Division of labor by sex
Class Consciousness

• Owners – capitalists
• Non-landed middle class and white collar workers – bourgeoisie
• Factory and trade workers – proletariat
Conservatism

- **Reactionaries** (Put it back the way it was)
- **Revolutions of 1848**
  - Successful revolutions in all European countries
  - Monarchies returned after 6 months in all countries
- **Tories/conservatives**
Liberalism

- Favored changing social conditions
- Whigs
- Edmund Burke
  - Opposite view of Nationalism
  - Supported American Revolution but decried the French Revolution
  - Law of unintended consequences
    - Example: Prussia forced to take over the Ruhr Valley which, unknowingly, has the coal reserves to allow Prussia to conquer the rest of Germany
Liberalism

• Poets/novelists
• Natural life superior (noble savage)
• Aimed at complacent middle class
  – Charles Dickens
    • Social conditions
  – Honorè de Balzac
    • Stupid middle class
  – Jane Austen
    • Against classes
  – The Bronte sisters
    • Against male domination
Utilitarianism

- Jeremy Bentham/John Stuart Mill (*On Liberty*)
  - Greatest happiness for greater population
  - Epicurean
- Science and technology should be used to solve society’s problems
- Advocated activist governments
Utilitarianism

• Problems:
  – How do you know the long-term effects?
  – Who is to decide?
    • Leaders?
    • Surveys?
    • Supreme Court?
    • Press?
  – Is happiness the objective of this life?
    • Animals seek pleasure and flee from pain
  – What is God's objective for us in this life?
Marx - Communist Manifesto
Basic Premises

1. History of world is driven by class struggles

2. One class always exploits others

3. The Middle Class (bourgeoisie) triumphed over the upper class in the 18th Century

4. The Worker Class (proletariat) will triumph over the Middle Class
Marx - Das Kapital
Basic Premises

1. The value of a product is the amount of labor to produce it.

2. The fair wage for a worker is the value of his work (the value of the product).

3. In capitalism, the owner must sell the product for more than the worker is paid (profit).

4. The capitalist increases profits by increasing selling price or reducing wages.

5. The lowest possible wage is the subsistence level and this is the level paid (because of a surplus of labor)

6. Surplus labor is maintained by replacing workers with machines.
Capitalism Inconsistencies

1. Competition leads to expansion which hires more workers and then leads to machines on which additional profits cannot be gained.

2. Concentration of economic power occurs because bigger takes over smaller.

3. Economic depressions from excess labor and ruined companies.

4. Army of unemployed seeks change but capitalism can't change.

5. Rebellion and victory by the workers which capitalism cannot stop.
Marx's Plan for Change

1. Abolition of private property
2. Heavy graduated income tax
3. Abolition of inheritance rights
4. Confiscation of emigrant and rebel property
5. Centralization of credit in state hands
6. Centralization of communication and transportation in state hands
7. Extension of state control of factories
8. Obligation of all to work
9. Combination of agriculture and manufacturing
10. Free education for all children and abolition of child labor
Marx Problems

1. Ignores imagination and entrepreneurship
2. Ignores technological improvements
3. Attacks natural self-interest
4. Leads to stagnation
5. Ignores human education, experience, talents and work differences
6. Assumes that capitalism/government policy will not adjust
Nationalism and the Unification of Germany and Italy
Language and National Identity
Before 1871

• Language was usually the crucial element in creating a feeling of national unity, but language and citizenship rarely coincided.

• The idea of redrawing the boundaries of states to accommodate linguistic, religious, and cultural differences led to the forging of larger states from the many German and Italian principalities, but it threatened to break large multi-ethnic empires like Austria-Hungary into smaller states.
Until the 1860s nationalism was associated with liberalism, as in the case of the Italian liberal nationalist Giuseppe Mazzini.

After 1848 conservative political leaders learned how to preserve the social status quo by using public education, universal military service, and colonial conquests to build a sense of national identity that focused loyalty on the state.
Unification of Italy

A “Geographic Expression”
Factors Hindering Unity
Political Divisions

Metternich did not want Italy to be united. At the Congress of Vienna he had it divided as follows:

1) Sardinia-Piedmont- Under Italian control.
2) Lombardy and Venetia- provinces annexed by Austria.
3) Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, as well as the Kingdom of Two Sicilies---controlled by puppet leaders appointed by Austrians.
4) The Papal States—under Church control.
Opposition of Austria because:

1) discourage nationalist uprisings within their empire.

2) retain Lombardy and Venetia

3) maintain Austrian influence in the duchies and the two Sicilies.
Opposition of the Papacy

- Church leaders feared that a united Italy would end the pope’s civil rule over the Papal States.
Discord Among Nationalists

• The leading Italian nationalists could not agree on what type of government to establish in Italy
  – Mazzini and Garibaldi- wanted a democratic republic.
  – Gioberti- wanted a federation led by the pope.
  – Cavour- wanted a limited monarchy like Britain.
Factors promoting unity
Nationalistic Feeling

• Starting with Napoleonic Era, the Italians started to become conscious of their nationality. They recalled the past glory of Italy with the Romans, and resented the subjugation of the Austrians.
Patriotic Societies

• *The Carbonari* - secret society that wanted a united republic. In 1820, 1821, and 1831 they started uprisings that were suppressed by Austria.

• *Young Italy* - founded in 1831 by Mazzini, and was not secret. Was successful in promoting the nationalistic ideals of the people.

• *Leadership of Sardinia-Piedmont* - House of Savoy ruled Sardinia and aspired to unify Italy. In 1848, tried unsuccessfully to drive out the Austrians.
Leaders of Italian Unification

- Mazzini - writer, orator, and founder of Young Italy, dedicated his life to securing democracy and unity for his country. He is called the *Soul* of Italian unification.
- Garibaldi - friend of Mazzini, and military leader. 1860 he and his red shirts conquered the Two Sicilies. He is the *sword* of Italian unification.
- Cavour - prime minister of Sardinia-Piedmont starting in 1852. He built railroads, promoted industry, improved education and agriculture, and enlarged the army. He is called the *brain* of Italian unification.
- Victor Emmanuel II - became king of a united Italy in 1861.
1) Lombardy (1859) - defeated the Austrians with French help.

2) The Duchies (1860) - drove out Austrian supporters and voted to allow Sardinia-Piedmont to rule them.

3) The Two-Sicilies (1860) - Garibaldi won the war, and instead of battling Sardinia, he proposed that they unite with Sardinia to unify Italy. The people voted for this.
4) the Papal States (1860) - Cavour ordered that Garibaldi and his men move into the area, and then he announced his annexation of the area. The only area that they did not get was Rome, the home of the Pope who was protected by French troops.
5) Venetia (1866) - by allying themselves with Prussia in the Seven Weeks War, they were able to enjoy the spoils of war, and took Venetia.

6) Rome (1870) - French troops had to leave Rome with the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, and the Italians took over, and declared Rome as the capital of Italy.
Unification of Germany:
By “Blood and Iron”

“The greatest questions of the day will not be settled by speeches and majority decisions but by iron and blood.” - Otto von Bismarck
The German States (1789-1848)  
Factors Promoting Unity

• Common Nationality - They began to see themselves as a unique nationality based on the works of German educators, poets, writers, historians and philosophers. (Ex. writers such as the brothers Grimm with their *Grimm’s Fairy Tails*).

• Napoleon’s Influence - he did not do this intentionally. He aroused nationalism and weakened Austrian authority in the German states. Lastly he condensed the number of German states from 300 to 100.
• Congress of Vienna - further reduced the number of states to 38, and put them under the Austrian dominated German Confederation that stirred nationalists who wanted unification.

• Zollverein - trade union that was founded by Prussia in 1819 that encouraged trade within the German States.
Factors that Hinder Unity

• Differences among the German people- Northern Germany was Protestant, while southern Germany was Roman Catholic. Outnumbered, the Catholics feared being a minority in a unified Germany.

• Opposition of Austria- Did not want unity, because it might make others do the same, a serious breech of the Metternich System.
• Opposition of Lesser German States - feared that they would lose power to the Prussians (Prussia the most powerful German state)

• Opposition of France - Feared that a unified Germany would challenge their authority in Europe.
Leaders of German Unification

• Bismarck - Junker (landowning aristocrat) that was appointed chief minister of Prussia in 1862. He was a reactionary who hated democracy. Wanted to unify Germany, but not through speeches and votes, but rather with “Blood and Iron”

• William I - Hohenzollern king of Prussia that became emperor of Germany in 1871.

• Moltke - Prussian General who built the strongest army in Europe (maybe the world).
Steps in German Unification (1862-1871)

1. Creation of Prussian Military Power - Against the wishes of the Prussian legislature, Bismarck spent heavily between 1862-1867 to build up his army.

2. The Elimination of Austrian Influence
   - The Danish War (1864) - Bismarck started and won this war to get the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, whom they ruled with Austria.
   - The Austrian-Prussian War (1866) - (aka the Seven Weeks War). Most Germans were with Austria b/c they feared Prussia, however Prussia was aided by Italy and won easily.
3. Establishment of the North German Confederation (1867) - further isolated the southern German states, but tightened Prussia’s power and influence over the northern states. The Zollverein and a defensive alliance allowed the northern and southern states to keep ties.
4. The Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) - Bismarck needed a war that would bring the southern states and the northern states together in a common goal. Bismarck provoked Napoleon III by stating that Germany should pick the new ruler of Spain, where as France thought they should. Bismarck sent an insulting telegram to France, and the French declared war. The war got Bismarck what he wanted, the southern states joined the Prussian lead Northern states, and they crushed the French.
• Treaty of Frankfurt- France:
  – 1) ceded to Germany the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine (had lots of coal and iron, but inhabited by many French)
  – 2) agreed to pay Germany a huge war indemnity
  – 3) had to agree to military occupation until the debt was paid.
    • Bismarck had planted the seeds to WWI with his treatment of the French.
    • “I will forgive you, History will forgive you, but my people will never forgive you” French diplomat at the signing of the treaty.
Establishment of the German Empire (1871)

- With the Franco Prussian War, all of Germany united under the rule of the Prussians, and William I was Proclaimed Kaiser William I, emperor of a united Germany.
Nationalism after 1871

- After the Franco-Prussian War all politicians tried to manipulate public opinion in order to bolster their governments by using the press and public education in order to foster nationalistic loyalties.

- In many countries the dominant group used nationalism to justify the imposition of its language, religion, or customs on minority populations, as in the attempts of Russia to “Russify” its diverse ethnic populations.
Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) and others took up Charles Darwin’s ideas of “natural selection” and “survival of the fittest” and applied them to human societies in such a way as to justify European conquest of foreign nations and the social and gender hierarchies of Western society.