



Napoleon to Stalin

Lecture 3

Destruction of the Vienna System

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Main Agents of Destruction

- ◆ Anglo-Russian rivalry
- ◆ Napoleon III
- ◆ Crimean War
- ◆ Piedmont
- ◆ Bismarck



Resilience of the System

- ◆ Conferences over Greece & Belgium
- ◆ 1830s look more ideological
- ◆ September 1833 Munchengratz
- ◆ April 1834 Quadruple Alliance
- ◆ BUT 1838-9 Anglo-Russian cooperation 2nd Mehmet Ali crisis



Anglo-Russian antagonism

- ◆ Eastern Question
- ◆ Expansion in Asia
- ◆ Political opposites
- ◆ Poland
- ◆ 1848 Revolution

Napoleon III





Namier on Napoleon III

- ◆ ‘He believed in peace and was out to tear up the Treaty of Vienna; he believed in nationality and claimed for France her “natural” frontiers; he wanted Italy free but not united; in eighteen years he waged three major European wars and sent three expeditions overseas, without ever seeming to know what he was after.’
- ◆ L.B. Namier, Facing East (1947), p.21.



Napoleon III

- ◆ Prisoner of his name
- ◆ Champion of nationalism
- ◆ Would also serve France
- ◆ Need to destabilise system
- ◆ Exploits Holy Places



Crimean War: 1854-1856

- ◆ ‘to curb the aggressive ambitions of Russia’ (Palmerston)
- ◆ To protect Russia’s position in Ottoman empire [Nicholas I]



Nicholas I: miscalculations

- ◆ Britain would be sympathetic (Aberdeen)
- ◆ France still a pariah
- ◆ Austria would be grateful
- ◆ Turkey was isolated
- ◆ Russia's previous restraint would guarantee sympathy



Effects of the War

- ◆ Russia no longer favoured status quo
- ◆ Austria had to support herself in Italy and Germany
- ◆ Napoleon III ‘arbiter of Europe’
- ◆ Myths of British power exposed
- ◆ End of Vienna’s self-restraint



Italian 'unification'

- ◆ Count Camillo Benso di Cavour
- ◆ Spoke French, not Italian
- ◆ Wanted to expand Piedmont, not to create Italy
- ◆ Napoleon III's interest crucial



Plombieres: July 1858

- ◆ N III supported Northern Italian Kingdom
- ◆ Pope to keep his lands
- ◆ Two Sicilies to remain intact
- ◆ Italian federation under the Pope
- ◆ Nice and Savoy to France
- ◆ Prince Jerome Napoleon to marry Princess Clothilde of Savoy



British Comment

- ◆ ‘France has always been a curse to Europe’, but that he could ‘muster no patience towards that conceited, mischievous State now called “Sardinia”’; the thought that ‘Europe should be deluged with blood for the personal ambition of an Italian attorney and a tambour major, like Cavour and his master, is intolerable.’ Lord Cowley, March 1859
F.A. Wellesley, Secrets of the Second Empire (1929) p. 175.



Results of War

- ◆ War – April-July 1859
- ◆ Peace at Villafranca: France/Austria
- ◆ Lombardy to Piedmont
- ◆ Venetia stayed Austria
- ◆ Modena & Tuscany to get Dukes back
- ◆ Revolts here late 1859
- ◆ 1860 Garibaldi & Red Shirts
- ◆ March 1861 Kingdom of Italy

Otto von Bismarck





Bismarck

- ❖ ‘White Revolutionary’: embraced revolutionary means to achieve reactionary ends [Kissinger]
- ❖ Prussian aggrandisement
- ❖ Anti-Vienna
- ❖ Prepared for a ‘Broderskreig’
- ❖ Saw Napoleon as ‘useful idiot’



Schleswig-Holstein: summary

- ◆ It exposed the fault lines between the old and the new Europe in at least two ways: the old conservative consensus that the maintenance of peace was the highest end of diplomacy, came into conflict with the new Realpolitik, which placed the pursuit of individual advantage before the interests of the European Concert, and the old, dynastic model of state organisation came into direct, and complicated, conflict with the idea of the nation-state.



Schleswig-Holstein: Background

- ◆ 1647-1806 H part of Holy R. Empire
- ◆ 1815 H part of German Confederation
- ◆ 1848 Frederick VII tried to annex S & H to Denmark: Eiderdane policy
- ◆ 1852 Treaty of London confirmed SQ
- ◆ Christian IX 1863 promulgates new Eiderdane constitution
- ◆ Germans back Augustenburg



Bismarck's Plans

- ◆ Ally with Austria against Augustenburg
- ◆ Alienates Austria from Confederation
- ◆ Looks like Conservative old alliance
- ◆ Upholds 1852 Treaty
- ◆ B subverts for own ends



Road to War: Austria

- ◆ 21 January 1864 Austro-Prussian armies invade Denmark
- ◆ July 1864 Peace in Vienna
- ◆ 2/5 Christian's land to Prussia/Austria
- ◆ 14 Aug. 1865 Gastein Convention
- ◆ Divides administration of Duchies
- ◆ Prussia buys Lauenburg



Road to War: (2)

- ◆ Bismarck and Napoleon III: Biarritz
October 1865
- ◆ N promised 'compensation'
- ◆ 1865 growing tension in S/H
- ◆ 1866 Austria declares war



Results of War

- ◆ Austria excluded from Germany
- ◆ North German Confederation dominated by Prussia
- ◆ South German confederation with military links
- ◆ Venetia goes to Italy
- ◆ kleindeutsch solution to the German question



Road to War with France

- ◆ No 'Blueprint'
- ◆ Gulf with S.G. Federation
- ◆ Hohenzollern candidature fortuitous
- ◆ Bismarck's opportunism
- ◆ Uses Napoleon's indiscretions over Belgium
- ◆ And Benedetti's conversation with William I



Conclusions

- ◆ German Empire destroys balance of power
- ◆ France isolated
- ◆ Austria/Hungary & Germany?
- ◆ Russia and Germany?
- ◆ Realpolitik replaces ideology
- ◆ Problems of nationalism