



## Politics and Society in Modern Europe

Politics and Society in Modern Europe (Universitatea din București)



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## TRIBES. STATES. EMPIRES.

### THE "INVENTION" OF AGRICULTURE:

The agrarian societies were spread quite evenly in all continents, primarily along the median axes of the Eurasian Continent, but also in specific places of Africa, the Americas and Australia. The discovery of agriculture issued into a dramatic rise of human population; it was also accompanied in almost all places by several characteristic technical inventions such as: the ceramic pot (used for the storage of food & other goods) and the wheel (as an instrument of transportation).

### THE "INVENTION" OF THE STATE:

The Neolithic Revolution stays as one of the two most spectacular transformation in history, the second one being The Industrial Revolution started almost 250 years ago. Between these two important transitions affecting the process of human development there is the invention of the state as a new form of human association of a higher level than the tribal one. States were first erected about 5 thousand years ago, 3 thousand ears before the Christian era. Unlike the Neolithic Revolution, the invention of the state was not so popular; the state was not evenly spread, it appeared only in selected places; the pioneering state appeared in several spots of the near East and the far East.

WHERE? In the near East, those privileged contexts of state were represented by the Nile River Valley in N-E Africa, The Mesopotamian River Valley (today Iraq), the Indus River Valley (today Pakistan and India). In the far East the Yellow River Valley of China acted in the same way. The regions where political innovation consisting in the invention of state first developed were represented by the Fertile Crescent stretching from the Sinai Peninsula through the Northern part of Mesopotamia and the Eastern Mediterranean Basin comprising the Greek Peninsula, the Asia Minor Peninsula (Turkey) and the Island Archipelago in between them.

### SOCIAL STRATIFICATION:

As the invention of the agriculture, the invention of the state was accompanied by several new developments. Technical inventions such as writing (which sustained the process of political institutional structuring; writing was first used for administrative purposes-records regarding both the civilian and the military responsibilities and involvements of the emerging and expanding state). The invention of the state was also accompanied by transformations in the domain of social stratification.

The first element of social stratification predated the emergence of states and even the emergence of agriculture, being present already in The Palaeolithic period of history when societies were organised as hunting gatherings, bands of tribes. Two categories of people emerged as holding a special and higher position in society: the professional priests and the professional soldiers.

- The professional priests watched over the relationship between human societies and the cosmos which manifested itself in the daily life and nature.
- The professional soldiers in their turn took care of the physical survival of human groups, being also entrusted however with the responsibility of enforcing the sacred beliefs and rituals throughout the social body.

The most significant system of status differentiation was to function in Medieval East Europe, consisting in the separation between three orders of society, namely the clergy (those who prayed), the aristocracy (those who thought) and the common people (those who laboured).

Classes in the sense of economic groups and income categories are more easily reshaped or remodelled in connection to underlying historical transformation; also the social mobility of individuals within each class and across the borderlines between classes tends to be remarkably high when compared to the degree of mobility allowed by the status stratification system and the power holding stratification system. People can make fortunes and move from one class to another while it is virtually impossible for people in traditional societies to move from one status group to another which means that economic distinctions are easier to surpass than symbolic distinctions. In the early periods of history, the class criterion of social differentiation played a very small role in society; class was to become significant only in the period of transition from pre-industrial to industrial Europe.

Agrarian societies were marked by several characteristic tensions, one such tension came from the relationship or interplay between settled societies and nomadic societies. Another such tension came from the relationship between centres and peripheries within large scales.

### **RELIGION AND STATE:**

Religious beliefs also continued to evolve in connection to both state institutional development and social development. The system of religious beliefs acted as the core of the cultural system. Gradually, religious culture came to be accompanied by secular non-religious cultural creations. All together, the religious and non-religious cultural elements created a characteristic medium for communication and debate within and across social groups.

In terms of the cultural religious evolution of mankind, the transitions consisted in the emergence of great monotheistic religions. The three great monotheistic religions put to place a heavy stamp on the evolution of the entire world. These three monotheistic religions are: Judaism, Christianity and Islamism. Their emergence took place over quite a long span of history, starting from around 600 Before the Common Era up to around 700 of the Common Era.

- Judaism was the first to emerge acting as the religious vision of a cultural linguistic group, that of the Jews who endowed themselves with the self designation of the chosen people of God. Although a national religion, Judaism was to play a huge role in the evolution of mankind.
- The great religion of Christianity was to be born from Judaism, comprising cultural elements of heaviest importance coming from outside Judaism.
- Islam in its terms was to be born in continuation of Judaism Christianity.

When concerning human evolution in this way, Judaism, Christianity and Islamism invented the conception of linear history taking a departure from previous polytheistic religious views. It is significant that the other two most important religious views emerging in the Eastern part of the Eurasian Continent did not follow the pattern of Judaism, Christianity and Islamism.

- The Buddhist religious conception continued to cherish a cyclical representation about human evolution across time.
- Confucianism otherwise evolved as a cultural worldview staying at the borderline between religious philosophy and state ideology.

### **EMPIRES VS CITY-STATES:**

State building throughout the Oriental area as also in the East Mediterranean Basin issued into two different patterns of state, these were the Empire and the City State. City States which developed originally in the Mesopotamian and Indus River Valley come to be engulfed by the emerging and expanding empires.

The non-resilience of the City States in the Orient and the prevailing of large scale empires regions has to be explained by reference to geo-climatic characteristics: The great river valleys of the Orient from Egypt to China were exceptionally fertile regions surrounded by deserting areas. The river valleys allowed the practice of large scale agriculture yielding rates of productivity much above the average of the neolithic societies. However, such rates of agricultural productivity were dependent upon exploiting the opportunities offered by the periodical seasonal floodings of the great rivers. In their turn, flooding could only be exploited efficiently by the means of large scale irrigation systems (which could only be installed and managed by large scale states and state-authorities).

The characteristics of the Oriental Empires came to be analysed and conceptualised in connection to the characteristics of European political dynamics. The comparison between Western European and Oriental (Asiatic) political patterns has stayed at the core of modern historical analysis, political philosophy, sociological theory and political science. Oriental characteristics came to obtain different, yet complementary characterisations and conceptualisations offered by two of the most important sociologists of the modern time: Karl Marx & Max Weber.

- The Marxist conceptualisation rested on the notion of the asiatic model of production underlined by the state property over the means of production (the agrarian land, the irrigation systems, the agrarian tools and the domesticated animals).
- The Weberian conceptualisation revolved around the notion of patrimonialism-the absence of a separation between the public and the private domains of social life in the same societies.

#### **THE UNIVERSAL EMPIRE. THE EXPANSION OF THE GREEK CIVILISATION:**

The political model of the despotic empire was also to play a heavy role in the history of European Civilisation. The idea of the Universal Empire in connection to European history had a departure in the fourth century of the Common Era. The period was marked by the expansion of the greek civilisation (originated in the Greek Peninsula) into the region of the Middle East. This expansion took place over a short period of time by virtue of the military campaigns into Asia led by king Alexander the Great. The conquests of Alexander the Great in the years 330-320 Before the Common Era transformed Hellenism from a phenomenon of local significance to a phenomenon of large scale regional and world significance.

Following the death of Alexander the Great and up to the engulfment of the region by the roman Empire toward the Christian Era, the region of Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East took the political form of Hellenistic Kingdoms. The Hellenistic Monarch acted as the ideological inheritor of Alexander the Great cherishing the Imperial ideology of government.

The "city-state" fell into decline, and transformed from the Aristotelian view of the "polis" (where free male citizens would be politically active in order to fulfill themselves as human beings) to a post-Aristotelian view: the school of Stoicism, where the wise man was pictured as a secluded philosopher who contemplated the universe outside of social and political life. Political life was seen as the sole responsibility of the monarchical ruler.

Stoicism was to become part of the Christian world view; that a good Christian would give to the Caesar what belonged to the Caesar, and give to God what belonged to God. Thus, political life was the responsibility of only the monarchical ruler, creating the idea of the universal empire.

## STAGES IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE:

Hellenistic Imperialism inaugurated by Alexander the Great come to be inherited by the Roman Empire. The roman state emerged as a City State of the Italian Peninsula in the Western Mediterranean Basin. The territorial expansion of Rome was accompanied by the transformation of its political system leading from Republic to the format of the Universal Empire.

Over the next four centuries, the Roman Empire developed in strong intercommunication with the Christian Church. The two entities stood in a state of conflict originally; they were to come in a strong symbiosis at the end. The story of their connection was deeply interconnected with that of the evolution of the Roman State itself.

### OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS:

The transition from Republic to Empire was completed under the leadership of Octavianus Augustus (27 B.C-14 A.C). Octavianus concentrated into his hands most of the Republic leading offices coming to impose himself as a Caesar and an emperor.

\*His successors proceeded in the same way. They consolidated the imperial office and the ideology of imperialism. At some junctions, republican survivals manifested themselves as more than just appearances at times of political crisis. The apogee was the time of the Emperors of the Antonini dynasty stretching from Trajan (started his rule in 98) to Marcus Aurelius (ended his rule in 180).

### THE MILITARY ANARCHY:

The death of Marcus was followed by a period of decline, it issued into civil wars and political anarchy which attained the lowest level during the period called the military anarchy (235-284) when 22 emperors succeeded to the throne.

### DIOCLETIANUS:

Diocletianus was the one to put an end to this situation. His reign was marked by two transformations:

- The first one referred to the institutions and ideology of government. The new political system eventually came to adopt a new label, a dominate one replacing the label of principality used previously in order to refer to the political system of Augustus. In fact, Diocletianus inaugurated what was to transform itself gradually into the byzantine style of imperial rulership.
- The second transformation referred to the inauguration of the practice of dividing the Empire for the purposes of more effective administration into the Western and Eastern halves. This system was inaugurated in 293 when Diocletianus established the institutions of the tetrarchy providing two emperors called Augusti, reigning in the Western and Eastern part, and having as subordinates two sub-emperors called Caesars.

\*This system did not survive, yet the practice of dividing the Empire into the Western and Eastern branches was to be revisited repeatedly in the following period.

### CONSTANTINE THE GREAT:

The tetrarchic era was drawn to an end by Constantine the Great who inaugurated his rulership in the Western part in 306 in order to reunite the Empire in 324. He dies in 337. Also, he founded in the

Eastern part of the empire a second capital city (a second Rome) called the city of Constantinople, established in 340 and located on the shore of Bosphorus and the ancient greek town of Byzantium.

### **MIGRATIONS:**

The end of the fourth century was marked by the beginning of a large scale migration of peoples coming from Northern Europe and Asian Steppes. This era started in the year 375 when germanic people (visigoths) were dislocated from the sight of their temporary settlement to the Northern part of the Sea by the asiatic huns. The migration of the visigoths was also accompanied by a characteristic political pattern in the late roman era.

### **THEODOSIUS:**

The last great roman emperor exercising his authority over the entire territory was Theodosius (379-395). His death issued into the definitive division of the Empire with his sons Arcadius in the Eastern part and Honorius in the Western part.

### **THE ROMANO-GERMANIC SYMBIOSIS:**

The following decades witnessed the decade of the Western part of the Roman Empire. The city of Rome was conquered twice (in 410 by the visigoths ruled by Alaric and in 455 by the vandals ruled by Genseric). In between the two events stood a military event of great importance - the Battle of the Catalaunian Plains where the general Aetius leading a combined roman-germanic army inflicted a decisive defeat on the huns led by their king Atilla. The germanic peoples came to prevail and a characteristic symbiosis was obtained in the Western part of the Empire. This roman-germanic synthesis was to stay at the foundation of the Occidental Medieval society and culture. The Western Roman Empire in its classical form was drawn to an end in 476 when Romulus Augustulus was deposed by the germanic king Odoacer. Odoacer assumed for himself the title of a king in the fashion of all the other germanic rulers.

## **CHRISTIANITY AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE ROMAN EMPIRE:**

### **THE EMERGENCE:**

Christianity is dated back to the year 30, the era when the crucifixion of Jesus Christ is said to take place. The religion originally emerged from Judaism, but quickly emulated philosophical elements from outside Judaic religion and culture.

### **THE COUNCIL OF THE 12 APOSTLES:**

Over the period of the year 49 to 50, the council of the 12 Apostles took place at Jerusalem. In the footsteps of these events, Apostle Paul started his mission and activities within the surrounding Hellenized populations. The Greek language accordingly emerged as the main vehicle for the transmission and development of Christianity.

### **THE SEPARATION:**

Christianity was built on the stoic philosophy of post-Aristotelian Greece, that is, to not oppose the established political power. Emerging Christianity was highlighted by the gradual separation of Christianity and Judaism, a large part of this process being the revolt of the Jews against the Roman Empire (66-73), in which the Christians maintained a pacifist attitude and refused to participate.

### **ARYANISM AND ICONOCLASM:**

In the following period, the Christian world view was shaped by gradual departure from heretic movements—namely, Aryanism, a belief that promoted the idea of an inferior race. A main movement that went against the evolving Christianity was that of Iconoclasm, which denied the representation of a human face in Christian iconography.

### **THE ECUMENICAL COUNCILS AND THE GREAT SCHISM:**

The orthodox view got crystallized by confrontation with the heresies in the larger framework of a series of ecumenical church councils. Eight such ecumenical councils were organized between 325 and 869. (Nicaea, Constantinople etc.). They confronted these heretical views, condemning Aryanism and Iconoclasm. However, during the last council the Church separated into the Western and Eastern Church over the theological of the dogma filioque. This is known in history as the Great Schism. Consequently, in 1054 the heads of the two Churches excommunicated each other.

### **EASTERN BRANCHES:**

Despite the long term fight of orthodoxy against heresies, several branches of the Christian Church emerged in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire and they were to survive by cultivating their theological and liturgical characteristics up to the present day. These were the Armenian Church, the Ethiopian Church, the Coptic Church-Egypt and the Jacobite Church-Syria.

### **THE PATRIARCHATES:**

The hierarchy of the church was elaborated alongside the process of theological clarification. In the early period of the Church, of greatest importance in terms of institutional and hierarchical evolution was the emergence of the five patriarchal seats or the five patriarchates (these were the patriarchates of Alexandria-Egypt, Jerusalem, Antioch-Syria, Constantinople and Rome)

### **PERSECUTION AND TOLERANCE:**

Despite their pacifist philosophy, the Christians were treated for a long time with great hostility by the Roman Empire. The main reason was their refusal to subscribe to the practice of divining the Emperor that acquired a great influence in the later centuries of Rome. A series of persecutions against the Christian church took place from the first century to the fourth century, most significant was the persecution perpetrated under the orders of the emperor Nero in 64.

In 260, the Roman Emperor Gallienus issued the first edict of tolerance towards the Christians, and in 301 Armenia adopted Christianity as a state-mandatory religion. Regardless of this, a new wave of prosecution occurred between 303 and 311, under the rule of Diocletianus.

Following that in the year 313 the emperor Constantine the Great promulgated the Edict of Tolerance of Milan. The imperial document did not provide for the officialization of Christianity as a dominant or state religion, but only for its acceptance. Christianity would become overwhelmingly dominant within the span of several decades.

Still a last wave of persecutions took place over the year 361 to 363 promoted by the emperor Julian surnamed the Apostate. Christianity was then decreed as an official state religion by the Emperor Theodosius in the year 391, a moment that also witnessed the putting on fire of the library of Alexandria, the most important cradle of pagan culture.

## TRANSITION TO THE MIDDLE AGES:

From hostility, the two entities of the Empire and the Church had come in a deep symbiosis with each other. The empire provided protection for the Church.

The Christianization of the Roman Empire together with the fall of the Western Roman Empire marks the line of separation between ancient and medieval times in the history of Europe, this chronology providing a sharp separation between Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

## THE MIDDLE AGES AND ITS SUBPERIODS:

Throughout the Medieval period several centers of civilization functioned along the median axis of the Eurasian continent: the civilization of the western Christendom, the civilization of the Byzantium (Eastern Roman Empire) and the third center of civilization was that of Islam. Finally several centers of civilization developed in Eastern Asia of which of greatest importance was China.

The period of the Middle Ages displayed a series of subperiods with sharply marked characteristics.

1. **THE MEROVINGIAN ERA:** The first subperiod of the Middle Ages was that of the Early Middle Ages, covering the 5th through the 8th centuries. It is also labeled as the Merovingian Era, from the name of the most important reigning dynasties which ruled in France. The Merovingian period kept the following characteristics:

-political fragmentation across the area of the western Christendom.

The characteristic political unit of the time was that of the barbarian-Germanic kingdoms which were created on the formal territory of the Western Roman Empire as also beyond its borders by such formerly migratory Germanic people as the Ostrogoths settling in Italy, the Visigoths settling in Hispania or Franks settling in Gaulle. The barbarian kingdom well marked by very feeble institutional structures which also had a superficial character allowing a great amount of autonomy to the society they governed which tended to get organized informally on a local provincial basis.

-fluidity of borders which shifted territorially.

One reason behind both these traits was the conception of government underlying the barbarian kingdoms. This was the patrimonial conception whom we encounter in the Ancient Prehellenistic Middle East. Within the patrimonial conception no distinction was drawn between the state as a public institution and the private patrimony of the monarchical ruler. The king treated their realms as private domains, something which applied to the lands, the objects and the living inhabitants. As a result of this conception kingdoms were often split up at the death of one ruler between the male inheritors of the latter. Eventually the kingdoms were reconstituted in the context of wars between the inheritors, but very often the new political units acquired different territorial shapes.

-strength of the Church.

In fact, the Western Church emerged as the only resilient institutional and juridical framework/structure of the time. The Church as such stood as the real institutional inheritor of the different Western Empire. It was within the Church that the heritage of the Roman juridical conception was preserved. Acting as such the Church tended to expand both territorially and in terms of its institutional

consistency its structures gaining in elaboration over time. Also the Church discovered for itself a political vocation and an ambition to get involved in matters of secular administration and government.

2. **THE CAROLINGIAN ERA:** The second subperiod of the Middle Ages was the Carolingian period called as such once again from the name of the dominant Frankish dynasty. It covered the 9th and the 10th century. Its characteristics were the following:

-reconstitution of the Western Roman Empire, although with a different territorial shape centered upon the territory of Gaulle, the new Empire stood in continuity to the kingdom of the Franks.

-continuation of political fragmentation, something which lead to the emergence of the Feudal system, a reality encompassing both the political and the social economic aspects of Western civilization at the time.

-deep economic decline which was accompanied but the atrophy of urban life.

By virtue of this process, the Carolingian society looks retrospectively as the least urbanized of all the great Agrarian civilizations, displaying at the time, a hardly backward to all the other contemporary agrarian civilizations. Economic life turned almost entirely to the pattern of self subsidence, commercial exchanges being almost completely interrupted. This applied to commerce within the region but even to a greater extent to the field of commercial links with the Eastern Mediterranean.

3. **THE CLASSIC MIDDLE AGES:** The third subperiod was that of the Classic Middle Ages covering the 11th through the 13th century. The Classic Middle Ages was characterized by:

-burgeoning development taking suddenly after the year 1000.

The process of development encompassed the economic field but more specifically the domain of urban life which expended heavily over these centuries. Commercial exchanges and more specifically the great distance external ones were re-established and expended. The same expansionist tendencies manifested themselves in the military field. For the first time the Western Christendom took such an expansionist turn against its neighbors.

-military adventure of the crusades and religious wars targeted to the liberation of the holy land of Palestine from under its Islamic conquerors.

-recentralization of the monarchic states to the detriment of feudal fragmentation.

Centralization also involved the reconstitution of the state in line with the ancient roman juridical conception as a public domain separated from the private domains of social life.

-cultural development. Two such developments were of great importance.

First there was the emergence of a characteristic laic culture alongside of the religious or the ecclesiastic one. This feel of secular culture got the stamp of the warrior or chevaleresque ideals which partly departed from the main tendence of the Christian world view.

The second cultural development was consisted in the creation of a greatly innovative type of educational institution: that of the University whose organizational patterns were different from and superior to the bodies of the ones existing in the ancient Greek Roman World.

4. **THE LATE MIDDLE AGES:** The fourth and last subperiod of the Middle Ages was that of the Late Middle Ages covering the 14th and the 15th century. This was a period of crises which affected all layers of Medieval Western Society, the economic and social ones including the ecclesiastical aspect and the cultural theological one.

The symptoms of crisis in fact emerged retrospectively as creating the preconditions for the future Renaissance whose first beginnings took place in fact during this period in order for the movement to reach its apogee in the late 15th and throughout the 16th century. Most conspicuous was economic decline as a manifestation of crisis, something which meant primarily a deep incongruence between economic resources and demography. It's so happened that this great problem of the time was tragically solved as a result of a great epidemics of plague which got installed in Western Europe in the year 1348. The plague eventually destroyed 1/3 of the region's population within the span of several years.

In political terms, the Late Middle Ages were characterized by chronic conflicts affecting both the ecclesiastical structures and the secular political structures. The Church had to confront a long term schism within the Catholic world. The secular political structures were affected by long term wars at the center of which stood the 100 years war between the crowns of England and France.

## THE INSTITUTION OF CHURCH DURING THE MIDDLE AGES:

### ST. AUGUSTINE:

The original theoretical framework of the relations between state and Church in the Middle Ages was drawn by St. Augustine living between 364-414 who functioned as a bishop in North Africa. Augustine's main work "The city of God" laid down the main mission of the Church as that of propelling mankind off the historical trajectory leading from the present state of sinless to the final redemption.

The Church was conceived as a remnant of the incarnation of God in the earthly body of Christ. In continuation of Christ's teachings, the Church had to take care of the human beings souls abstaining from taking an involvement in worldly political affairs. By comparison to his stoic and early Christian forerunners, Augustine took a half way turn towards the old Aristotelian vision laying an emphasis on good imperial government and political wise behavior as Christian virtues.

Augustine also set forth the complementary domains of the state and the Church by stating that the Church was a higher symbolic power. The state on the other hand was in charge with protestas which meant executive power to be applied directly to the people.

The centuries of the old Middle Ages also brought about the practice of having the kings in charge with the symbols of a sacred quality. Most important was the practice of anointing kings with holy oil from the hands of the local bishops, a practice inaugurated in the late 5th century in Vizigothic Hispania.

### THE SUPREMACY OF THE PATRIARCHY OF ROME:

Ecclesiastical history traces back the evolution of the Papacy or of the Bishopry of Rome to Apostle Peter, a contemporary of the emperor Nero. A turning point in the evolution of the Papacy was the pontificate of Leo, the first reigning between the 440 and 461. Leo asserted firmly the supremacy of the patriarchy of Rome over the other patriarchies. Such a claim was to imply there after the emancipation of the Papacy (and such the entire Western Catholic Church) from the authority of the Eastern Roman emperor.

### THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE 2 INSTITUTIONS:

On this basis, the Western Church could evolve in the Early Middle Ages in the guise of a largely autonomous body staying above the western secular political structures. The Augustinian doctrine was

then put on more solid foundations by Pope Gelasius, reigning between 492 and 496. Gelasius reasserted the idea of the separation between Church and state together with the idea of their collaboration by advancing the metaphor of the two swords representing the ecclesiastical and the secular bodies respectively.

On this basis the Church could develop in the following centuries as an institutional body disentangled from the structures of the state. It is important to underline that such a framework of relations between ecclesiastic and secular institutions was highly peculiar to the Western context, nothing of that kind emerging in the other Agrarian civilizations like the Byzantium, Islam or China. In continuation to the idea of separation and the practice of complementary yet conflictual relations between the two bodies, the Church was to act as a representative of the society of believers in their relations with the state authority.

The following evolution of Western Christianity was deeply connected with the Christianization in successive stages of the Germanic peoples. This process displays the people of the Franks as holding a special status. Indeed, in the year 499, the Franks adopted Christianity top down following the baptizing of their king in the shape of the catholic orthodoxy as defined in the time of the ecumenical councils. The other Germanic people originally adopted Christianity in its arian form. \*Such a situation placed the Franks in a privileged relation with the Church and the Papacy and these special links were to be strengthened in the following centuries.

The 6th century was characterized by two fundamental elements of ecclesiastical organization:

1. First in the year 529, the monk Benedictus of Nursia founded the first monastic order, in the Western region.
2. Second in the year 585, the council (Synod of Macon) established that secular rulers were to enforce in their realms the collection of special fiscal resources to the benefit of the Church.

#### **GREGORY THE FIRST:**

Another stage in the evolution of the Western Church came under the pontificate of the Gregory the I, surnamed the Great (590-604). Gregory organized the Church on the basis of bishopricism, this structure being gradually extended across the whole area of Western Christianity. Subordinated to the Papacy, the bishoprics had also below them an institutional hierarchy, going downwards to the level of the village parish. Gregory the I also sat down the rules of the monastic life, elaborating an ideal of ascetism which was otherwise very different from the daily life in the contemporary society.

#### **THE CREATION OF THE PAPAL STATE:**

In the decades following the pontificate of Gregory, the Papacy started to claim rights over a territory in central Italy comprising and surrounding the city of Rome to be ruled and administrated under its direct authority without any recourse to secular rulers. To this extent, the Church issued and circulated a fake document called "The Donation of Constantine", the document in question providing for such, a territorial gift of the emperor Constantine towards the Church. The territory envisioned started to be called "The Patrimony of St. Peter". The end of the 8th century offered a special context within which the objective of the faked donation was actually accomplished.

This context was constitutive by a new term of the privileged relationship between the Papacy and Frankish kingdom. By that time, in the Frankish kingdom the previous Merovingian dynasty had been replaced by the Carolingian one. This replacement came in fact as an illegitimate act of usurpation, the family of the Carolingian originally acting as the highest aristocrats of the realm. In the year 751 the

Frankish Carolingian king Pepin the Short established an alliance with Pope Stephen the II, directed against the people of the Lombards, which put the Ostrogoths as the dominant power in the Italian Peninsula. Unlike their Ostrogoth forerunners, the Lombards exerted hostile pressure upon the Papacy. Pepin the Short destroyed the Lombard power in Italy for the benefit of the Papacy. In exchange the Papacy bestowed legitimacy on the Carolingian dynasty. The result was the Pepinian donation coming in the year 756 by virtue of which the papal state was created, a secular political structure being stressed under the direct authority of the Papacy.

### **CHARLES THE GREAT:**

The privileged relation formed between the Papacy and the Carolingian dynasty was to unfold then under the reign of the king Charles the Great, reigning between 768 and 814; by a series of wars he consolidated the border of the Frankish kingdom in the South along the chain of the Pyrenees mountains. Also Charles the Great extended heavily the borders of the kingdom to the East into territories inhabited by Slavic speaking population and Asiatic populations. Territorial extension was accompanied by Christianization and by the expansion of the Churches institutions in the new areas. Having thus obtained an unprecedented military power and political legitimacy, the Frankish king Charles the Great was coronated in the Christmas day of the year 800 as an emperor of the west, receiving the crown from the hand of the pope Leon the 3th. Charles the Great, Charlemagne set himself thus in continuation to the Roman emperors. In fact the accomplishment of Charles the Great was only possible due to the fact that the Byzantium faced at the time the crisis of the Iconoclasm. From that moment on the Western and the Eastern Roman emperors were to exist side by side, each of them claiming a Christian Apostolic Mission, but promoting otherwise and respectively the two different Christian visions of the east and the west/ Catholics and Orthodox.

## **FROM THE CAROLINGIANS TO THE HABSBURGS:**

### **THE EMPIRE OF CHARLES THE GREAT:**

The state ruled by Charles the Great was much better organized than the previous Barbarian kingdoms. Still, its structures were far from having the consistency and resilience of the Ancient Roman state and the emperors residence changed according to the demands of the military campaigns. Still, one residence used by Charles the Great occupied the spatial position, that of the city of Aachen - Aix la Chappell.

The consolidation of the state in the form of the Empire changed immediately the balance in the relationship between State and Church. A period of imperial supremacy over the Papacy ensued from this. Charles the Great was followed by his son Louis the Pious.

### **THE DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE:**

Following the death of the latter, the Empire did not survive as a unity. Instead, a fragmentation took place by virtue of the Treaty of Verdun, the Empire being split between the 2 sons of Louis the Pious: Charles the Second took the Western part covering the most territory of France; Louis surnamed the Germanic obtained the Eastern part of the Empire on the territory of today's Germany. Lothar, the elder son, adjudicated for himself the title of the emperor, also securing for himself the territory stretching

between from the Northern part of Italy, along the valley of the river Rhine up to the actual territory of the Low Countries. This political community was called Lotharingia.

Unlike the other 2 pieces of the Empire, Lotharingian won't transform itself into a stable European state of the future. The Treaty of Verdun was laid down in a bilingual document which offers to us the oldest manifestations recorded of the French and German languages.

### **FEUDALISM:**

The territorial fragmentation was followed however by a much deeper political fragmentation of the Carolingian world which encompassed not only the political realm, the social and economic world. This new type of fragmentation was that provided by the system of feudalism which emerged in Europe in the cradle of the defunct Carolingian order.

One source of feudalism was the very backwardness of the society. Another more immediate cause came from the external pressures exercised over the post Carolingian world. They consisted in the last wave of migrations hitting Western Europe from 3 sides:

- the Arab sarasines coming from the South through the Iberian Peninsula and across the Western Mediterranean,
- the Asiatic Hungarians coming from the East and
- the Germanic nomads or Scandinavian Vikings coming from the North.

Exposed to such pressures, the political authorities of the time could not cope with the challenge. The result was a marked tendency of delegating or relegating the powers and responsibilities. By virtues of this tendency, the social and political body was recomposed as a hierarchical pyramid of potentates and centers of power which were linked to each other by relations of subordination of a private and social nature.

Societies were recomposed as a network of relationships between suzerains (feudal overlords) and vassals (the feudal servants), and the kings acted as simply the first level of authority among the feudal aristocrats organized in this fashion. The parties involved in such contractual arrangements took reciprocal (bearing on each party equally) obligations to on another: suzerains were expected to offer their vassals protection when necessary in the same way that the vassals were expected to offer advisory and services.

Kings could no longer mobilize human and economic resources to their advantage and on their own account; they could only do so through the contributions of vassals, due to the delegation of responsibilities to lower sections of society. Political bodies were, therefore, restructured as many patchworks of patrimonial or private domains. Federal units (i.e. committees or Duchies) had their own laws: with their own Courts of Justice, taxes and military forces. Fiscal resources were collected in the sense that each feudal unit was confined to its own taxable population.

### **RECENTRALIZATION:**

For obvious reasons, the decline of political authority within the feudal system tipped the balance of power between the church and state to the church. A long period of papal supremacy followed. Feudal fragmentation also paved the way for, however, future attempts at recentralization.

A strand of such efforts towards recentralizing political power emerged from within the Eastern Carolingian Empire or from the Germanic lands. In 911, the German branch of the Carolingian Empire got

extinguished. In 919, duke Harry of Saxony was elected as the king of Germany by the aristocracy. His son, Otto the I reigning from 936 to 973 managed to obtain a greater authority.

### **THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE:**

A turning point in the process was his spectacular victory over the Hungarians in the battles of Augsburg – 955; following the event, the Hungarians retreated from Western Europe getting settled in the Panonian plain. On the basis of this prestige, king Otto got coronated as a Roman emperor in the year 962, receiving his crown from the pope Joan the 12th.

The new revival of the Western Roman Empire was to prove immensely more lasting than the previous one. Under the name of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, the political structure founded by Otto the I of the Saxon dynasty was to survive up to the year 1806. As his Carolingian predecessor, the Holy Roman Empire put forward claims at universal domination, cherishing the ambition of uniting the entire western Christendom. Such a vision would not get fulfilled. Still, for several centuries, the Holy Roman Empire would act as the most important secular political power and the privileged competitor of the Papacy. The imperial political vision was put on ideological foundation under the emperor Otto the III, who established his residence at Rome. In this setting he promoted a political discourse that was to be remembered under the name of the “Constantinian Dream”.

This time, the supremacy of the secular power was also accompanied by a marked decline of the Church. The decline had manifestations in the sphere of learning and Christian morals. However, two aspects of the Church’s crisis were outmost importance.

1. First was a deep state of corruption perceived at the time under the label of the Simoniac practices from the name of a biblical figure Simon, famous for his addiction to corruption.
2. The second aspect of greatest importance was that of a contest between the Papacy and the secular powers in different parts of Europe over the nomination of the bishops. The issue was known as the “problem of the investitures”. Were the bishops to be nominated top down by their ecclesiastical superiors and at such ultimately by the Pope? Or were they to be invested by the local kings or feudal lords? The latter alternative definitely implied an interference of the state and the secular world generally with the affairs of the Church.

### **GREGORY THE SEVENTH:**

The crisis of the Church having at the core the problem of the relation with the secular war was energetically tackled by Pope Gregory the 7th surnamed the Great between 1073 and 1085. Gregory is remembered as the greatest reformer among the bishops of Rome and his initiatives and policies survived under the label of the Gregorian reformation. Gregory the 7th started by consolidating the Church from within, diminishing by a great extent the Simoniac practices and also introducing a new discipline of Christian education and Christian behavior. He also turned the affair of the investitures greatly to the advantage of the Church without however obtaining a definite and final conclusion of the issue. The most conspicuous effect of the Gregorian Policies consisted in the introduction in the year 1074 of the rules of celibacy for the clerics; the measure did not target however the disciplining of morals/behaviours. Instead it was targeted at removing the widely spread practice of marriages established between high clerics and female members of the feudal aristocracy and of the royal families. Such marriages had posed a great threat to the autonomy of the Church.

### **THE HUMILIATION OF CANOSSA:**

The Gregorian reformation was largely successful thus in disentangling the structures of the Church from the network of power relationships stretching through the secular world. The same policies however placed Gregory in sharp confrontation with the imperial authority represented by the emperor Henry the 4th of the Salin Dynasty (1056-1106). This confrontation in fact marked the first stage of a long turn conflict between the Empire and the Papacy. As Henry the 4th opposed the Gregorian measures, he was excommunicated by the Pope in the year 1075. The Pope's prestige was proved by the fact that following the excommunication, the emperor found himself in virtual impossibility of performing his duties. As a result, in the year 1077, Henry the 4th was forced to come and kneel in front of the pope in the Italian city of Canossa, begging for forgiveness. The event was called "The Humiliation of Canossa" and it marked the lowest level attained by the party of the Empire in the confrontation with the Papacy.

Following Canossa, Henry the 4th managed to draw a part of the aristocracy of the Empire on his side. He took a military campaign in Italy, conquered Rome and got a symbolic coronation from the part of an Antipope raised by himself under the name of Clement the 3rd.

\*The contest continued in the following decades leading in the year 1122 to an armistice established as the Concordat of Worms. With this, the first stage of the combat between the Empire and the Papacy was drawn to an end.

### **THE HOHENSTAUFEN DYNASTY:**

A second stage took place in the late 12th and the early 13th centuries where the imperial initiative were take by the Hohenstaufen dynasty. Most important of the dynasty were Frederic the First, surnamed Barbarossa (reigning between 1152-1190) and then Frederic the Second (reigning between 1215-1250).

#### **A. FREDERIC BARBAROSSA:**

The most important development at the time of Frederic the First was the involvement in this papal imperial affair of the economically influential cities of Northern Italy, which also provided at the time a high cultural profile featuring such figures as Dante Alighieri. The cities of Italy got split into 2 camps. The parties in question were the Guelph party supporting the cause of the Papacy and the Ghibelin party supporting the cause of the Empire. Of great significance was the great event of 1174 when the Guelph cities lead by their respective oligarchies and united into the Lombard league obtained a victory over the imperial forces in the battle of Legnano, accomplished in strong alliance with the Papacy. The event marked a turning point in the process of emancipation of the cities from under royal and feudal authorities.

#### **B. FREDERIC THE SECOND:**

The source of the confrontation was turned again to the favor of the Empire under the reign of Frederic the Second, a figure which resembled very much that of the Saxon emperor Otto the Third. As Otto the Third, Frederic the Second cultivated an imperial dream sustained by vivid recollections of ancient Rome. He took his residence in Italy in the Sicilian city of Palermo which he had obtained as a feudal domain of his own. Established in this setting Frederic exerted powerful pressures on the Papacy also using Sicily as the core of his political system. The death of Frederic the Second in 1250 marked also the extinguishing of the dynasty, There followed a period of aristocratic anarchy stretching from 1250 to 1273 which is called the Great Interregnum; various aristocratic parties struggling to secure the throne for themselves.

### **THE HABSBURG DYNASTY:**

The Interregnum was drawn to a close with the calling of the imperial throne of duke of Rudolf of the Habsburg dynasty (1291). By virtue of this; the most important aristocratic royal and imperial dynasty of European history entered the central stage of the historical clock. The Habsburgs would remain a central factor in the process of European development up the year 1918. However, the Habsburg accession to the imperial office took place against a dramatically reshaped political background of the Holy Roman Empire. The Empire would remain a highly divided political structure split into a great number of kingdoms, duchies, princely states and ecclesiastically ruled political units.

#### **FROM HEREDITARY TO ELECTIVE SUCCESSION:**

The fragmentation was underlined by the replacement of the principal of hereditary succession to the throne of the Empire with that of the elective succession. In the future, the emperor would be elected by a college of 7 electors consisting of the bishops of Koln, Minds and Trier, the count palatine of Rhine, the king of Bohemia, the margrave of Brandenburg and the duke of Saxon. Thus shattered as an effective political unit, the Empire also lost from its orbit the north Italian domains which obtained a great amount of autonomy. The new situation was underlined to the same extent and symbolically by the fact that imperial coronation would not take place anymore in the holy city of Rome but instead in the old Carolingian city of Aachen. Following the reign of Rudolf of Habsburg, members of the latter dynasties succeeded each other on the throne with representatives of the Luxembourg dynasties. The situation prevailed up until the year 1438 when the Habsburg dynasty secured the throne for itself. The imperial office would thus remain in the hands of the Habsburg family for the following centuries despite de practice of elections.

#### **THE DECLINE OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE:**

The decline of the Empire as a political unit took place in close conjunction with the corresponding rise to prominence of the kingdoms of France and England. In the later period of the Middle Ages, this two Western would take ahead of the Empire as effective political structures, but, at the same time, staying in the continuation of the Empire in terms of the competition between Church and State.

### **THE ENTANGLED EVOLUTIONS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE:**

The histories of France and England are deeply intertwined with each other and can only be followed by examining the connection.

**FRANCE:** The beginning of France has to be traced back of course to the Treaty of Verdun. Western Carolingian Empire would continue to be ruled by king Charles the Second up until the year 885. In that year following the death of Charles, there came to the throne, supported by the aristocracy, count Eudes of Paris. His dynasty would succeed each other with Carolingian representatives up to the year 957, when a new representative of the Paris dynasty, Hugo Capet, obtained the throne of France. The direct descendents of Capet would succeed to the throne under the name of the Capetian dynasty for long centuries and successive branches of the same dynasty would continue to rule over France up into the 19th century (1848). Originally, the Capetian kingdom was marked by excessive feudal fragmentation, the king himself being weaker by comparison with other feudal magnates of the realm. Over this incipient period, the greatest accomplishment of the dynasty was to entrench the principle of hereditary succession to the throne.

**ENGLAND:** The neighboring kingdom of England across the channel started to be shaped in the 5th century with the Anglo-Saxon Germanic invasions which put an end to the Roman order on the island. The Germanic element got dominant across the central region of the British main island. The previous Celtic population survived as a majority in the marginal areas of Scotland, and Wales. From the 8th to the 10th century, the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic population were confronted with successive waves of the Scandinavian invasion. A deep synthesis between the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans or Scandinavians emerged as such in England. The synthesis was cemented by the gradual Christianization. The region that was to be known later as England was fragmented at the time into several kingdoms dominated by either Anglo-Saxons or Normans aristocracies. The kingdom of Wessex of the South Eastern part emerged as most important at the end of the 9th century, the same political unit also contained the former Roman town of Londinium.

#### **THE WAR OF ENGLISH SUCCESSION – HASTINGS 1066:**

At the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century the ruling dynasty of Wessex established connections with the aristocratic family from the Western part of Normandy, a nominal part of the kingdom of France but enjoying almost complete autonomy towards the latter. Normandy itself was ruled by an aristocracy of Scandinavian origins that had adopted the French language. A struggle over dynastic succession in Wessex led to the battle of Hastings of 1066 in Southern England when the duke of Normandy, Guillaume defeated the Saxon king Harold. The Norman duke established himself as the king of England at London. He brought from this other domain a better conception of government based on the rules of the feudal system.

Hastings is considered to mark the last stage in the synthesis leading to the creation of England and the beginning of properly English history. This is despite of the fact that the successors of duke Guillaume and their aristocracy would continue to rule over the country as a French speaking social stratum up the beginning of the 14th century when they finally adopted the English language. Never the less, Guillaume the conqueror remained in English history as king William the First.

#### **HENRY THE SECOND and THE ANGEVIN EMPIRE:**

However the French entanglements of England would dramatically extend at the end of the 12th century with the coming on the throne of king Henry the Second surnamed the Plantagenet. When accessing to the throne of England, Henry the second, also of French origins, acted as a count of Anjou. He also obtained for himself the title and crown of the duke of Normandy. Following that, Henry the 2nd extended his French based domain by obtaining the duchy of Aquitaine; all these domains being amassed by him by virtue of the dynastic principal.

Despite the fact that, the highest title bore by Henry the 2nd was that of an English king, his French domains taken together greatly exceeded territorially, as well as in terms of human and economic resources, his English domain. Even more the Angevin Empire, thus created under the authority of the Henry the Plantagenet, enjoyed a much greater power than the kingdom of France. To the same extent however, Henry paid homage to the French king as a vassal of the latter. \*It seemed at the time that the French kingdom would be rapidly swallowed up by the Angevin political structure and thus subordinated to the crown of England; a situation that was perfectly possible under the ages of feudalism.

#### **THE CENTRALIZATION OF FRANCE:**

Such a fate of France was avoided due to the centralizing efforts of the contemporary French kings. Of greatest importance was king Phillip the Second (1180-1233). His attempts of centralization by the recovery of the Regalian right, implied the limitation and gradually the wiping out of autonomies and

immunities - in terms fiscal, juridical and military - enjoyed by the feudal units of the kingdom. By virtue of this process of centralization the French kingdom survived the Plantagenet pressure.

The process of centralization in France continued under the successor of Philip the 2nd and a new turning point being marked by the Louis the 9th surnamed the Saint (1226-1270). In the case of Louis the 9th, the effectiveness in the efforts of centralization derived from his involvement in the politics of The Last Crusade that brought a great prestige to the French king.

#### **THE KING AS THE HEAD OF THE CHURCH:**

The process of centralization in France was paralleled by the same kind of evolutions in England. Here, in a narrower territorial settlement, the state as a public institution developed even more rapidly. The king of England asserted his determination to have the head of the English Church, that is the archbishop of Canterbury, and to exert a powerful control over the Church's hierarchy within his realm. The issue was solved dramatically in the year 1170 when the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Beckett, who was opposing the royal policies in ecclesiastical matters, was assassinated at the orders of the king. With this, the English state took an ascendancy over the ecclesiastical order at home, while at the same time lessening the links between the Church of England and the Papacy.

#### **THE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLIES:**

The process of centralization in both England and France at the time seemed to be set on a road leading to unchecked royal authoritarianism. The process was however held in check by an opposing historical tendency consisting in the development of the representative assemblies which gave voice to the main segments of the societies in the world of declining feudalism. The representative assemblies were structured according to the juridical and symbolic division of Christian society into the 3 estates or orders of the clergy (or those who pray), the aristocracy (or those who vote) and the common people (or those who laboured). Representative assemblies organized as assemblies of estate developed starting the 13th centuries in all countries of Western Europe their function being everywhere, that of placing limitations to the royal power while also collaborating with the latter in the affairs of government.

#### **THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT:**

The pioneering institution was the English Parliament whose origins date back to the moment 1215. At that moment the English king, was faced with a contestation from the part of the aristocracy which obliged him to issue the document Magna Carta Libertatum. The document spelled out the principle that the society organized in estates or orders had a word to say in matters of royal decisions.

\*The institution of the Parliament was shaped over the following decades on this basis, obtaining its definitive shape on the medieval pattern in the year 1265.

#### **PHILIP THE FOURTH:**

As far as the French kingdom was concerned, the issues of the relationship with the Papacy arose at the time of the great king Philip the 4th surnamed the Handsome, ruling between 1285 and 1314. Philip the 4th was a great centralizing king in continuation to Philip the 2nd and Louis the 9th the Saint. His centralizing policies also involved an assertion of the state in relation to the Papacy and the ecclesiastical structure. The religious policies of Philip the 4th kept two distinct components:

1. The king had to address the great challenge posed to the French state by a religious monastic order with an international outlook spread all across Europe but centered upon France. This was the order of the Templars created on the Holy Land in the Middle East as part of the great

enterprise of the Crusades. Following the failure of the Crusades, the Templers shifted their headquarters from the Orient to Europe. The Templers arose as a virtual state within the French state challenging the authority of the Crown. King Philip the 4th destroyed the order of the Templers by the means of a fake trial, accusing the religious organization of promoting heretical views and witchcraft practices. As a result the leaders of the Templers were put on fire in the year 1307. An influential legend arose around the event according to which the head of the Templar organization cursed the king and his dynasty while being swallowed by the fire. The curse acquired a significant symbolic influence in France and throughout the Western Christian world.

2. The king raised claims regarding his control over the French branch of the Catholic Church in the same way as the Roman-German emperors and the English king Henry the 2nd had done beforehand. The Papacy, as usual, rejected such claims. There came from this a vocal conflict. In the year 1303, an emissary of the king met with the Pope Boniface the 8th in the Italian city of Anani. During the debate, the French emissary hit the Pope into the face. This was a moment of humiliation for the Papacy, recalling by opposition the humiliation of the secular powers at Canossa in the 11th century.

### **THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY:**

The Papacy did not recover from this challenge, for the contrary in the year 1309, the following pope Clement the 5th was obliged by the French king to abandon his residence in the Holy City of Rome and take a new residence in the Southern French city of Avignon. Papacy would stay at Avignon from that year up to 1377. This episode from the history of the Catholic Church being called the Babylonian captivity of the Papacy. Functioning on the French territory, Papacy was transformed into a virtual adjunct of the French state.

### **THE GREAT SCHISM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH:**

The Babylonian captivity was followed by the great schism by the Catholic Church stretching from 1378 to 1417. Throughout this period of the schism two popes existed side by side, one of them residing at Avignon under the control of the French and another one residing at Rome. The schism would be drawn to an end in the context of the crisis faced by the French kingdom during the 100 years war. Only in that context, Papacy could liberate herself from the captivity and the unity of the Catholic Church was created anew around the holy sea of Rome.

### **THE FRENCH WAR OF SUCCESSION - THE 100 YEARS WAR:**

Philip the 4<sup>th</sup> was followed on the throne by his three sons who succeeded each other between 1314 and 1328. All the 3 kings died at an early age and without inheritors, the situation being blamed on the curse of the Templers by the public opinion of the time. The 3 sons dying childless drew to an end the Capetian dynasty in the line of direct inheritors. A problem of succession to the throne accordingly emerged: one candidate was count Philip of Valois, a nephew of Philip the 4<sup>th</sup>, another candidate was the king of England, Edward the 3<sup>rd</sup>, a grandson of Philip the 4<sup>th</sup>. The estates General of the French Kingdom chose the first variant of succession. Accordingly, Count de Valois succeeded to the throne under the name Philip the 6<sup>th</sup> inaugurating the Valois dynasty, a branch of the Capetian dynasty that was to occupy the French throne up to the late 16th century.

At the same time, the English king Edward the 3rd took the opportunity to claim the crown of France against the wishes of the Estates General and of the French aristocracy. The result was the 100 years war between the crowns of England and France. The world proceeded over a period of over 1

century from 1337 to 1453. The hundred years war was a military affair affecting not only the two kingdoms separated by a channel, but also the entire Western Christendom. Two great characteristics of the war have to be underlined.

1. The conflict was initiated as a dynastic one according to the medieval pattern. In time however, it was transformed into a genuine confrontation between two states, two political entities furthered their degree of centralization and also augmented their self consciousness by virtue of the military confrontation. The new kind of public consciousness developing on both sides of the channel involved a degree of national content.

2. The second characteristic of the war was the fact that it involved a 3rd important player in the political and military game alongside the two dynasties and kingdoms of England and France. This 3rd participant to the conflict was the duchy of Burgundy located in the Eastern part of the kingdom of France throughout the border region with the German world. The duchy of Burgundy had arose to prominence at the time as a regional power whose political self image recalled the state of Lotharingia which had functioned briefly by occupying a territory between the French and the German ones after the Treaty of Verdun (833). The Burgundian territories also included the territories of the Low Countries that were developing to the North of France as important economic centers. The Burgundian state took advantage of the English - French contest in order to broaden its autonomy towards the French crown claiming for independent statehood and to this extent it took an alliance with the English.

The first stage of the war was dominated by spectacular English military victories in the battles. The last stage of the war was marked by the involvement of a French popular figure, the woman with a mystical profile, Joan D'Arc, who claimed to act as an emissary of God to the help of the French crown. The very convincing posture adopted by Joan D'Arc led to a turning point in the favor of the French. Joan D'Arc was eventually captured by the English and handed down to the Burgundians, who trailed her under the accusation of heresy, executing her by fire. However in the following decades, the English armies were expelled from the territory of France.

### **WAR CONSEQUENCES:**

**ENGLAND:** The 100 years war issued into very different consequences in England and France respectively. In England, the defeat was followed by a period of aristocratic anarchy called the War of the Two Roses when two branches of the Plantagenet dynasty, the branches of Lancaster and York confronted each other for the throne. The war ended with the victory of a 3rd participant. This was the Tudor dynasty of Welsh origins which acceded on the throne in 1485 in the person of king Henry the 7th. The Tudor dynasty would stay on the English throne up to the beginning of the 17th century.

**FRANCE:** In France on the other hand, the victory in the war would be followed by a new stage in the centralization process, a decisive stage taking place under king Louis the 11<sup>th</sup>. As part of his centralizing policy, King Louis the 11th settled the old Burgundian issue waging a devastating war with the duke of Burgundy. As a result of that war, the main Burgundian territory was absorbed by the French state, the regalian rights of the crown being imposed here.

## **THE EVOLUTION OF SOUTHERN EUROPE:**

### **THE HISPANIC PENINSULA:**

The Hispanic peninsula was occupied by the Islamic Arabs in the year 711, this event taking place against a previous medieval history dominated by the symbiosis between the Romanized population and the Germanic aristocracy, most notably that of the Visigoths. The Muslim conquest allowed a thin chain of Christian political units to function in the North of the Peninsula. These Christian states took the charge of recovering the territory of the entire Peninsula. The military enterprise developed over several centuries was known under the name of the Reconquista which was inaugurated in the mid 11th century.

**PORTUGAL:** Three of these Christian states would rise to prominence: one was the kingdom of Portugal, established in the Western part of the Peninsula, which attained a territorial shape, closely to the nowadays one, in 1248, when Reconquista can be considered to have ended. We can also mention Portugal as the European state which attained the earliest in time its present day territorial configuration.

**SPAIN:** Other 2 states of the peninsula, which emerged as dominant during the Reconquista, were the kingdoms of Castille and Aragon. A strong connection between them was established in 1469 when the inheritors of the two kingdoms, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabelle of Castille got married, their marriage relationship being conceived politically as a personal union between the 2 kingdoms. The union between Castille and Aragon constituted the nucleus of the Spanish kingdom. Ferdinand and Isabelle completed the Spanish Reconquista in the year 1492 when the last Muslim stronghold on the Peninsula was annihilated.

\*The same year was also marked by the fact that the Italian sailor Christopher Columbus acted in the service of Castille, sailing across the Atlantic Ocean in order to find a new way to East Asia. This issued instead into the European discovery of the Americas. Large scaled comparative history considers that the European discovery of America acted as one of decisive factors in the process of European and Western ascendancy over the rest of the world.

### **THE ITALIAN PENINSULA:**

Following the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the Italian peninsula was dominated up into the 6th century by the Germanic people of the Ostrogoths. The Ostrogothic rule in Italy was ended by the emperor Justinian who conquered the peninsula. At the end of the 6th century, Byzantine rule in Italy was abruptly put to an end with the coming of a new Germanic people, that of the Lombards, the last people of the king to receive Christianity in the year 616. Lombard rule in Italy was marked by an adverse relation with the Papacy and eventually by the conquering of Northern Italy, later to develop into the Carolingian Empire.

**THE NORTHERN PART:** The Northern part of the Peninsula remained in the orbit of the rejuvenated Western Empire, characterized by remarkable economic and cultural development. Following the end of the Hohenstaufen dynasty in 1250, the states of Northern Italy inlarge their autonomy towards the empire attained virtual independence, the same states being organized as commercial states dominated by urban patriciates. The most important political units of the king were those of Milan, Venice, Geneva, Florence.

**THE SOUTHERN PART:** The Southern part of the Peninsula had a different political evolution, being conquered by the Scandinavian Normans at the beginning of the 11th century, this being the 4th area of Scandinavian expansion. Normand rule in Southern Italy was finished in the year 1194 when the region was shifted to the Hohenstaufen dynasty; there followed in the region a period of political struggles, leading in the year 1282 to a division between southern Italy proper with the capital at Naples and Sicily with the capital at Palermo. The Napolitan Kingdom came under the dynasty of Anjou which ruled it up until 1442. Sicily instead came under the Spanish dynasty of Aragon, both the French and the Spanish connections having to play important political roles in the following period

## THE ITALIAN WARS:

### CHARLES THE EIGHTH:

In the year 1494, Charles the 8th claimed for himself the throne of the Southern Italian kingdom of Naples, left vacant by the Anjou dynasty in 1442. The main target of the king was to establish French control over the entire Italian Peninsula; the Northern and richer part of the Peninsula being of bigger interest to him. The king started in the same year an Italian campaign, which marked the beginning of the age of wars that was to last up until 1559. Throughout this period, the entire European politics was focused on Italy and on the attempts by various great powers to take control of it.

### THE LEAGUE OF VENICE:

King Charles the 8th easily conquered Naples in 1494. Soon thereafter, political opinion in Italy perceived the French domination as a prelude for a hegemonic politics over the entire Europe. The result was the creation of the League of Venice in 1495, an alliance meant to prevent France from taking control of Italy. The members of the League of Venice were Venice itself, Milan, the Papacy, Spain and the Empire. As a result, the French were expelled from the Peninsula in 1496.

### LOUIS THE TWELFTH:

The same politics was taken over by the following French King, Louis the 12th. The French campaign started in the year 1499 and it led to a reconfiguration of the Italian political map. The French took a stronghold in the duchy of Milan which was temporarily annexed to the French kingdom. In the southern part of Italy they had to confront the Spanish power already functioning in Sicily. The result was the establishment of Spanish rule over both Sicily and Southern Italy, a situation that was to prevail for two centuries.

### FRENCH AND SPANISH RULE:

A new anti-French alliance was created in 1511 under the name of the Holy League bringing together the Papacy, Venice, Spain and even the kingdom of England. Once again the French armies were expelled. The first stage of the Italian wars were ended in 1516 with the temporary victory of France, which under king Francois the First managed to regain the duchy of Milan and by such doing, to reestablish its control over the whole of Northern Italy with the Southern part of the peninsula coming under the rule of Spain, or more precisely, under the crown of Aragon.

### CHARLES QUINT:

At this juncture, the Italian wars (together with the entire international relations system) came to be dramatically affected by the sudden expansion of the Habsburg power. This phenomenon was due to the concentration of territories and reigning crowns under the authority of one Habsburg ruler, the Roman-German emperor Charles the 5<sup>th</sup>, also known as Charles Quint.

The Empire of Charles the 5<sup>th</sup> was created by virtue of the rules of succession, traditional in the Medieval and Early Modern Period: Charles the 5<sup>th</sup> was the inheritor of the Emperor Maximilian of Habsburg but also of his mother, duchess Mary of Burgundy. The son of Maximilian and Mary concentrated in his hands the authority over the hereditary Habsburg lands (the territory of today's Austria), but also over the Burgundian inheritance (the Low Countries). Prince Philip got married with the daughter of

Spanish kings Ferdinand and Isabella. The offspring of this last marriage was the future emperor Charles the 5<sup>th</sup>.

In 1516, prince Charles succeeded to the throne of Spain, acting in this capacity as king Charles the First, rule over Spain and the Aragonese possessions in Southern Italy and Sicily, but also over the Castilian possessions in the Americas. Several years afterwards, in 1519, the king of Spain Charles also succeeded to the Roman-German Imperial throne, getting coronated as the Emperor Charles the 5<sup>th</sup>. Together with the Spanish-Italian and American territories, he did get under his authority the Austrian provinces of the Habsburg dynasties and the Imperial crown. Over just several years, the accidents of hereditary succession thus created an Empire on which "the sun never sets". Soon thereafter, Charles's brother, Ferdinand, would succeed to the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary, something which expanded further the terrible power of the Habsburg political unit. The creation of Charles the 5<sup>th</sup>'s Empire changed overnight the balance of power in Europe. The Habsburg power replaced France as the great threat to the balance of power.

### **THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION:**

The Roman-German Empire came to be affected by the beginning of the religious reformation which was inaugurated with Martin Luther displayed his 95 theses pointing to the Catholic Church at the door of Wittenberg Cathedral. The Lutheran Reformation was to lead, over several years, to a fragmentation of the Roman-German political system. The reformation was condemned in 1520 by Pope Leo the 10<sup>th</sup>. In the following year, the Emperor convoked the Diet of Worms, making appeal to the estates of the empire. The Diet failed to obtain such an agreement and, accordingly, the ruling classes and primarily the aristocracy got split over the religious issue.

### **THE HABSBURGS VS. FRANCE:**

In spite of this political religious problem at home, Charles the 5<sup>th</sup> took advantage of his power in order to establish a firm Habsburg hegemony over Europe, targeting the full unification of the continent under his authority. The first power to react to the Habsburg threat was naturally France, the main competitor of Charles the 5<sup>th</sup>, but also a country surrounded by Habsburg possessions along all its borders. There emerged from this a pattern of international relations that was to function without exception for more than two centuries, up to the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup>.

The pattern consisted in the fact that all throughout the period mentioned, France and the house of Habsburg found themselves in opposite camps in the context of military confrontation of large scale but also in the context of diplomatic tensions. Very soon thereafter, this pattern of international politics praising France and the Habsburgs in opposite camps was compounded by the religious issue; the Habsburgs would assume for themselves the role of privileged defenders of Catholicism, holding traditional type of alliances with the Papacy. As a result of this, Catholic France which would never drop its majoritarian Catholic religious option, would be force into an alliance with the Protestant parties and powers throughout Europe in order to face successively the Habsburg-Papacy alliance.

This attitude of France in matters of International politics would also invoke a traditional alliance with the Islamic Ottoman Empire, also directed against the Habsburg power. Public opinion at the time, and political consciousness later, would see in this international behavior of the kingdom of France a privileged manifestation of the reason of state politics. The reason of state politics consisted in doing politics on the basis of valuable criteria characteristic to politics alone. In this regard of other considerations that had traditionally affected political activity namely: considerations of religion, ethics or philosophy.

## **CHARLES QUINT VS FRANCOIS THE FIRST: Treaty of Madrid**

The first round of the wars between Charles the 5<sup>th</sup> and the French king Francois the First, led to the French defeat in the battle of Pavia of 1525. Taken captive at Pavia, Francois the First was drawn to Spain and forced to sign the Treaty of Madrid by which France once again gave up all claims to Italian territories. Following that, the king was liberated and allowed to go to his residence in Paris. Immediately however, the Italian states, led by the Papacy and Venice, targeted against Charles the 5<sup>th</sup> and extended to include England.

### **FRENCH-OTTOMAN ALLIANCE and the *reson d'etat*:**

In the year 1532, the French king Francois the First established an alliance with the Protestants, inaugurating the politics of *reson d'etat*. In 1536, the same French king established an anti-Habsburg alliance with the Turkish Emperor, the link between France and Turkey having to subsist up around the period of the French Revolution at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The new military confrontations between France and Charles the 5<sup>th</sup> ensued, most of them being fought as before on the Italian territory.

### **THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION:**

As a result of this, the movement of the Catholic Counter Reformation meant to reform the Catholic Church from within, fighting the practices of corruption that were targeted by the Protestants, but also opening the Church to the new cultural currents of the Renaissance. In this way, the Catholic Church would be rapidly transformed into a competitor of the Protestant Reformed Churches on the same ground of the modernizing tendencies.

### **THE NEW STATE-CHURCH RELATION:**

In 1547, Charles the 5<sup>th</sup> obtained an important military victory in the battle of Nuremberg. The French-Habsburg military confrontation continued after the Augsburg Armistice and the Emperor was led to change his policies towards the religious issue within the Empire in order to face the external pressures. This change of policies led to the great religious Peace of Augsburg. Charles the 5<sup>th</sup> delegated his brother Ferdinand to negotiate the Peace of Augsburg and the religious agreement obtained established the model of Church-State relations for the following half-centuries.

This new pattern of the relations between the secular and ecclesiastical powers applied to a Western Christian world now fragmented, lacking that is the Christian unity of the post-Constantinian era. According to the provision of the Peace of Augsburg, the population of a state had to follow the religious option of the monarchical ruler, a principle enshrined in the *dictum Cuius regio, eius religio*.

### **DEVELOPMENTS:**

Two new important developments acted towards transforming radically the fabric of international relations:

#### **1. The double abdication of the Emperor Charles the 5<sup>th</sup>**

The Emperor renounced his Spanish crown in favour of his son, Philip, who acceded to the throne of Spain under the name of Philip the Second in order to become the greatest monarchical ruler of Spain. This succession applied also to the Italian and the American possessions of Spain, but also to the Burgundian inheritance of the Low Countries which came to be connected thus with the Spanish kingdom for the following period, something which would have great consequences on an European scale.

In the year 1558, also the year of his death, Charles the 5<sup>th</sup> abdicated in favour of his brother Ferdinand, in his capacity as an emperor, and also as a duke of Austria. Ferdinand acceded to the Imperial throne under the name of Ferdinand the First, bearing the Bohemian and the Hungarian Crowns and taking over the Austrian inheritance.

From that moment on, two branches of the Habsburg dynasty would function in Europe: the Austrian and the Spanish ones; they would often cooperate with each other but nevertheless maintaining their autonomy for each other.

## 2. The Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis

By virtue of the Treaty, France renounced any claims to the Italian territories. The other side of the coin was however the fact that the Habsburg dynasty renounced its claims to European hegemony and universal domination. The Empire where "the sun never sets" was now over. Instead, the peace treaty led to the period of European history marked by the phenomenon called the Spanish Ascendancy. Without raising claims of the same magnitude as Charles the 5<sup>th</sup>, Philip the Second would nourish the ambition to establish a control over European developments; \*the balance of power system would now function by targeting Spain as a threat.

## THE PROTESTANT CHURCH:

### A. LUTHERANISM:

\***ZWINGLIANISM:** The second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century would be marked by the deep intertwine between secular politics and religious politics throughout Europe from England in the West to the principality of Transylvania in the East. Following Luther's initiative, the reformation obtained a second branch in the year 1523 when the predicator Zwingli started to deliver Christ preaching with different accents than Lutheranism in Zurich, the German speaking Swiss Canton. Zwinglianism would remain a phenomenon of local importance.

\***ANABAPTISM:** A greater impact had the Anabaptist branch of Lutheranism initiated by the predicator T. Munzer in 1524. Anabaptism was a version of Lutheranism with popular overtones, targeting the peasant population and delivering to it a message of social emancipation accordingly, Anabaptism preaching led to a wide spread sense of revolt among the peasantries of several German states, and eventually to a religious peasant war fought over the years 1524-1525 and put down by the Imperial and aristocratic armies.

### THE SPREAD OF LUTHERANISM:

Over the same period, the Lutheran message came to be adopted and implemented top down by monarchic rulers outside the Empire. The Scandinavian kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark followed this model, Sweden adopting Lutheranism top down in 1527; Denmark in 1536.

### B. CALVINISM:

Of even greater importance was, however, the inauguration of an all together new branch of Protestantism which was initiated 1536 by Calvin, in the French speaking Swiss Canton of Geneva, with the publication of Calvin's work *Institutio Christianae religionis*. Calvinism departed from Lutheranism in two

respects: First it was more concerned than Lutheranism with methods of philosophical-theological speculation; Second – it adopted from the beginning an explicit international outlook.

### C. ANGLICANISM:

The third great branch of the protestant reformation alongside Lutheranism and Calvinism was created as a state religion, its inauguration and evolution being due entirely to political monarchic initiatives. This was the denomination of Anglicanism. Leading to the English reformation was the great dynastic change of 1485 which put an end to the war of the Two Roses, bringing the Tudor Dynasty of Welsh origins to the throne of England in the person of King Henry the 7<sup>th</sup>. Unlike their forerunners, the Tudors were newcomers to the work of top English politics, coming from outside the network of power relations within the English great aristocracy. As newcomers, the Tudors naturally looked around for new legitimating devices.

### THE TUDOR DYNASTY:

The Dynastic change interacted over the first decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century with economic developments which altered the balance between the great aristocracy of the Magnates and the lower classes. The economic evolutions in question consisted in the movements of the enclosures, which involved the transformation of the feudal domains into capitalist enterprises of agrarian production. Denied, as such, of their rights, the peasants were transformed into salaried workers. This transformation went together with the reorientation of agrarian production from the pattern of self-subsistence to the pattern of commercializing agrarian goods on the market,. This economic transformation was also accompanied by the process of specializing agrarian production and focusing it on restricted number of goods.

Agriculture was the overwhelming dominating segment of 16<sup>th</sup> century economy; accordingly the transformation of agriculture on a capitalist pattern meant a revolutionary change able to propel the entire social and economical life on the same trajectory of development. England was the pioneering country of capitalist agriculture and for that reason it acted as the pioneering country of the capitalist system in general terms. Thus, England was originally most advanced of all Western countries in terms of the process of centralization, which already took important steps under the Normand and first Plantagenet monarchs of the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup>.

When approached from such a perspective, the Tudor era of English history emerges retrospectively as the great turning point for that country and the entire world. Such great transformations naturally claimed a new cultural-ideological outlook. This one was provided by the great Tudor monarch Henry the 8<sup>th</sup> (1509-1547). Henry the 8<sup>th</sup> transformed the local church on the model of Anglicanism, placing himself as the head of state also as the head of ecclesiastical hierarchy. His immediate subordinate in this respect is the archbishop of Canterbury. This transformation was introduced by the Act of Supremacy 1534. The immediate pretext invoked by the King for the separation between the church of England and the international Catholic Church centered in Rome allowed him to divorce from his wife, Catherine of the Spanish dynasty of Aragon. Anglicanism as a heavily political minded branch of the reformation, maintaining the theological and liturgical aspects of Catholicism and focusing instead on matters of institutional organization by a strong connection between Church and State. The Anglican reformation also

had an immediate economic target, leading to the secularization of the monasteries lands taken between 1536-1540.

### **EDWARD 6:**

Henry the 8<sup>th</sup> was succeeded to the throne by several of his children. Born from different marriages, these ones changed different religious orientations, something which affected heavily English politics for several decades. The immediate successor was Edward the 6<sup>th</sup> (1547-1553), who continued the religious policies of the defunct ruler.

### **MARY THE FIRST:**

Edward the 6<sup>th</sup> was followed however by Queen Mary the First, daughter of the Spanish Queen, Catherine of Aragon. She tried to turn down the movement of reformation. In 1554, as a reigning monarch, she got married with the Spanish prince Philip who was to become king in 1556.

*At age 37, Mary Tudor (Mary I) turned her attention to finding a husband and producing an heir, thus preventing the Protestant Elizabeth (still her successor under the terms of Henry VIII's will) from succeeding to the throne. as a prospect when her cousin Charles V suggested she marry his only son, the Spanish prince Philip, later Philip II of Spain. It is said that upon viewing a portrait of Philip, Mary declared herself to be in love with him. This political marriage gave Spain an indirect influence on affairs of England, recently restored to Catholicism; but in 1555 Philip was summoned to the Low Countries, and Mary's death in the same year [actually in 1558 -- Ed.] severed the connection between the two countries*

*Their marriage at Winchester Cathedral on 25 July 1554 took place just two days after their first meeting. Philip felt completely political about the affair (he admired her dignity but felt "no carnal love for her"), and it was extremely unpopular with the English. Lord Chancellor Gardiner and the House of Commons petitioned her to consider marrying an Englishman, fearing that England would be relegated to a dependency of Spain. This fear may have arisen from the fact that Mary was - excluding the brief, unsuccessful and controversial.*

### **ELISABETH THE FIRST:**

The premature death of Mary the First led to the accession on the English throne of queen Elisabeth the First ruling between (1558 and 1603) and considered the greatest monarch of English history. Elisabeth went back to the religious policies of her father, Henry the 8<sup>th</sup>. These religious policies came to confront however a new problem of religious division. Alongside the Catholic and the Anglican religious options, English society also contained a significant number of Calvinists whose activities were to get connected with the political and religious life of the neighboring and smaller kingdom of Scotland.

### **ENGLISH WAR OF RELIGIONS:**

In Scotland, the religious reformation was inaugurated in 1559, being led by the predicator John Knox who opted for Calvinism and founded the Calvinist Church of Scotland also called the Presbyterian Church. The appeal of the Presbyterianism among the Scottish nobility was enormous; already in 1560 the largest part of the nobility having joined Presbyterianism, allowed John Knox to proclaim Calvinism as a state religion. This politics of the nobility was opposed by the reigning monarch, Queen Mary of the Stuart dynasty. Mary Stuart had connections with the French court, something which sustained her stubborn defense of Catholicism.

A civil-religious war between the Crown and the Presbyterian nobility ensued between 1560 and 1567, ending to the victory of the nobility and to the flee from the country of Mary Stuart. Mary was succeeded by James, her young son, James the 6<sup>th</sup> who subscribed to Presbyterianism. Instead, Mary Stuart

took a shelter at the court of Elisabeth the First. This sheltering created a theological political dilemma for domestic English politics, but also for European politics at large. **Mary Stuart** continued as an international **champion of Catholicism**, establishing **connection with the Spanish monarchy** to this extent. Her protector, **Elisabeth**, was otherwise an international **champion of Protestantism**, getting involved deeper and deeper into **anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic** international politics.

## **WARS OF RELIGION: FRANCE, THE LOW COUNTRIES, THE 30 YEARS WAR**

### **FRENCH WAR OF RELIGION:**

Calvinism also **spread outside Switzerland, Scotland and England**, in the French monarchy. A Calvinism national synod was held here in 1559, placing the **foundations of the French-Calvinist Church**, also **branded as the Confessio Gallicana**. **French Calvinist** were known under the name of **Huguenots** and Calvinism in France spread rapidly, drawing on its side a minority of the population, but a sizeable minority, also significant for the fact that it contained a part of the nobility, as also a large part of the urban middle-classes. The French reformation led to a **dramatic split within society**, already in 1562; this split was translated into a **civil religious war** that was to last up until 1598. Two aristocratic families established themselves as the leaders of the Catholic and the Calvinist of Huguenots parties, respectively with the duke of **Guise acting as the champion of Catholicism**, and that of counts of **Bourbon acting as the champions of Calvinism**.

### **LOW COUNTRIES WAR OF RELIGION:**

The 5<sup>th</sup> most important country of Calvinist spreading was **the Low Countries**, which shifted over this period from the hands of the universal emperor Charles the 5<sup>th</sup>, into the Spanish political system. The spread of Calvinism in the Low Countries was extremely significant due to the new economic importance acquired by the country. Throughout the first part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the **court of the financial and commercial economy of Europe** was **shifted from Northern Italy to the Low Countries** and this evolution came to be connected eventually as said with the agrarian capitalist development in England. The leading commercial and financial role of the Low Countries was underscored by the invention here of **a new type of financial institution**, that of the **Stock Exchange**.

**Calvinism got entrenched in the Low Countries in 1566**, at a time when the country was targeted by the **Spanish king Philip the 2<sup>th</sup>** to be used as a headquarter for **promoting a Catholic revival throughout Europe**. Accordingly the Spanish monarchy took an extremely hostile attitude towards the development of Calvinism.

In 1567, **Philip the Second** dispatched here his minister, the **Duke of Alba**. A **regime of terror** was introduced by him, something which led to the **beginning of an anti-Spanish revolt** in 1572. The revolt was promoted under the Calvinist banner. It also had however a strong nationalist overtone; it was added to this a social dimension as anti-Spanish fight was connected not only with **the faith of Calvinism**, but also with the **faith of the emerging commercial capitalist economy**. The **revolt was led by Prince Wilhelm Oranje**. The war with Spain led to an armistice in 1575, signed in the city of Grent which was followed in 1579 to a territorial **split of the country** between the **Northern part called the Union of Utrecht**, predominantly **Calvinist and overwhelmingly Dutch** and the **Southern part called the Union of Aram** which was predominantly **Catholic and with a mixed Dutch-French population**. In the year 1581, the **Union of**

Utrecht proclaimed its total separation from the Spanish Crown, constituting itself as a new state. The form of government adopted by the Northern Dutch state was that of an aristocratic republic, power being invested in the estates assembly which was called *the estates General*.

All these developments in North Western Europe were taken to the detriment of the Habsburg and Spanish international politics which was closely connected with the Catholicism and the alliance with the Papacy. All throughout the period however, Spain also stored important successes.

### 1. THE CATHOLIC COUNTER-REFORMATION:

First, there was the development of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, a movement of transforming and modernizing the catholic church from within, such as to put it in line with the cultural development of the Renaissance and to enable it to compete with the reformed churches.

One development which contributed heavily to the counter reformation while also contributing to the consolidation of Spain as an international power actor was the emergence of the Jesuit religious order which was founded in 1534 by the Catholic clerk Ignate of Loyola. In the second half of the 16th century, the Jesuit order together with the Spanish inquisition acted as an important support for the consolidation of the Spanish monarchy within its borders but also for the promotion of Spanish and Habsburg political interests on the European scene.

### 2. THE COUNCIL OF TRENT:

Another development going in the same direction was the council of Trent taking place between 1545 and 1663, closely supervised by Spain and the Habsburg, placed the ideological foundations of the Counter Reformation cementing the links between the Papacy and the Spanish Monarchy.

### 3. THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO:

While Protestantism was making advances in the Northern and North Western parts of Europe, the Spanish monarchy got engaged in a naval war with the Ottoman Empire on the Mediterranean Sea which ensued into a victory for Spain, the most important military confrontation being the battle of Lepanto in the Adriatic Sea in 1571. The Battle of Lepanto was the first great defeat of the Ottoman Empire facing a Christian power and it brought a great increase in terms of prestige for Philip the Second and Spain.

### 4. SPANISH-PORTUGUESE UNION:

Spanish power was also extended at the time by the establishment of a personal union between the counts of Spain and Portugal, something which came with the marriage between Philip the Second and the female inheritor of the Portuguese crown. The personal union in question was to last up until the moment 1640 and it involved the control by Spain of the Portuguese colonial empire located in South America and the Indian Ocean.

On the basis of this consolidation of his power, Philip the Second took the decision to embark upon a large scale political and military enterprise meant to break down international reformation and to reunify Europe around the Papacy and under the hegemony of Spain. The immediate target of this international politics was England at the time when Elisabeth the First was the leader of the Protestant alliance. The pretext for acting as such was offered to the Spanish king by the execution at the orders of Elisabeth the First of the former Scottish queen Mary Stuart who had a residence in England while acting as a champion of Catholicism. The execution came in 1587; in the following year Philip the Second attacked England with a great military fleet, the two wings coming from Spain and from Southern Low Countries harbours respectively. The naval power amassed as such was called "Invincibila Armada" and its chances to succeed

in the military operation in question looked at the time as extremely probable. The work of the Invincibla Armada however was **lost** by Philip the Second due to both **unexpected weather conditions** and to the **strategy of the English fleet**. The English fleet although **smaller was better trained** and especially designed for a war in the **conditions of the Atlantic ocean** while the Spanish fleet of the Armada had been shaped and **trained for the conditions of the naval war in the Mediterranean Sea**. A large part of the Armada was destroyed, something that prevented Philip the Second for taking a new attempt of the same kind.

At the same period, Spanish politics scored however some **small successes in the Dutch provinces**. In 1584, **Wilhem of Oranje, the leader of the Dutch anti-Spanish revolt was killed**. In the following year, the city of **Anvers was conquered by the Spanish**, something which led to the consolidation of Southern Low Countries under Spanish rule. At the same time, the fall of Anvers at the hands of the Spanish power led to its rapid decline in economic terms, the place of Anvers being taken as a **commercial and financial center** of the area by the **Northern city of Amsterdam** in the Northern Dutch provinces, **independent from Spain**.

### **PROTESTANTS VS. CATHOLICS IN FRANCE:**

All throughout the period, an influential figure in French and International politics, Catherine of Medici, got involved strongly in the relationships between the Papacy and the internal religious developments in France. During the **night of Saint Bartholomeus**, the **Protestants of Paris were massacred** by Catholic devoted circles which were close to the royal court. **It was expected** at the time that the massacre would **lead to the dissolution of the Huguenot branch of the reformation**. Such a thing **didn't happen** and the **split between the two religious political parties was broadened**; in continuation to the situation at the time of Saint Bartholomeus night, the **Catholic party took a more radical stance on the issues** than the crown itself.

This stance of the Catholic group led in 1576 to the **creation of the Holy League**, an aristocratic organization meant to **promote Catholicism and to crush down Huguenot Calvinism**. In the year 1586, the **Catholic Holy League took hold of the city of Paris** while the king **Henry the Third was obliged to leave** the capital. The league established in Paris a **quasi theocratic regime** which was called the **Palace Commune**, the **first French political experiment of the sort** that was to be **followed in the 19th century by the Socialist Commune** of 1871. The regime of the Catholic Palace Commune lasted up until 1591.

A contemporary development in French politics and cultural ideological life was the emergence of a **third group of opinion alongside the defenders of Catholicism and those of Calvinism**. This was the **philosophical orientation** promoted by the people called **"les politiques"** or the **politically minded people** among which an **influential figure was the philosopher Bodin**, a defender of **state neutrality** in matters of religious politics as expressed in his work "The 6 books on the state". The politically minded people created a current of opinion which came to gain **more and more influence around the court of king Henry the Third**. In such circumstances, king Henry the Third faced with the provocation of Catholic fanaticism and of the Palace Commune, got **into closer relations with his closest relative, count Henry of Bourbon who was the leader of the Huguenot camp**. In the year 1589, Henry the Third got assassinated. According to the rules of succession, the crown was shifted to the count of Bourbon who came on the throne in that year under the name of king Henry the Fourth and was to rule up until 1610 placing the foundations of the **Bourbon dynasty**, the **second branch of the Capetingian dynasty after the branch of Valois**.

Assuming the throne in 1589, Henry the Fourth of Bourbon had his **policies impaired by two factors**: the first was his very **religious allegiance which was a minority one**. The second was an **external pressure coming from Spain**. In the year 1590 Philip the Second took advantage of the civil war in France in order to take a military intervention on the French territory, claiming to act on the benefit of Catholicism. In such circumstances, Henry the Fourth patterned a revolutionary policy, and in the year 1594, **he abandoned his**

Huguenot fate going back to Catholicism. On such a basis, in the same year he got a ceremonial coronation as a king of France after regaining the capital city. His option to adopt the majority religious view was driven entirely by political considerations.

In 1594, the Spanish armies were expelled from France while in 1596, the French kingdom took an alliance against the Catholic Spain with the Protestant powers of England and the United Provinces of Low Countries, something which implied the first international recognition of the Dutch Republic created by virtue of a rebellion against the legitimate monarch.

The year 1598 marked a watershed in terms of both religious politics at the scale of the entire Europe and of international politics. In that year, King Philip the Second of Spain died. At the same time, the French king Philip the Fourth ensued the Edict of Nantes by which he granted a status of toleration to the Huguenot fate. The philosophy behind the Edict of Nantes was that of state neutrality in matters religious, a position that was to be elaborated later on more sophisticated theoretical grounds by the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes in his 1651 book "Leviathan". This philosophy of tolerance and neutrality was all together different from the theoretical vision which had stood behind the religious peace of Augsburg of 1565, which as you remember obliged the subjects of a state to follow the religious option of the ruler according to the principle "Cuius regio, eius religio" A new paradigm was thus established regarding the problem of the relationship between Church and state.

#### **GERMAN DEVELOPMENTS - the 30 years war:**

Following the death of Philip the Second, Spanish politics took a descending line, manifesting less energy in terms of hegemonic ambitions. An important manifestation of this was the establishment of an armistice with the united provinces in 1609, an agreement that was to function up until 1621.

However, in the first half of the 17th century, following the death of Philip the Second, European international politics came to be centered upon German developments. This international profile had as the most important manifestation the 30 years war, taking place between 1618 and 1648. The war was primarily a civil war within the Roman-German Empire which brought to the front once again the religious issue. However, the diplomatic and military entanglements of the German developments covered the entire continent from England to the Principality of Transylvania.

#### **CZECH REPUBLIC - DEFENESTRATION AND BATTLE OF WHITE MOUNTAIN:**

As such, the 30 years war emerges retrospectively as a significant anticipation of the 20th century World Wars. The immediate cause for the outbreak of war was a matter of Czech-Bohemian religious politics. In the year 1609, the emperor who at the time was Rudolph the Second issued a status of privilege in matters of religious politics for the province of Bohemia. This implied toleration for the local Husit Church. This privilege status of course led against the peace of Augsburg provisions and philosophy, as the ruler of the Bohemian lands was the Habsburg emperor himself. In the year 1618, the privileges for Bohemia were abolished, something which led to a rebellion of the Czech nobility. In the year 1619, the emissaries of the emperor were killed by the Czech aristocracy being thrown out of a window from a Prague castle. The event is known as the Defenestration of Prague. In the same year, the Czech nobility refused to give recognition to the new emperor Ferdinand the Second and instead elected a new emperor in the person count Palatine of the Lion under the name of Frederic the Fifth. The election of the imperial authorities was very rapid and it led in the year 1620 to the battle of the White Mountain which had disastrous consequences for the Czech nobility. The Czech army was dramatically defeat and the whole of the Czech aristocracy was wiped out being replaced with a German speaking aristocracy - the event was a

national disaster for the Czech people which got integrated even more strongly than beforehand into the imperial and German political and social system, a situation that was to last up until the end of the WWI.

The Czech events however led to the generalization of the war throughout the empire with a Protestant camp being created against the imperial and Catholic one. Of the foreign countries which took an involvement in the German war, the most important on the Catholic and Imperial side were naturally the Papacy and Spain. On the Protestant side, however the most important external actor to take an involvement was the kingdom of France under King Louis the 13th. French politics at the time was controlled by the great minister Cardinal Richelieu coming into power in 1623; although a member of the Catholic Church hierarchy, Richelieu followed the vision of the raison d'état politics up to the last consequences, establishing and maintaining an alliance with the Protestant powers against the Habsburgs who acted as champions of the Catholicism. In order to promote this politics, France contributed heavily to the financing of the Protestant alliance in German, going beyond this, Richelieu's peers made use of two other Protestant powers which were pitted by French diplomacy against the Imperial power in Germany. These were the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden respectively supported with French money in order to act on behalf of the Protestants in the 30 years war. The Danish intervention came in 1626, the other came in 1630. Altogether the 30 years war had an indecisive result, but with disastrous consequences for the Roman-German Empire which was destroyed economically with a third of the population killed.

#### **PEACE OF WESTPHALIA:**

The war was drawn to an end in 1648 with the Peace of Westphalia, a diplomatic agreement with utmost importance that has to be set in continuous to the Cateau Ambressy one of 1569. The peace of Westphalia had several important consequences:

1) the peace treaty consecrated the political fragmentation of the Roman-German Empire

2) the treaty put an end to the Habsburg ambitions of domination over Europe; following the peace of Westphalia, Habsburg politics was turned from a focus on German and West-European affairs to a new focus on East-European affairs, centered upon the region of the Danube valley and targeting territorial consolidation and expansion to the East

3) the peace of Westphalia marked the end of the Spanish ascendancy; this development was consolidated by a new diplomatic agreement coming in 1659, following a new round of military confrontations between Spain and France in the succession of the 30 years war

The 1659 agreement was called the Peace of the Pyrenees and it marked the shift of the power relations between France and Spain to the benefit of the first power mentioned.

#### **ENGLAND:**

Following the peace of Westphalia and the Pyrenees, European politics acquired a new profile in both the Western and the Eastern parts of the continent. To focus on the Western evolution first, the massive reality of the new era that is of the second half of the 17th century was the replacement of Spanish ascendancy with French hegemony. Going together with this, there came a temporary eclipse of England as an international actor. Throughout the period as we shall see, England was absorbed with matters of internal reshaping and redefinition, a development marked by a revolutionary transformation. This international eclipse of England was also accompanied by a temporary and brief decline in matters economic and more precisely, in matters of overseas expansion and overseas commerce. The English eclipse was strongly connected with the temporary rise to prominence of the united provinces of the Low

Countries which acted for a time as the most important economic and commercial power, also behaving despite its very small size as a great power, in matters political and military.

### **FRANCE - Louis the 14 and its cardinal, Mazarin:**

Over the decades in the mid 17th century, the French political system was marked by the practices which were to be called later in historiography under the label of the Ministerial period. At the helm of the French state stood the Bourbon King, Louis the 13th (1610-1643) and then Louis the 14th with a huge reign lasting from 1643 to 1715. However, over the Ministerial period power was greatly devolved by the kings to the most prominent councilors of them. These were: Cardinal Richelieu whose tenure lasted from 1623 to 1642 and Cardinal Mazarin whose tenure lasted from 1642 to 1661. Beside managing the peace of Westphalia and the Pyrenees, cardinal Mazarin, had to confront an aristocracy reaction which was elaborated against the continuous tendencies of further centralization leading gradually towards monarchic absolutism. This aristocratic reaction was called the Fronde (1642-1663). The Fronde was defeated by Mazarin who this way consolidated further the power of the king he served, the young Louis the 14th.

## **THE ABSOLUTIST MONARCHY OF FRANCE:**

In the year 1651, coming of age, King Louis the 14th took advantage of the death of Mazarin and he made known his decision to put an end to the Ministerial period and to take powers into his own hands. This was the beginning of the regime of absolutist monarchy which was consolidated in France such as to establish the French kingdom as a model of the sort for most of continental Europe. The new philosophy of government was encapsulated in the saying attributed to Louis the 14th, which read as "The state is myself". This was more than just a piece of ideology and political government. The great reality underlining the politics of absolutism was the end of the political regime of the mixed government that had been established in the Middle Ages, resting on a collaboration between the central power of the monarchy and the Assembly of the Estates in the government of the state. In France, the Estates General came into session for the last time in 1614, at the beginning of Louis's the 14th reign. For more than one century and a half, the Estates General would not be convoked anymore, the following convocation having to come only in 1788 when it led to the outbreak of the French Revolution. With the Assembly in eclipse, the monarch acted as not only the absolute and uncontested administrator but also as the only source of laws in the state

The absolutist regime of Louis the 14th went together with great progresses obtained in France in terms of social and economic development but also and still more decisively in terms of cultural developments. At the time, the French kingdom came to replace Northern Italy as the most important cultural center in Europe and French language came to replace medieval and Renaissance Latin and the Italian as the international language of culture and diplomacy in Europe, employed as such from England to Russia. The French language was to maintain this status for 3 centuries up to the year immediately following the WWII when it would be replaced by English. Paris became the by far most important intellectual center in Europe establishing the philosophical fashions and models and discourses of the entire continent.

The French society managed to establish itself in this way as a source of models in all fields from statecraft to dressing and cuisine. A fact which contributed heavily to this was the way Louis the 14th patterned his royal court which he established in the newly built palace of Versailles, where Louis the 14th built a huge castle without precedence. The French aristocracy was forced to abandon their provincial

residences and take residence together with the king at Versailles whose population, including the palace itself and its annexes in the town, amounted to 2000 people, men and women who were enlisted to take part in the ceremonial of the court, assisting the royal family during the successive symbolic moment of the day, starting with the waking up, going to the three ritual meal and up to going to sleep. This was a design established by the king in ordain to tame the aristocracy, such as events like the Fronde would ever take place, while being thus annihilated as an autonomous power able to oppose the crown, the aristocracy was transformed into a strong support of the crown. The nobles were denied the possibility to follow independent and anarchic policies but at the same time their privileges were consolidated, the aristocracy was remolded now as the privileged recruiting ground for the civilians and the military bureaucracy of state which was itself expended.

In conjunction with internal consolidation, Louis the 14th followed an aggressive line of foreign policies; to this extent he targeted primarily two areas of expansion and border consolidation for France. First there was the Northern border of France where Louis the 14th targeted intern the Southern and the Northern Low Countries. Originally, he raised claims for the crown of the Spanish Low Countries which he claimed on behalf of his Austrian Habsburg wife, Marie Theresa. These claims took at the origins at the work of devolution which between 1667 and 1668 ended with the peace of Ills la Chappell. Without obtaining the Southern Low Countries which remained in Spanish hands, Louis the 14th nevertheless obtained some citizen and military fortresses, this consolidating the border. The next step on the same line of foreign policy was the Dutch war of 1672 to 1678, this time the king targeting as an area of extension the Dutch Republic of the United Provinces. This military enterprise drew Louis the 14th face to face with the person that was to become his most terrible enemy: the prince the Oranje, Wilhem the Third who significantly and spectacularly came to power in 1672 at the age of only 22, managing to oppose the mightiest king of Europe. In 1672, Wilhem the Oranje patterned an anti-French alliance on the model of the well-known balance of power system drawing together the Empire Sweden, England and Denmark against France. The war ended with undecided result with the peace of Nimegue.

Following the 2 wars in the Low Countries, Louis the 14th turned his attention to French border along the valley of the Rhine; here he managed to make some territorial annexations, the most significant of them was the annexation of 1681 of the city of Strasbourg, the capital of the province of Alsace. Having mainly a German speaking population, Alsace with Strasbourg were thus integrated for the first time in the French political system, however, the province would stay as a focus of French-German contest for almost 2 centuries, up to the WWII.

Taking advantage of his international successes, Louis the 14th then turned back to matters of internal consolidation: in this respect he adopted a new line on the religious issue. In the year 1685, he revoked the Edict of Nantes issued in 1598 by Henry the Fourth, thus denying the tolerance previous granted to the Huguenot Calvinist. Behind this decision was the assessment of the king that the mighty brilliance of the French monarchy underlined by allegiance to Catholicism would bring easily the Calvinists into the Fourth of the majority religion. The king considered in other words that tolerance was not necessary anymore as the French people wanted to be united around the crown, which acted as a hegemon in Europe.

The assessment of Louis the 14th proved to be disastrously wrong, the Protestants in France clung on their faith, opposing the revocation and many o them took exile in the German-Protestant lands in the Low Countries or England. One year after the revocation, in 1686, a new anti-French alliance was constituted bringing together the emperor, the Protestant princes in Germany and Habsburg Spain.

## ENGLISH-SCOTTISH CONNECTIONS:

At that moment, the relationship between France and the rest of Europe came to be deeply intermingled with the internal developments in England. In order to understand these English developments, we have to go back to the moment 1603, when Queen Elisabeth the First died. Her death without children put an end to the Tudor dynasty. The death of Elisabeth the First raised of course the problem of succession which was solved in the same year with the coming on the throne of the closest relative of queen who was nobody else but the Scottish King James the 6th, the son of the defunct Mary Stuart.

### THE STUART DYNASTY:

King James of Scotland came on the Throne of England under the name of James the First, reigning between 1603 and 1625 and inaugurated the Stuart dynasty of England. James the First was followed by his son Charles the First between 1625 and 1649. In 1603, a regime of personal union between England and Scotland was established. The two kingdoms maintained their different profiles while being united in the person of the king. Over the following decades, the kingdom of England came to be convoluted by several overlapping problems. First there stood the dilemma of the English political system itself where the mixed government of medieval origins was confronted with tendencies towards royal absolutism of the same sort that were taking place in France. This led to a mushrooming conflict between the crown and the parliament. This conflict was however compounded by the Scottish connection. In Scotland, there was no Parliament to cope with. Instead, here, the local Presbyterian Church had constituted itself as a countervailing power to the crown. At the same time, the Scottish Presbyterians shared the same faith - the Calvinist one - with the English Puritans, a connection between them being established across the border.

### IRELAND:

To make the situation even more explosive there stood also the Irish connection of English politics. The island of Ireland was a backward area which constituted a target of English expansion ever since the 12th century, at the time of Henry the Second Plantagenet. All throughout those centuries, English rule in Ireland had remained superficial and largely informal. Still, the Irish aristocracy reacted to this and this reaction was ideologically reshaped at the time of the English reformation, when the Irish aristocracy and the people got closer to the Church of Rome, strengthening their Catholic allegiance in order to oppose English expansionism.

## FIRST ENGLISH REVOLUTION:

### THE FIRST ENGLISH CIVIL WAR:

The open conflict between the English monarchy and the Parliament broke out in 1625, the year when the second Stuart king, Charles the First acceded to the throne. The King closed the parliament in 1629, a situation that was to prevail up to 1640.

In 1639, however, there came to the front an open conflict with the Presbyterian Church in Scotland which issued into a civil war. In order to face the Scottish challenge, the king needed new incomes to be raised by taxation. In order to obtain them he had to convoke the Parliament in 1640, the Parliament however rejected the demands of the king and therefore it was immediately closed. The session in question is known as the Short Parliament. A new Parliamentary assembly was convoked in the same year.

This was the **Long Parliament** as it was called and it was to **stay in session for 20 years up until 1660**. In the new parliament, the conflict was radicalized. In 1641, **the Irish issue** intervened in this revolutionary context with **a local revolt**. The Irish revolt further **strengthened the disagreements** between King Charles the First and the London parliament. The **result was the first English revolution** and a state of civil war immediately installed. In 1644, the **parliamentary army** obtained a decisive **victory in the battle of Marston Moor**. The **first stage of the civil war was ended in 1645 with the victory of the parliamentary assembly** and a reassertion of the parliamentary powers.

### **THE SECOND ENGLISH CIVIL WAR:**

Even in such conditions, **the conflict broke out again**. A new civil war was waged between 1648 and 1651 and it **led in 1649 to the execution by decapitation of King Charles the First**. All throughout the revolutionary developments up to that point **a split was opened within the parliamentary political class**. On **one side there stood the moderates**. On the **other side there stood the radicals** whose ideology was cast in the language of religious Puritanism of the Calvinist sort.

For these reasons the **first English revolution is also called the Puritan Revolution**. Mainstream British historiography and political thinking takes a negative stance towards the Puritan Revolution opposing to it the political wisdom of gradualism and peace improvements. The same trend of thinking looks at the revolutionary episode as to an anticipation of later day political radicalism and totalitarian politics over the whole world. **Nevertheless it is important to underline that the English were the first people on Earth to execute a king as part of a revolutionary turmoil**. Comparative history over the long run shows us that the **later a society embarked upon a revolutionary break with the past, the more radical and large scaled revolutionary transformations were**. This certainly applies to the late 18th century French revolution of a much greater magnitude than the 17th century English one and it also applies to the 20th century Russian and Chinese communist revolutions.

Also anticipating the pattern followed later by other revolutionary changes, **the English Puritan revolution led to military authoritarianism and dictatorship**, the same thing would happen in France later when the revolution would lead to the Napoleonic dictatorship.

In the context of mid century England, **military dictatorship** emerging from the revolutionary context **was embodied in the person of Oliver Cromwell**, a revolutionary leader who acceded in 1653 to the status of **lord protector**, concentrating power into his hands. **His death in 1659 led to a state of anarchy** which was drawn to a close in 1660 by the **restoration of the Stuart dynasty**. This came in person of the **king Charles the Second (1660-1685) followed by James the Second (1685 to 1688)**.

During the restoration period the religious issue once again came at the center of English politics. **King James the Second** reverted to the orientation of his ancestor, Mary Stuart, manifesting himself as a **defender of Catholicism**. James the Second had as a first born child a **daughter, Mary**, who was **baptized as an Anglican-Protestant** and who was moreover **married to the prince of Oranje**, the leader of the United Provinces of Netherland, himself, a **devote defender of the Protestant cause in Europe** and an **enemy of the French king Louis the 14th**. The English king James the Second perceived the French politics of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, as a comeback for the cause of Catholicism throughout Europe and he therefore prepared a **politics of reversion to Catholicism in England** relying upon the support of Louis the 14th. In 1688, James the Second had a second child, a **boy whom he baptized as a Catholic**, preparing his succession to the throne in this capacity, as a Catholic king.

## SECOND ENGLISH REVOLUTION:

In these circumstances, the political class centered upon the Parliament and significant sections of the urban population rose in revolt, thus opening the second English revolution consummated over the year 1688-1689. The second English revolution is labeled as the Glorious revolution in order to underscore the fact that it proceeded without bloodshed and within the framework of parliamentary practices. Once again, mainstream British political thinking in historiography likes to glorify the Glorious revolution as an instance of the political wisdom of gradualism comparing it positively to the previous violent and bloody Puritan revolution. One must underscore in this connection that an important trend of scholarship including comparative scholarship on modernization and revolutionary breaks, doesn't subscribe to this way of thinking, authors of this orientation underlined the fact that the violent break with the past brought about by the first English revolution was a precondition for subsequent political transformation starting with the Glorious revolution.

The Glorious revolution put down King James the Second and instead it brought on the throne his immediate successor, Mary who acceded to the throne in 1688 under the name of Mary the Second. However, Mary was accompanied by her husband, the Dutch prince of Oranje who was entrusted by the parliament with full royal powers accompanying his wife and who became an English king as such under the name of William the Third. A person union was established thus between England and the United Provinces, the latter having the organization of an aristocratic republic but functioning as a quasi monarchy with the prince of Oranje performing the function of a Stathouder.

### JOHN LOCKE:

The English revolution was underlined by the political thinking of the philosopher John Locke who was the secretary of one leader of the parliamentary class and whose work in the field was published in 1689 under the title *Two treatises on Government*. Locke's work in its term stood in continuity with the 1651 book of Thomas Hobbes - *Leviathan* and published in the midst of the first English revolution. In the context of the Second revolution, John Locke re-elaborated the vision of Hobbes, maintaining the basic principles while conceived of the state as a constitutional monarchy with power invested in both the king and the parliament. To this extent, Locke also elaborated the principle of the separation of powers between the legislative, the executive and the judiciary one.

This view of liberal constitutionalism was to be broadened and polished later in the 18th century by the French political thinker Charles Montesquieu in his book *The Spirit of the Laws* of 1748.

### \*\*\*THOMAS HOBBS:

Hobbes provided in *Leviathan* for a state authority acting as an adjunct to society and as an instrument for the self-preservation of society, the latter composed of individuals endowed with inalienable human rights, all of them deriving from the right to defend their life. Hobbes's view on the state-society relations and on human rights constituted the basis of liberalism. The same political track of Hobbes also provided for state neutrality with respect to the religious options of the citizens. While elaborating these broad principles, Hobbes nevertheless conceived the state as an authoritarian monarchic one of the absolutist sort whom he compared with the biblical monster, *Leviathan*.

The Glorious revolution transformed the medieval system of mixed government coming from the 125 Magna Carta into modern parliamentarism, thus establishing England as a model to be scrutinized and emulated by the other countries of the world. The revolution also gave a resolution to the religious issue in

England consolidating the Anglican establishment. In terms of foreign policy, the revolution brought England into the anti-French camp. As a result, England joined in 1688 the League of Augsburg which had been constituted in 1686 on an anti-French basis by bringing together the emperor, the Protestant princes of the Roman-German empire and Spain.

King Louis the 14th started the war against the alliance mentioned. This was called the War of the League of Augsburg being fought between 1688 and 1695 and ended with the Peace of Ryswick. The peace underscored the prominence of the English-Dutch alliance on the seas. At the same time, French prominence on the continent remained unaltered, most importantly the French king managed to preserve the city of Strasbourg and the province of Alsace with the German speaking population.

The last decades of the reign of Louis the 14th were marked by the French involvement in the European crisis whose origins stood in Spanish politics. In the year 1700, the Spanish king Charles the Second died without inheritors. This was the end of the Spanish branch of the Habsburg monarchy. Shortly before dying, the Spanish king issued a political will ordaining for the succession to the throne to pass to the French duke of Anjou who was a nephew of the king Louis the 14th and who was also prepared by the latter king as a successor to the French throne. This design was meant to obtain a personal union between France and Spain, this creating a terrible power dominated by France.

Europe was confronted, thus, with the prospect of having to face an imperial power resembling that of the Emperor Charles the Fifth of the early 16th century. The balance of power in politics naturally functioned, in 1701, a great alliance of The Hague was created on an anti-French basis and bringing together the Empire, England and Low Countries together with smaller partners. There came from this the war of succession to the throne of Spain, between 1702 and 1713. This was an international conflict recalling the 30 years war, the stake being that of preventing Louis the 14th of establishing an uncontested hegemony over Europe. The war was ended with the two peace treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt concluded in 1713 and 1714 respectively. According to the provisions of the treaty the duke of Anjou was entrenched on the throne of Spain, thus inaugurating the Bourbon dynasty of Spain. At the same time he was obliged to renounce his claims to the throne of France. The war, thus, was a defeat for Louis the 14th who died after in 1715. The peace treaties also had other important provisions relevant for the general reorganization of Europe. By virtue of the peace treaties, the kingdom of Spain who had been acting as a second ranking power since the mid 17th century was relegated further to the status of a third ranking power and expelled as such from the group of the great powers.

The Spanish possessions in Italy and in the Southern Low Countries were shifted to the Austrian branch of the Habsburg monarchy. At the same time, England emerged from the war as greatly consolidated, starting to act as an arbiter of the European balance of power system. The war of Spanish succession also put an end to the short term career of the Dutch republic as a great power of Europe, the English temporary eclipse being terminated, England went back heavily into the enterprise of overseas expansion and of commercial capitalism. The Low Countries were relegated to the status of a second ranking power, having to act as an adjunct of England over the following period.

## POLITICAL REALIGNMENTS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

The period covered by the reign of Luis the 14th was also marked by dramatic political territorial changes in Central and Eastern Europe. The dominant powers in this part of the world had been up to that

period the Ottoman Empire, the kingdom of Poland (the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) and the Habsburg monarchy which however had acted as an integral and dominant power within the Roman-German Empire, being absorbed by intra-imperial (German) political affairs and by Western political affairs.

### 1. The decline of the Ottoman Empire

First in line there stood among the transformations in question the rapid decline of the Ottoman Empire. The turning point in this process came in 1683 with the second siege of Wien when the Turkish Empire for the last time exerted aggressive pressures on the Western Christendom. The Turks were defeated in the battle of Wien and they immediately went into disarray.

### 2. The rise of Austria

The military initiative was taken by the Habsburg power which embarked upon expansionist politics between 1683 and 1699; the Habsburg monarchy pushed the Ottomans back, taking hold of Central Hungary, of the principality of Transylvania and of other territories of the region. The new territorial configuration was underscored in 1699 by the treaty of Karlowitz. The Habsburg emperors took account of their defeat in the 30 years war and redefined their political vision as resting upon an expansionist drive along the valley of the Danube.

The monarchy was redesigned as a supranational Danubian and Eastern European power, converting large territories inhabited by non German speaking populations including Romanians and located outside the borders of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. This new political vision was underlined by the very short name of the country thus configured which was Austria in German Osterreich or the Eastern Empire.

### 3. The rise of Prussia

Alongside the decline and territorial retreat of the Ottoman Empire and the development of the Austrian state, the region was marked by the decline of Poland and the rise of two new great powers: first of them was the German state of Prussia, rising to prominence in this era and establishing itself as the second German power after Austria.

The kingdom of Prussia was composed of two territorial branches: the principality of Brandenburg located within the Holy Roman Empire and the Duchy of Prussia, which was located outside the borders of the Empire in the Northern part of the Polish territories and originated from the state of the Teutonic order.

The two territorial branches (separated) got united in 1618. The shaping of the Prussian state was largely the accomplishment of prince Friedrich Wilhelm called the Great Elector and staying in power between 1640 and 1688 Friedrich Wilhelm patterned the Prussian state as a military camp, entrusting the army with a very great social role and the corresponding very high social position. His successor coronated himself as a King of Prussia in 1701 under the name of Frederick the First. Among the following rulers of Prussia, of greatest importance was the figure of Frederick the Second surnamed the Great ruling between 1740 and 1786 again a figure which we shall go along with.

### 4. Russian evolution

Second was the Russian Empire, previously absorbed by an expansionist politics focused upon Eastern and Black Sea territories and cherishing a half Asiatic self image. Over this period, Russia was turned towards Europe being redefined as a European power and having its foreign politics deeply entangled with that of the European great powers. This reorientation of Russian politics took place under

the Romanov dynasty established in 1613 and which would stay in power up to the communist revolution from 1917.

The great reformer emperor among the Romanovs was Peter the First or the Great reigning between 1689 and 1725. With a German education, Peter was an enthusiastic occidental determined to disentangle Russian society from its traditional way and to turn it toward the West. Peter's policies of modernization were hugely extensive applying to all fields: from legislation to the customs, mores and fashions of his subjects. It is not to underestimate thus the very fact that Peter the First obliged the Russian aristocracy to adopt the European dressing, a very important instrument for recasting the world view of Russian.

The Europeanization of Peterian Russia was most sharply underscored by the foundation of a new capital city located on the banks of the Baltic sea and inaugurated in 1703, this bore the German name St. Petersburg. Of the success of Peter the Great, most important was to be the empress Catherine the Second also surnamed the Great reigning between 1762 to 1796.

## 5. Sweden

For a brief period at the end of the 17th century and beginning of the 18th, regional politics was marked by the intervention of a new power actor: the kingdom of Sweden which for a brief while acted as a regional great power. The short term political adventure of Sweden as a great power was largely due to its alliance with France during the 30 years war. This political vision was partly due to the figure of an extraordinary ruler: King Charles the 12th ruling between 1697 and 1718. Charles the 12th was partly a paranoid figure but nevertheless a great political visionary who like to compare himself with the Ancient king Alexander the Great; emulating him, he started a military adventure meant to obtain an empire for Sweden largely to the detriment of Poland and Russia.

The Swedish pressure was that great that is led to the creation of an alliance composed of Russia, Prussia, Poland but also the German duchy of Saxony and the kingdom of Denmark. There issued from this the war of the North which lasted between 1700 and 1721 and which stood as an Eastern counterpart to the war of Spanish succession. The decisive battle was fought at Poltava and the war ended with the peace of Nystad of 1721. The great winner of the peace of Nystad was the Russian emperor Peter the Great. The peace wiped out Sweden as a great power. Instead it entrenched Russia and Prussia with the status of great powers.

## EVOLUTIONS – ENGLAND & FRANCE DURING THE 18 CENTURY:

### *FRANCE as a political model:*

Over the 18th century, in France, the absolutist regime installed by king Louis the 14th was further consolidated while the eclipse of the Estates General as an institution continued. Two kings succeeded on the throne during the period: Louis the 15th and Louis the 16th from 1772 to 1792. France continued to provide the norm to be followed by most European countries in terms of their efforts for political development and administrative consolidation. During the 18th century, the efforts of emulating the French example led to the entrenchment from the Iberian Peninsula to Russia of long term political experiments called "Enlightened Despotism". While acting as such as a basic international norm, France in its term was marked by the influence exerted upon it by the English society. The intellectuals of the Enlightenment were centered upon France, but French Enlightenment was centered upon the English example that provided it with the image of a more advanced society.

### *ENGLAND – the basis of France politics / Glorious Revolution:*

English evolution during the 18th century stood in continuation to the Glorious Revolution of 1689. The revolution was accompanied by the adoption of a Bill of Rights in 1689 providing for the essentials of civic equality and constitutional procedures and staying at the core of the English organic legislation acting as a constitutional framework. Indeed, while setting the path leading to modern constitutionalism, England has never adopted a formal constitution of the kind that the US, France and other countries of the world will adopt precisely by invoking the English precedent.

The revolution was also followed in 1701 by the Act of Settlement which provided that only of Protestant-Anglican faith could acceded to the throne, something which put an end in England to the long-term interplay between the religious and the political dimensions of social life. The two partners king, William the 3th and Mary the Second ruled up until 1702, when the last of them died. His death put an end the regime of personal union between England and the Low Countries. The interruption of this formal connection between the two countries was followed however by the installation of a long-term and solid alliance between them, as the Low Countries were to act as an adjunct to England over the following period.

The year 1707 brought about the creation of the United Kingdom of the Great Britain with the complete fusion between England and Scotland in continuation to the personal union established in 1603. The Union Jack flag was adopted with this occasion, this being the first national insignia which didn't harbor the symbols of a reigning dynasty, making reference instead symbolically to the sovereignty of the people. It is also of significance that the blue, white and red colours of the British flag were to be taken over at the end of the century on the flag of US and France, something which underscored the ideological connection between the successive stages of political and constitutional development in that different Western national context.

### **THE HANOVER DYNASTY:**

William the Third was followed on the throne by the last monarch of the Stuart dynasty, queen Anne, ruling between 1702 and 1714. Following that, a German dynasty originated in the principality of Hanover came on the throne of Britain according to the rules of succession. The first three Hanoverian kings succeeded each other over the 18th century: George the First from 1714-1727, George the Second to 1760 and George the Third to 1760 to 1820. At the time of the first two Hanoverian kings, the British political system coming from the Glorious Revolution was elaborated further by the addition of two fundamental components:

#### **1. The office of Prime-Minister and respectively of the cabinet of Ministers as an institution.**

The Cabinet of Ministers is composed of members from the Lower Chamber of the Parliament or from the House of Commons. The cabinet headed by the Prime-Minister is collectively responsible in front of the two houses of the Parliament as also responsible in front of the king. The contextual factor that George the First did originally not speak English language contributed to the adoption of this political innovation. The first politician to perform the function of a Prime Minister was Robert Walpole who started to act as such in 1721 and continued to act as the most prominent politician up to the 1740s

#### **2. The introduction of the two-party system.**

The two parties adopted the characteristics name of Whig and Tory. The first of them looked backwards to the traditions of the parliamentary political camp at the time of two 17th century revolutions. The second of them drew in the same way on the tradition of the monarchical party. For this reason, the Whigs were naturally the main supporters of the existing political system coming from the revolution. In time as we

shall see, the Whig party would be redefined as the Liberal Party in the same way as the Tory one would be redefined as the Conservative Party.

### **CORRUPTED ELECTIONS:**

In spite of the two-party, self image of the British political system, for the longest part of the 18th century, the Whigs would always stay in power, acting as a virtual Whig oligarchy as it was actually called at the time. This political reality pointed to the imperfections of the most advanced political system in Europe and the world at the time. The imperfections did not stop there. Besides, the British system was also marred by a high degree of corruption operating at the regional or provincial level much more than at the central level. The electoral process in the provinces was thus marked by local bribery and by the interference of local notabilities by the means of intimidation and harassment. This sad reality was cursorily described by the Rotten Borrows which referred to the perversion of electoral procedures throughout the countries. It is to be underscored that the realities of the kind, namely the tendency toward oligarchic politics and the entrenchment of corruption and intimidation practices would become an integral part of political modernization on the liberal constitutional and parliamentary pattern, as this modernization would go on in concentric circles from England to the rest of Europe and the world. The late developing societies as those of Eastern Europe and those of Latin American and Asia were come to be affected by such realities much later up to the present days.

During the century, Britain took dramatically ahead of the former colonial powers of Europe, namely Spain, Portugal and the Low Countries and it confronted on this matter with France. The interplay between economic dynamism and colonial expansion created the baseline for the industrial revolution started in Britain in the 1760s and marking a new departure in the social and economic development of the world.

**CONFLICTS IN EUROPE:** Over the first half of the 18th century, following the war of Spanish succession in the West and the war of the North in the East, the European continent was affected by two international crisis focused on East-Central Europe and more precisely on internal developments in Poland and in Austria, respectively and successively.

### **POLISH WAR OF SUCCESSION:**

The first such crisis was the war of Polish succession which broke out in 1733. Two pretendants to the throne confronted each other at the time: on of them was a prince of a reigning dynasty or more precisely of the German-Saxon dynasty called August the Third. The other pretendent was the Polish nobleman Stanislaw Leczinski. While August the Third was supported by Austria and Russia, Leczinski received the support of France, being however sustained by the largest part of the nobility or "slehta". In fact, he was elected king against the rules of succession that played to the favour of August the Third by virtue of French financial intervention. The war waged between 1733 and 1738, providing a new occasion for the traditional rivalry between France and the Habsburg state according to a pattern that had been installed in the mid 16th century but which was soon to be dissolved. August the Third eventually emerged as the winner, entrenching himself on the throne.

### **THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION:**

The following international crisis centered upon the Habsburg state and it came from the imperial decree issued by the emperor Charles the 6th in 1740 and providing for his succession. The decree called the Pragmatic Sanction provided for succession to be passed to the king's daughter, Marie Theresa, a woman of only 23. Charles the 6th died in the same year and Marie Theresa succeeded as established having to rule up until 1780.

## AUSTRIAN WAR OF SUCCESSION:

Marie Theresa came in power in 1740 without however being recognized as such by a part of the political class who proclaimed another emperor in the person of the prince of Bavaria and under the name of Charles the 7th. There followed from this the war of Austrian succession 1740-1748. Charles the 7th drew on his support the help of France and Prussia while Marie Theresa relied on the external support of Britain, the Low Countries and Russia. Alongside the two pretendents, the Prussia king Frederic the Second emerged as the most important player. The war was ended with the victory of Marie Theresa who entrenched herself on the throne by virtue of the Treaty of Ills La Chapel in 1748; however the war also led to a significant increase of power for the kingdom of Prussia and for Frederic the Second personally. Prussia was also augmented territorially by the annexation of the province of Silezia.

Marie Theresa associated to the throne her husband Franz the First who ruled in this capacity from 1745 to 1765. Subsequently the same empress associated to the throne her son, Joseph the Second who ruled alongside between 1765 and 1780 and continued to rule alone for one more decade between 1780 and 1790. Marie Theresa and Joseph the Second together with the Prussia king Frederic the Second and Russian Empress Katherine the Second emerged as the most important Enlightened Despots promoting top down policies of modernization implemented paternalistically to the benefit of the people but without the consultation of the people., nevertheless, drawing inspiration all the time from and legitimating themselves by the philosophy of the Enlightenment.

## THE SEVEN YEARS WAR:

Europe was marked by two criss-crossing rivalries: continental based rivalry between Austria and Prussia and the rivalry between France and Britain focused as it was on matters of overseas colonial expansion. The interplays between the two rivalries eventually led to a new international conflict waged between 1756 and 1763 and called the seven years war. The war was marked by two novelties:

1. Its very territorial extension together with the fact that it brought together military operations taking place both within Europe and across the seas. The war was fought in Europe but also in North America and in the Indian Ocean where Britain and France competed for reasons of colonial expansion.

2. The fact that the war drew to an end the international pattern of France-Habsburg rivalry mentioned repeatedly before and operating since the mid 16th century for more than 200 years - the phenomenon was called in the diplomatic language of the time "The Reversal of the Alliances", when the war broke out in 1756, France got allied with Austria, its traditional enemy in order to face the opposite alliance composed of Britain and Prussia.

The British-Prussia alliance emerged victorious by the Peace of Paris of 1763. The 7 years war was thus consecrated the status of Prussia as a great power of Europe. At the same time it consecrated Britain as an unrivaled ruler of the seas. In more specific terms, one result of the war was the entrenchment of the British in Canada with the corresponding engulfment by them of the French speaking province of Quebec.

## THE PARTITION OF POLAND:

Following that year and up to the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, two more international crises came to mark European politics from West to East. There was first in the East a new crisis focusing on Poland and eventually terminated by the full partition of the Polish-Lithuanian territory among the 3 surrounding powers of Russia, Austria and Prussia. The second crisis located in the West

consisted in the American war of Independence against the British metropolis and in the creation of the United States of America.

The Polish crisis broke out in 1763 with the death of king August the Third. The throne was occupied by Stanislaw Poniatovski who had the defect of being strongly supported by Russia and subservient to Russian interests. The succession of Poniatovski provided Europe with the perspective of a significant increase of Russian power. The camp opposed to Poniatovski was supported by France which also played on the regional rivalry between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in order to promote its interests. The Turks were pushed into the war by France with disastrous military results for them. Russia under Katherine the Second obtained a decisive victory against the Ottoman Empire. The conflict lingered leading to the Peace of Kuciuk Kainargi which established the Regime of the Russian Protectorate over the Christian people of the Balkans, a protectorate which manifested itself by the Russian control over the two Romanian Principalities vassal to the Ottoman Port. At the same time, Russia acquired the Crimean Peninsula and main land around it which had been up to that moment the last stronghold of Mongol rule.

Hand in hand with these successes in the South, Russia continued the war in Poland. The situation created led the Prussian king Frederic the Second to propose the partial partition of the Polish territory between Prussia, Austria and Russia in order to prevent Russia from taking the lion-share. The first partition of Poland came from this in 1772 when the three neighboring powers annexed different part of the Polish-Lithuanian territory. The event led to a dramatic crisis of consciousness for the Polish nobility which finally intimated the fact that the state of quasi anarchy marking chronically the political system of noble republicanism had transformed Poland into a power vacuum (vid de putere). Accordingly a movement of reform was put in train starting in 1773 and leading in 1791 to the adoption of a constitution: it is to be strongly underscored that the Polish constitution of that year came several months before the adoption of the first French revolutionary constitution and second only in the world to the Constitution of the US.

By that time, Europe was turmoiled by the revolutionary transformations issuing from France. For obvious reasons, the convoluted Poland provided a favourable ground for the reception and dissemination of revolutionary ideas. In such circumstances, the Russian Empress Katherine the Second proposed a second partition of Poland in order to counter act the danger of revolutionary contamination close to the Russian borders. The second partition came in 1791. A political revolt took place in 1794 under the leadership of Tadeux Kosciuvsko. A third partition was operated in 1795 by the neighboring powers. It was implemented and consisted in a complete division of the territory between Russia, Austria and Prussia.

### **THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION:**

The American crisis has to be understood as both a political process internal to the British system and an international crisis. This last dimension came from the deep involvement of France which took the opportunity to hit Britain back and take a revenge for its defeat in the 7 years war. The American crisis was also a crisis of emerging British imperialism, a short term defeat for Britain nevertheless led to a reworking of the policies of imperial expansion; having lost the North American colonies, Britain launched on a new search of overseas expansion which enabled it to acquire a huge empire in the 19th century.

The crisis came in 1773 with the sabotage of the commerce with tea between the colonies and the metropolis called the Boston Tea Party. The revolt was motivated by the claim that the colonial link with Britain could not continue without having representatives of the colonies in the British parliament. The political watchword which underlined the outbreak of the American Revolution was "no taxation without representation". A first continental congress of the colonies took place in 1774.

The war of independence was waged between 1775 and 1783. 1776 brought about the American Declaration of Independence. French military intervention came in 1778 and it was fundamental for the eventual victory of the Americans. The British capitulation of Yorktown came in 1781. The war was ended in 1783 by the Peace of Versailles and a new state of the US was placed on strong constitutional basis in 1787 by the adoption of the constitution. Definitely, the American Revolution has to be understood primarily as a development of the British political system created by the Glorious Revolution. It provided a new model to be followed by other countries of Europe starting with France, the most developed politically at that time after Britain and its splinter of the US.

## THE FRENCH REVOLUTION 1789-1799:

The whole period from the outbreak of the French revolution in 1789 to the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 has to be seen as the most formative period in the history of Europe in terms of both political constitutional changes as also in terms of the transformations of the territorial political framework of international relations. The event which triggered out this entire process was the French revolution. The revolution was marked successively by two kinds of political conflict:

- 1) In the first stage there was a conflict between the monarchic state and the privileged estates that is the aristocracy and the higher clergy with the aristocracy taking the lead. It was in other words a new and very belated instance of an aristocratic reaction against the central power of the monarchy then functioning on the absolutist pattern.
- 2) In the second stage, there was a conflict between the privileged estates that is primarily the aristocracy and the third estate of the non privileged people led by the middle class itself dominated by the emerging bourgeois.

The crisis leading to the revolutionary transformation issued from the fiscal pressures to which the monarchic state was exposed. The fiscal question came to the forum in 1787 having to introduce new forms of taxation. The absolutist monarchy had to obtain the consent of the political class which originally tried to obtain it in an informal fashion. In 1787 such an informal assembly of notabilities was convoked at the palace of Versailles. Held in May, the assembly of the notabilities did not give the consent requested by the king for putting in train new fiscal policies. Accordingly in the following year 1788 the king had to make recourse to formal procedures deciding the convocation of the assembly of the estates general which had not been functioning since 1614. The convocation of the estates general was decided in August 1788 and the remaining part of the year was marked by public debates regarding the election procedures for the estates general. A part of the public opinion sustained by the Enlightenment ideas contested the traditional procedure of having each estate electing separately its own representatives with all the estates having the same number of representatives. It was decided that each estate would have its own representatives elected separately with the 3rd estate having however as many representatives as the clergy and the nobility taken together as it was called at the time, this was the policy of doubling the third estate.

### FIRST YEAR OF THE REVOLUTION - 1789

The estates general came into session on May 5, 1789. Once in session the estates general provided the **framework for the transformation of the political conflict as mentioned before**; that is for a revolution from an aristocratic reaction against the monarchy towards a conflict between the third estate and the privileged orders. The transformation also involved the forging of an **alliance of a temporary kind between the third estate and the monarchy** which was expected by the third estate's deputies to provide a support for fighting the regime of privileges. Also, the first weeks of the session displayed the phenomenon of an **alliance between the lower members of the clergy and the third estate.**

A symbolic moment was June 13th when 3 members of the low clergy in the assembly decided to join the deputies of the 3rd estate thus appealing their privileged status. The **3rd estate proclaimed itself as a national assembly** claiming that it alone did genuine representation of the national interests as a whole. This claim was best articulated in a political treatise elaborated and circulated in the first stages of the revolution being authored by E. Sieyès. The political pamphlet was entitled "**What is the third estate?**" providing the **answer that the third estate was everything** and the **other 2 estates of the privileged people were nothing** in so far as they **acted as mere parasites to the national body** and to the interests of the whole society.

On June the 20th, the assembly of the 3rd estate took the tennis court oath called as such after the hall of the Palace of Versailles where the session was held. The deputies took an oath not to get disbanded up until a **constitution of the realm is adopted**, by such doing the **3rd estate proclaimed itself as a national constituent assembly working for the elaboration of a constitution** and looking to this extend to the **American example**, as also more generally to the model of the British political system. The king originally tried to intimidate the deputies of the 3rd estate. Faced with an opposition from the public opinion, the king finally ordered that **the representatives of the privileged estates will join the national constituent assembly.**

### **STORMING OF BASTILLE:**

Following this decision of the king which gave an acceptance to the revolutionary proceedings, the people of Paris rose in revolt and **storm on July the 14th the prison fortress of Bastille** considered a **symbol of the old regime**. The **event did not have any immediate consequences for the political developments and relatively a small number of people took part**. In time, however the moment would be recast retrospectively as the defining **symbolic gesture of the revolutionary process**. On July the 17th, the **king went from Versailles to Paris** harboring the three colors insignias that had been adopted by the revolutionaries, thus giving a new **symbolic acceptance of the political process in training.**

### **PEASANT REVOLUTION:**

The late July and early August days of 1789 were marked by intervention of the **peasant masses in the revolutionary process**. The peasant revolution manifested itself as a largely anarchic and dismembered social and political process. **The peasants interpreted the events taking place to the extent that the king himself intended to turn against the aristocratic feudal landholders and to demolish the feudal relations** of property and production. A wide spread peasant revolt was thus installed and the people of Paris and Versailles perceived it as a greater danger and a more immediate one than in fact it was. The phenomenon was called **The Great Fear**, as the political class, the revolutionary middle class and the town dwellers of Paris expected a peasant insurrection to break out. Under the impact of The Great Fear the national constituent assembly adopted at the beginning of August **the most important decisions of the revolution**. Over the night of August 4th to 5th a series of decrees was issued by the assembly by which the **privileges formerly enjoyed by the clergy and the aristocracy were abolished and the regime of civil equality was introduced the estate society of the old regime being thus refashioned as a homogenous citizenry.**

## **THE D.R.M.C. AND THE LEFT-RIGHT POLITICAL SPECTRUM:**

The core of the feudal system was thus demolished together with the privileges of the old regime. On August the 26th, the constituent assembly adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Men and Citizens which laid down the basic philosophical principles which were to guide the future elaboration of a constitution. The principle of equality before the law was underscored in the declaration together with the principle of the separation of power in the state. At the same time, the declaration proclaimed the right to hold property as sacred and inviolable. Hand in hand with the first stages of the revolution the phenomenon of aristocratic emigration started. At the same time the political space started to be structured under the impact of the revolutionary dynamics. A right wing and a left wing thus started to emerge originally the right wing centering itself on the person of the king and the institution of the monarchy and the left wing focusing on the constitutional principles and procedures.

The last part of the first revolutionary year 1789 was marked by the policies taken by the assembly towards the religious and ecclesiastical issue. A decree of November 2nd decided that the goods of the Catholic Church were to be placed at the disposal of the nation which was a polite formulation for a policy of nationalization. In its turn, the nation assumed the responsibility to give support to the dominant Catholic Church which was once again another way of saying that Catholicism was to act as a national religion. This was just the first of several successive constitutional frameworks adopted by the revolution and a Napoleonic regime ensuing from it with regard to the ecclesiastical problem. As a counterpart to this decision in December of the same year, a new decree was adopted by which the Protestants were allowed to accede to public offices. Something which ran counter to Louis the 14th abrogation in 1685 of the edict of Nantes.

## **SECOND YEAR OF THE REVOLUTION - 1790**

### **THE JACOBIN CLUB:**

The year 1790 was inaugurated in February with the creation of the Jacobin club. The creation of the Jacobin club or else the creation of the most important political faction acting during the France Revolution, was meant not only for administrative purposes but also for strengthening the process of social leveling or homogenization unleashed by the revolution; that is for spreading throughout France and deeper into the French society the principle of civil equality (or equality before the law) and the sense of a common citizenship among the population.

### **THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION:**

The administrative reorganization of the territory of France generally and of the city of Paris specifically helped in the spread and entrenchment of the rights of the declaration principles across the French territory and deep into the social body. In February, France was reorganized into a system of 83 departments, while in May, Paris was administratively recast in the same way into a system of 48 sections. Administrative reorganization was also underlined by a symbolic public gesture which came out on July 14th, 1790, the anniversary of the storming of Bastille. A public meeting of large scale took place then in Paris during which the old regime provinces of France by their representatives officially and symbolically renounced their rights and privileges. The complicated patchwork of regionally differentiated rights and privileges specific to the old regime were thus wiped out being replaced instead with the vision of a homogenous citizenry cut off only by administrative division.

### **ACTIVE VS. PASSIVE CITIZEN:**

In 21st of May 1790, the National Constituent Assembly introduced the distinction between the active and the passive citizens, the last of them being entrusted only with civil rights while those of the first category being also enfranchised with political rights (the right to vote and to be elected); the distinction was predicated on criteria of wealth and income and it acted in such a way as to replace the old distinctions of status or estate prevalent in the old regime society with a new type of social distinction based on economic factors; this recalls to us the theoretical discussion about social stratification by estate or status and social stratification by class; starting with the French revolution, class stratification on economic criteria emerged in Europe as most significant than status stratification.

#### THE CIVIL CONSTITUTION OF THE CLERGY:

On July the 12th 1790, the National Constituent Assembly issued the Civil Constitution of the clergy, in continuity with the decision of the previous year by which a link had been forged between the dominant Catholic Church and the State. By virtue of the Civil Constitution, members of the clergy were obliged to swear an oath of allegiance to the laws of the state and to the state authorities.

#### THIRD YEAR OF THE REVOLUTION - 1791

The next year of the revolution, 1791, was marked by the radicalization of the revolutionary political process with the widening of the gulf between the moderates and the radicals, thus creating the space for the emergence of a new political class composed of younger and more radical members. Several other events of the same year strengthened the radicalizing dynamics of the revolution.

- First there came in June on the night of the 20 to the 21 the attempt of the King Louis the 16th to flee the country together with his family and join the aristocratic emigration abroad.

*The event was to be called "The Flight to Varennes" after the small town where the King and his family were caught by the authorities while trying to escape the country. The King was obliged to go back to Paris but as a result of the incident, political opinion within and especially outside of the Assembly started to drift towards republicanism.*

- The second event making for the same result of further radicalization took place on July the 17th, once again on the highly symbolical site of the Champ de Mars.

*Here, a military unity led by general La Fayette faced a revolt of the people of Paris. The suppression of the revolt could only be done by violence and bloodshed, something which opened a gulf between the assembly or the political class and the people together with the emerging political leaders of the clubs outside the Assembly.*

On August the 27th, the French Revolution acquired and explicit international dimension as the Roman-German Emperor and the King of Prussia issued together the Declaration of Pillnitz, a German town, declaration by which they condemned the revolutionary proceedings in France as a threat to the established and legitimate political and social order throughout Europe.

Also in 1791, the Assembly adopted a decision which worsened the relations between revolutionary France and old regime Europe. This referred to the annexation to the French state of territories belonging to the Papacy, most specifically the territory of Avignon was annexed to the French state, something which naturally raised problems of legitimacy for the revolution at the level of international politics.

#### FIRST CONSTITUTION:

On September the third, the workings of the **National Constituent Assembly** (originally created by the Assembly of the Estates General) were **drawn to an end** with the adoption of the **first French constitution** and the **third constitution of the sort in the world**, following the **American one and the experimental Polish** one of the same year. The constitution laid down for France the format of a **constitutional monarchy** based on the **separation of powers** and on civil **equality** but also based on the **principle of the inviolability of property** and on the **distinction between active and passive citizens**.

### **LA GIRONDE:**

After the constitution was underscored by the signature of the king, the National Constituent Assembly got disbanded and a **new Assembly was elected** on the basis of limited suffrage coming from the distinction between active and passive citizens. The new political body was called the **legislative Assembly** and it came into session on October the first; from the beginning, the legislative Assembly displayed a **new political landscape** or structure featuring a **new generation of politicians** with a more radical orientation. The dominant faction of the new Assembly came to be known under the label of "**La Gironde**" and its members were correspondently **called "Gironders"**.

### **LATER YEARS:**

#### **STATE OF EMERGENCY - WAR AND TERROR:**

The year 1791 brought about a strong connection between revolutionary developments within France and external war. In the footsteps of the declaration of Pillnitz of the previous year, it was **France which decided to start military hostilities against Austria and Prussia**. The **declaration of war** came on April the 20th 1792 and the war was originally **fought on Southern Low Countries** territories belonging to the Habsburg realm. At first, French revolutionary armies suffered a disastrous **defeat**. As a result, the **state of emergency** was introduced in July together with the organization of France for the general conscription of the main population in the army. General conscription implied a huge military novelty. On one hand, the **army thus created hugely outnumbered the small old regime army's** common at the time and composed of mercenaries and professional soldiers. On the other hand, this **popular army stood at a much lower level** than the old regime armies in **terms of training**. Both aspects would come at the fore in the following year. At the same time, general conscription implied an open appeal to the lower strata of the population in the name of national interest and revolutionary objectives. This could have only led to the further radicalization of the revolutionary process. The immediate consequence of the state of emergency was the **introduction of the reign of terror** by which **regular legislative procedures were put into brackets for the sake of legislative expediency** with regard to people suspected of treason towards the nation and the revolution.

#### **THE MONTAGNARDS:**

The **terror was launched on August the 10th 1792** and together with this a new structure of the political spectrum **emerged within the Assembly and outside it**. To the **detriment of the Girondes**, a **new political faction** gained prominence under the label of the Mountain (**La Montagne**) or else under the name of **the Montagnards party**. The **members of the Jacobin club** emerged at their turn as the **hardcore of the Montagnard faction**.

On August the 11th, the legislative Assembly decided the organization of elections for a **new Assembly to be elected** on the basis of **universal suffrage**, thus abolishing the provisions of the 1791 Constitution **regarding property qualification for the right to vote and to be elected**. The **existing**

constitution was practically suspended. On August the 17th, a revolutionary tribunal was created with the mission of administering juridical the cases of political treason which would be approached in a more and more expedient fashion. As a symptom of the new situation of political radicalism, general La Fayette, the hero of the first part of the revolution, joined the aristocratic emigration abroad leaving the country on August the 20th.

### **LA REPUBLIQUE:**

On September the 20th 1792, the revolutionary army obtained a tremendous victory against the corelist forces of the old regime in the battle of Valmy (Belgium). In the same day, the national convention elected by universal male suffrage came into session. Its first decision on September the 21st was to abolish the monarchy and accordingly, September the 22nd was proclaimed the first day of the republic.

### **THE GUILLOTINE - Gironde leader and the King**

Over the following period, within the span of several weeks, a significant epuration of the political class took place with prominent politicians being accused of treason, brought in front of the revolutionary tribunal and sentenced to death under the guillotine. Most notably in October, Jean Pierre Brisot, the leader of the Gironde was thus eliminated as an integral part of the process of radicalization. On December the first, the national convention decided the trial of king under the accusation of treason. As a consequence, the following year 1793 started with the guillotination of King Louis the 16th, on January the first.

### **CIVIL WAR AND THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY:**

Political radicalization within France was accompanied by the sharpening of the military conflict between France and old regime Europe. They adopted a bellicose stance with was an integral part of its political propaganda at home. On February the first, France declared war to Great Britain and to the Netherlands. In March, revolutionary France annexed the territory of Belgium while at the same time declaring war to Spain. Military confrontations with external powers got connected with a state of civil war within France. At the beginning of 1793, a royalist anti revolution insurrection started in the Western French province of Vendee. The war in Vandee was to thrive and to be extended into conflicts of the same time in other parts of France. The institutional devices of the regimes of terror were meanwhile extended. In April 1793, a narrower political body was created within the national convention under the name of Committee of Public Safety. The committee in fact concentrated political power into the hands of its members. Moreover, within the committee, one politician emerged as a highly dominant exerting dictatorial power (Maximillian Robespierre) accompanied in his activity by Antoine Saint-Juste.

### **SECOND CONSTITUTION:**

The regime of terror continued to unfold. At the end of May, the beginning of June, the largest part of the Girond party was expelled from the convention and many members of it came under the guillotine. On July the 24th 1793, the National Convention adopted the second French revolutionary constitution. This was called the Jacobin constitution and it departed from the 1791 constitution in significant respects. First, the new constitution did not provide for any distinction among citizens on the basis of property qualification. Second, the constitution abolished the principle of property as a sacred and inalienable right. Instead, it defined the right to property according to the needs of society. The Jacobin constitution also looked forward for a category of social rights to supplement the package of civil and political rights elaborated in the first stage of the revolution. According to this conception of social rights, it was held that civil liberties and political rights did not make sense for citizens who live in extreme poverty. Accordingly, the national convention took for itself the task of providing for social assistance to the benefit of the

poorest strata of the population. The constitution also spoke about the rights of the citizens to get a working place in order to earn their living. This entire vision definitely bordered on the emerging socialist conception. However, the Jacobin party did not embark upon a policy of socialist reorganization. Moreover, the democratic populist and welfarist provision of the Jacobin constitution were not be implemented and the constitution itself was not actually to be applied. It acted instead as a most important piece of political ideology or as a political programme or platform.

#### **ANTI-CHRISTIAN STANCE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR:**

The process of radicalization extended heavily into the sphere of symbolic public gestures which underscored the radical departure taken by French society from the old regime past. A central issue of this departure was constituted by a heavily hostile stance taken towards the established Christian religion targeted as a pillar of both old regime arrangements and old regime memory and symbols. The new anti-Christian stance of the revolution got manifested most conspicuously by the adoption of a revolutionary calendar which implied the rejection of the old Christian calendar that we still use. September the 22, the first day of the second year of the republic, came with the introduction of the revolutionary calendar. On November the 22 the Churches of Paris were officially closed.

As another manifestation of political radicalism bordering on fanaticism and hysteria, the former queen was tried by the revolutionary tribunal and sentenced to death by guillotination being executed on October the 16th. The French revolution was thus replicating a pattern of revolutionary dynamics which had first been experimented during the English puritan revolution of the 17th century that is a pattern leading from moderate beginnings to radicalism and to dictatorship. The same pattern also displayed the tendency towards the ideologization of the political process with abstract ideas and principle of an ideological sort coming to play a heavier role to the detriment of pragmatic consideration of politics.

#### **DE-RADICALIZATION:**

After the elimination of the Girondins, now the members of the Montagnards and the Jacobin faction itself started to be eliminated under the accusation of treason. In March 1794, a faction of the Jacobins led by the politician Jacques Hebert while emerging a more radical faction led by Jacques Danton. It emerged in this way. It soon emerged that the process of radicalization was self-contradictory as it was narrowing the circle of decision making as to make decision making in its final instance impossible. Accordingly, the hard core of the most radical faction rebelled against the revolutionary dictator Robespierre. Robespierre himself was brought in front of the revolutionary tribunal over the night of July the 27 to July the 28th 1794. In the latter day, Robespierre was executed by guillotination. The moment is symbolically remembered by its date according to the revolutionary calendar. This was the date of Termidor 9th. The symbolical marker is highly significant as the following stage of the revolution is called in historiography and political analysis the period the Thermidorian convention. That is the period when the national conventional elected by universal male suffrage continued to stay in session after the elimination of Robespierre. The Thermidorian period was accompanied by the process of de-radicalization by which revolutionary dynamics was shifted back towards its original moderate inspiration of the period before 1792. As one manifestation of the process, the Jacobin club was officially closed on November the 14th 1794.

The year 1795 was marked in the beginning by a political decision, very much in tune with the new spirit of moderation encompassing revolutionary policies. This was adopted on February 21st when the National Convention issued a decree establishing for the separation between church and state. It is

important to underline that this was the third framework of church-state relations adopted during the Revolution, following the first one of 1790, which established Catholicism as a state religion and the second one of 1793-1794 which consisted in the politics of dechristianization pursued by the convention under the Jacobin dictatorship. Now, church was separated from the state something that we shall see will not survive as a definitive arrangement of the relation between the two entities.

### THIRD CONSTITUTION:

On August 27th, the National Convention adopted the third revolutionary constitution which was called "The Constitution of Fructidor 5". The constitution established for a new political regime which was called the directorial regime/the directorate. At the basis of the regime stood the institution of a two chambers legislative assembly, which consisted of a lower chamber: the council of the 500 and an upper chamber/senate: the council of ancients. Both chambers of the Parliament were to be elected on the basis of restricted franchise, predicated on property qualifications. A view which went back to the conception of the 1791 Constitution. Alongside the legislative body, the constitution established for a strong executive branch of the government: the directorial council composed of five members and led by a first director, the council of directors acted as a presidential office, a function exercised together by the five members of the body in question. The constitution also tended to favor the executive branch by comparison to the legislative branch, thus anticipating the form of a presidential republic.

### THE DIRECTORATE:

On October 26th, the National Convention got dissolved, and the institution of the directorate came into being by elections. The regime of the directorate stood in power from 1795 to 1799. It was marked by a continuous departure from radicalism and from the memories of Jacobins, alongside this, however, the period of the directorate was underlined by the emergence of a new social stratification with the creation of a new bourgeoisie and reached on the spoils of the emigrated aristocracy. The gulfs separated social classes widened across the period of the directorate and the phenomenon was accompanied by the growth of corruption, phenomenon which was strong perceived by the public opinion.

In may 1797, the directorate was faced with a revolutionary attempt against it. This took the form of a low scale attempt at a "Coup d'état" which was done by a political group led by Paul Babeu. The event was called "The Conscription of Babeu/of The Equals". The event did not have immediate consequences, but it contributed heavily to the strengthening of the socialist trend and to the transition of the Jacobin culture of political radicalism to the nineteenth century in the form of socialism.

### THE NAPOLEONIC ERA:

Together with the socialist challenge, the directorate was also marked by the strengthening of the army as an institution within the state. As part of this phenomenon, the Italian originated general Napoleon Bonaparte rose to extraordinary prominence. In order to counteract this trend of the public opinion of opposing the military virtues, the directorate took the policy of dispatching Bonaparte as far as possible from the borders of France sending him to this extent in Egypt, in order to cut there a colonial empire for France. The strategy of the directorate of moving Bonaparte away from domestic French politics did not work, on the contrary, the Egyptian campaign was marked by spectacular military successes obtained by general Bonaparte, something which added a new amount of prestige to the same military men. Taking advantage of this, Bonaparte went back to France and organized a "Coup d'état" against the regime of the directorate.

### FOURTH CONSTITUTION:

The event which put down the institutions of the directorate took place on November ninth, 1799. General Bonaparte entrenched himself in power on December the twenty-fourth, he issued a new constitution which was adopted by plebiscite, offering to the entire major and male population of France the right of voting. This was the fourth revolutionary constitution. The constitution established the political regime of the consulate in continuity with the directorial period, the consulate heavily strengthened the executive branch of the government which was embodied in The Council of the Three Consuls, of which, Bonaparte was the first consul. Alongside the executive branch, a three chambers legislative body was established with a conservative senate at the top, an intermediate tribunal and a lower legislative body at the bottom of the system.

### THE CONSULATE:

The system of elections was once again based on restricted franchise; besides, the first consul had extensive powers in terms of nominating a part of the senators thus exercising a control over the legislative body. Besides inaugurating the regime of the consulate, the "Coup d'état" of Brumaire the eighteenth, inaugurated a new style of politics that was to be transmitted to the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, to France itself and to other countries of the world. This was the political style of Bonapartism, which consisted of a combination between authoritarianism and populism. The procedure of making recourse periodically to plebiscite in order to obtain legitimacy for the policies of the government was an integral part of Bonapartism, as an approach to modern politics, also Bonapartism rested characteristically on a certain ideological rhetoric which consisted in adopting a populist attitude towards the lower strata or the masses, while at the same time, adopting a hostile attitude towards the upper classes, very often branded as corrupt plutocracies.

The political regime of the consulate stood in power from 1799 to 1804, in order to be then continued by the political regime of the Napoleonic Empire or of the First French Empire from 1804 to 1815. The whole period from 1799 to 1815 is called the Napoleonic Period of Europe and not only of France. All throughout that period, the continent was convoluted by a series of wars waged between Bonapartist and Napoleonic France and successive European coalitions on the other hand. In their turn, the Napoleonic Wars, as they are called, stood in direct continuity with the military confrontations between revolutionary France of the previous period and the coalized forces of Old Regime Europe. As we remember, the state of war between France and Europe was installed in two successive stages.

- a. First, the Pillnitz Declaration of 1791 issued by Austria and Prussia against France, which was a declaration of hostility.
- b. Second, the French Declaration of War of April 1792, issued against Austria and Prussia.

The war between Revolutionary France and coalized Europe was originally focused on two battlefields.

- 1) First, it was the territory of Belgium, at the time, an Austrian possession.

Belgium was dominated continuously by France from September 1792 with the great French victory of Valmy up to the defeat of Napoleon in 1815. The territory of Belgium was fully integrated with France by an act of annexation in 1797, while, at the same time, France established a control over the northern Lower Countries transforming Holland into a satellite state.

- 2) The second main battlefield of the war between France and Europe before Bonapartist was constituted by Italy; it was also on the Italian peninsula that general Bonaparte emerged as the most prominent military figure starting with April 1796, when he was entrusted with the command of the army on the Italian front.

In both areas mentioned, Revolutionary France practiced a characteristic system of **external expansion which consisted in the creation of satellite states** branded as sister republics in order to underscore the emancipating role, which French rule performed in those areas.

### **FRANCE'S SATELLITES:**

**Holland** was thus becoming a sister republic in 1794, while, a **whole chain of sister republics were established in Italy**, as for example, the **Cisalpine Republic** with the capital at Milan, the **Ligurian republic** with the capital at Genova, the **Parthenopean Republic** with the capital at Naples and even most spectacularly, a **Roman Republic** having the pope himself as a president. The intermediate area of **Switzerland** was also seen as a **Helvetic republic belonging to the French system** of domination over Europe.

Having underscored the first focus of the **wars between Revolutionary France and Old Regime Europe** on the two battlefields mentioned, as also having underlined the **system of external expansion** based on the creation of satellite states, we have to disentangle now several other main lines of the Bonapartist and Napoleonic policies and of the Napoleonic Wars.

A dominant factor influencing the Napoleonic era was the **constant confrontation between France and Britain**. On the one hand, this was the last stage of a long term fight between the two countries on matters of overseas expansion and domination of the seas. A **confrontation which had started at the time of the War of Spanish Succession** continuing with the **Seven Years War** and with the entanglements of the **American Revolution**. On the other side, there was the constant effort of Britain to maintain the balance of power system, counteracting the **Napoleonic attempt at imposing a deeply entrenched domination** over the continent of Europe. To this extent, Britain acted as the pillar and the main animator of all successive coalitions against Bonapartist and Napoleonic France.

### **THE FIGHT OVER SEAS - ABUKIR AND TRAFALGAR:**

In terms of the first phenomenon mentioned, the **fight over domination of the seas**, one has to underscore that Napoleonic era consecrated Britain as an unrivaled naval power in the world. This came in two stages, first in August 1798, at the time of **the Bonapartist campaign in Egypt**, a British fleet led by **admiral Nelson obtained a great victory over the French fleet in the battle of Abukir**. Second, on October the twenty-first, 1805, **admiral Nelson obtained a decisive victory of the sword in the battle of Trafalgar** in the Atlantic Ocean. Following Trafalgar, **Britain became a naval super power** and she was to stay as such, up into the years of the Second World War, when the creation of the great Japanese and American fleets led to a new constellation of power in the field.

### **SUFFOCATION OF BRITISH ECONOMY - the continental blockade**

In terms of Britain's attempts to isolate Napoleonic France diplomatically and to create larger and larger coalition armies pitted against France, one has to underscore the reverse sight of this confrontations; this was **Napoleon's attempt to suffocate British economy**, which at the time was marked by the emerging **Industrial Revolution** and therefore **greatly dependent on extensive commercial exchanges with continental countries**. This Napoleonic policy was inaugurated in November the twenty-first, 1806, with the decrease of Berlin which established the continental blockade. By virtue of **the continental blockade**, all countries of **Europe dominated by Napoleonic armies** were **prevented from maintaining or establishing commercial relations with Britain**. The policy applied, not only to governmental economic initiatives, but also and primarily so, to the private economic enterprises of the sword.

### **NAPOLEON VS. SPAIN:**

In order to make the continental blockade efficient, Napoleon tried to include the whole of continental Europe under its provisions. In order to do so, he decided to conquer the countries of the Iberian peninsula: Portugal and Spain. As far as Spain was concerned, the military campaign started in 1808 proved to be unsuccessful for Napoleon, leading to the installation of a chronic guerrilla war. This grassroots Spanish war against Napoleon was supported heavily with British money as also by the dispatchment into Spain, of a small British army led by the general duke of Wellington, who acted as the second most important British military rival to Napoleon after admiral Nelson.

### **NAPOLEON VS RUSSIA:**

Also, in order to make the continental blockade efficient, Napoleon strived to include Russia within the scope of the same policies. This was established by the means of an alliance between the Napoleonic Empire and the Russian Empire, which came in 1807, following the Peace of Tilsit, between the two countries, of July of the same year. Eventually, however, Russia defected from the continental blockade, departing from it over the years 1810 to 1911. This led to the most spectacular military enterprise of Napoleonic France, which consisted in an attempt to establish a control over Russia. The Russian War of Napoleon was waged between May 1812 and December of the same year and it ended with a military disaster, something that eventually triggered the crumbling down of the Napoleonic system to which we shall come back.

### **NAPOLEON VS GERMANS:**

Another main line of the Napoleonic foreign policies was constituted by the problem of the German land and of the Holy Roman Empire, generally. In this respect, Napoleonic France was confronted with the two most important German powers, namely, Austria and Prussia. Both of them were successively defeated and repeatedly by the Napoleonic armies. At least two great military confrontations/battles have to be underscored in this respect.

### **BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ:**

First there was the battle of Austerlitz of December the second, 1805, the most brilliant victory of Napoleon in the battle also called the Battle of the Third Emperors as the French Austrian and Russian imperial rulers were present on the battlefield. The battle of Austerlitz stood as a counterpart of the one of Trafalgar, a great French defeat on the seas in October, being followed by a great victory on the land. The system of Napoleonic Europe was created in the footsteps of the Austerlitz battle, at the center of this system, there stood the reorganization of the German world.

1. Two Napoleonic decisions of utmost important have to be underscored, first in July 1806, following the pressures of Napoleon, the political system of the Roman German Empire was greatly simplified, a confederation of the Rhine was created comprising all German states except Austria.

Within this confederation, the system of 350 political units existing since the time of the peace of Westphalia of 1648, was replaced with a system of just 35 states. At the time, the German policies of Napoleon were meant to entrench French domination in the area and over the entire Europe. Over the long run, however, the same policies were to have a tricky and unexpected effect leading in fact to the unification of Germany which was to be accomplished in 1871 around Prussia, and precisely to the detriment of France.

2. Second, on August the sixth, 1806, also under the pressures of Napoleon, the reigning Roman German emperor Franz the second was obliged to give up the title of a universal Roman

emperor which his predecessors had held since 962. Instead, Franz the second adopted the more modest but more realistic and efficient title of an emperor of Austria, which his successors were to hold up to 1918.

### **BATTLE OF JENA:**

The second most important battle marking the confrontation between France and the German world, was the battle of Jena of October eighth 1806. The battle was a huge military humiliation for Prussia, something which affected the moral of the Prussian political class, the more so as the country had been functioning since the end of the seventeenth century as a heavily militarized state with the army occupying the dominating position within society. The battle of Jena had deep consequences in the field of ideology contributing decisively to the articulation of modern German nationalism.

Following the battle of Jena itself and the Napoleonic conquering of Berlin, the philosopher Georg Hegel considered Napoleon as the incarnation of the progressive trend of historical development stretching through the entire human evolution and leading to the perfection of mankind. Hegel described Napoleon as such as the incarnation of the universal spirit, when contemplating Napoleon entering Berlin after the battle of Jena and riding a legendary white horse. However, over the winter 1806 to 1807, and in the context of the Napoleonic occupation of Prussia the philosopher Fichte, delivered his addresses to the German nation, which constituted the main doctrinally work of early German nationalism. The conquering of Prussia after Jena also opened the way for the diplomatic negotiations between France and Russia, leading to the peace of Tilsit already mentioned. As part of this arrangements, there stood the temporary but significant reorganization of the Polish territory. A Polish state was resurrected in 1807 consisting primarily of the territories of the Prussian patrician under the name of the great duchy of Warsaw and acting as a satellite state of France and as a buffer state between France and Russia. The duchy of Warsaw was to survive up until 1815. Following the defeat of Napoleon, the provisions of the fourth patrician of 1795 were once again reinstated.

### **FURTHER DE-RADICALIZATION:**

Another dominant line of the Napoleonic policies consistent in the trend of deradicalization, the Napoleonic empire legitimized itself as staying in continuity to the revolution and as acting in the capacity of a vehicle for the development of revolutionary principles and their spreading throughout Europe. As part of this ideological self image, there stood the very titled bore by Napoleon, which was that of an emperor of the French, and not an emperor of France. Thus, underscoring the fact that his imperial rule rested in plebiscitary practices and drew upon popular support. However, Bonapartist and Napoleonic policies both domestic and international, gradually, departed, although, never entirely from the revolutionary heritage.

### **THE CONCORDAT BETWEEN THE PAPACY AND FRANCE:**

A significant turning point in this respect was the adoption of a new arrangement in terms of the relations between church and state, the fourth such arrangement since the outbreak of the revolution. This new arrangement came on July the sixteenth, 1801, under the regime of the consulate and consisted in the concordat between the French state and the papacy. By virtue of the concordat, the catholic church was once again connected with the French state establishing a special relation with the state, by comparison to the other religious groups. The concordat also had consequences in terms of foreign policies, in the year 1802 the sister Roman Republic, a very eccentric political creation of the revolutionary period was replaced with the reinstated traditional papal state which was to continue to exist all throughout the Napoleonic period.

## **THE NEW EMPIRE AND THE KING OF ROME, SON OF NAPOLEON:**

The very **installation of the empire** on May the eighteenth, 1804, took part in this trend of the Bonapartist and Napoleonic **departure from the revolutionary heritage**. Following the concordat, the reinstallation of the papal state and the very creation of the inevitably more conservative French empire, a new **turn towards conservatism** and **away from the revolutionary inspiration** was taken by Napoleonic politics over the years 1810 and 1811. This new turn of the politics of Napoleon, consisted in his **attempt to entrench his rule in the fabric of dynastic old regime Europe**. To this extent Napoleon, originally, a commoner from outside the aristocratic world, established a **marriage with the daughter of the Austrian emperor Marie Louise of Habsburg**. The marriage was consecrated on April the second, 1810. A son of the married couple who was born in the following year stood at the center of great public festivities with a Christian symbolism. The festivities focused on the **baptism of the king of Rome, as the son of Napoleon and the Habsburg queen**, which took place on June the sixth, 1811, and marked the **apogee of international respectability of the Napoleonic regime in Europe**.

### **BATTLE OF LEIPZIG:**

However the situation of the kind could not last due to the defection of Russia from the continental blockade already mentioned, and to the subsequent Russian campaign ended with a military disaster. The Russian campaign was followed by the war of the last **great coalition organized against the Napoleonic system**.

The war was marked by the **great battle of Leipzig** of October the sixteenth to October the nineteenth, 1813, also called the **Battle of the Nations** in order to underscore the ideological constellation surrounding it, which was **very different from that of the battle of Austerlitz** of 1805 **which was the Battle of the Emperors**. Napoleon was **defeated in the battle of Leipzig**, something which was followed by the **occupation of Paris by the allied forces** on March the thirty-first, 1814, and by the **first abdication of Napoleon** on April the sixth, 1814. Following the abdication, Napoleon was sent by the allies under a **state of mild detention** on the island of **Elbe in the Mediterranean sea**, close to the western Italian coast.

### **FIRST PEACE OF PARIS:**

On May 1814, the **peace of Paris between France and the coalized Europe** was established providing for the **restoration of the French territory** to the territorial status-quo of 1792, before the battle of Valmy which had inaugurated the French expansion. **Other territorial changes operated by Napoleon throughout Europe were also redressed** by the peace of Paris. Of greatest significance was, however, that the reorganization of the German world with the radical diminishing of political units survived the peace of Paris, something which was to affect heavily further European history.

### **BATTLE OF WATERLOO:**

The Napoleonic era was prolonged with the so called Hundred Days consummated over the period March to June 1815. At the time, **Napoleon escaped from his detention place**, came back to France and was reinstated in power in France. His **last adventure** ended on June the eighteenth, 1815, with the **Battle of Waterloo, in Belgium**, when Napoleon was **defeated for good by a combined Prussian-British army** led by **the duke of Wellington**.

### **SECOND PEACE OF PARIS:**

A new or **second peace of Paris** was obtained in November, 1815, reinstating the provisions of the previous diplomatic arrangements. This time, **Napoleon was sent to a new place of exile of the island of St. Helen, in the southern Atlantic ocean**, close to the African coast and **kept under British supervision**.

## THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IN THE HISTORY OF EUROPE:

The second defeat of Napoleon raised an elm to the period of European history started with the Revolution of 1789. One can say that the moment 1815, having ended that intermediate age, opened the **period of the nineteenth century in the history of Europe**. **Historically speaking** and not just chronologically, one can identify the nineteenth century as an age with definite characteristics as **stretching from the defeat of Napoleon in 1815 to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914**. The period of the nineteenth century, thus identified, emerges retrospectively as having well market characteristics as an European historical age and as a world historical age generally. The most striking such characteristic is the fact that the period in question was underlined by a **great degree of peace and tranquility**, a feature which is even more striking when comparing it with the previous Napoleonic one, as also, with the period starting with the First World War and comprising the short twentieth century up to 1989.

All throughout the nineteenth century, **there was no great international war** affecting the continent of Europe, military confrontations were sparse and heavily localized. The **nineteenth century has to be divided into three great sub periods**.

### THE FIRST SUB-PERIOD OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (1815-1848)

**CONSERVATISM:** The first sub periods was characterized by the prevalence of **conservative politics** as the mainstream orientation in all European states, this ideological profile being crystallized precisely by **opposition to the revolutionary turmoil of the preceding age**. All governments from Britain to Russia were concerned to **prevent the coming back of the revolutionary tied**.

**OPPOSITION:** At the same time, however, the decades in question were underlined by the **growth of the revolutionary culture** operating of an **oppositional force**, and at the grassroots levels of the European society.

**CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERIMENTS:** The same period was characterized by a **series of constitutional experiments taking place in various European states** and nourished from the revolutionary heritage which was addressed in a moderate fashion.

**INDUSTRIALIZATION:** At the same time, the continent of Europe was marked by the **gradual expansion of the industrial revolution from Britain** westwards starting with the Low Countries and France and propagated towards the Central European areas.

**BOURGEOISIE:** The decades up to the mid nineteenth century also displayed the **gradual transformation of the social structure in Europe**, with the **decline of the landed aristocracy and the rise of the urban based bourgeoisie**. Alongside the economic based or entrepreneurial bourgeoisie, a **white collar middle class** displaying a **non aristocratic profile and temper** was also created.

**URBANIZATION:** The gradual industrialization of Europe also affected social structure at the bottom levels. **Urbanization** proceeded together with **industrialization** and an industrial or **proletarian working class** based in the towns and cities started to grow to the detriment of a **slowly declining peasantry**.

**BALANCE OF POWER:** The period was also characterized by a **certain framework of the balance of power**, one component of the situation consisted in the **dominant role played by Britain worldwide**, another component consisted in the emergence of one **continental power** as a hegemon in Europe. The power in question was **Russia**, which acted as the most important member of the last coalition pitted against Napoleon.

**METTERNICH:** Alongside the role played by Britain and Russia as dominant powers, the age was also marked by the activity of one individual **very prominent and characteristic politician**, this one came from neither Russia nor Britain, but from Prussia, he was the prince **chancellor C. Metternich** who acted as the arch **champion of conservatives**, not only in his country but in Europe as whole. Metternich stood in power for **thirty years** from 1815 to 1848, and his fall from power due to the Austrian revolution of 1848 accordingly marked the end of an era. The ideological space of the period concerned, displayed itself a characteristic profile, the **dominant conservative ideological line** was confronted with a **revival of ideas coming from the Enlightenment and revolutionary stock**. One can identify four trends within this oppositional ideological camp. The trends consisted in the **ideas of liberalism, democracies, socialism and of nationalism**.

- 1. LIBERALISM:** The liberal trend pressed for the **replacement of old regime political arrangements with constitution based political arrangements**, as also for the **abolition of aristocratic and clergy privileges** and their replacement with **homogenous citizenries** all throughout Europe.
- 2. DEMOCRATIC:** The democratic strength militated instead for the extension of the franchises and for a **greater degree of political participations** by **the lower classes in the political life** of the countries involved.
- 3. SOCIALISM:** Socialism acted at the time in its **pre-Marxist stage** and looked forward for the adoption of various devices meant to **supplement civil equality** and political rise with social equality or with welfarist policies.
- 4. NATIONALISM:** The most characteristic element of the **culture of opposition** in Europe at the time was however the **intellectual trend of nationalism**.

*It is to be underscored in this respect that nationalism, in the footsteps of the Napoleonic age went together with the other revolutionary idea mentioned, acting as a subverting force and being perceived as such by the mainstream political forces. In fact, **Metternich and the other conservatives** of the time **rejected nationalism** most wholeheartedly as the **most dangerous of the ideological forces** unleashed by the revolutionary and Napoleonic age. This was so because the **ideology of nationalism** was **based on the design of making political borders** as coextensive as possible with the **fault lines separating cultural or national linguistic groups**.*

*The program of nationalism was most **remarkably formulated by a political figure** at the time which acted as the **perfect opposite of the chancellor Metternich**, this was the **Italian ideologist and the political educator G. Mazzini** who articulated the program of the national state by the dictum: **"each nation a state, and only one state for the entire nation"**. The **nationalist program accordingly implied political transformations** that could only consist in **radical redrawing of the political border**. It was for this reasons that Metternich hated the ideology of nationalism making all effort to put it down. It is of great significance to underscore the revolutionary position occupied by the nationalist idea at the time, as later on as we shall*

see, **nationalism would migrate across the political spectrum** coming gradually to adopt the function of a heavily underscored **right wing idea emphasizing the principle of order and of hierarchy.**

## THE SECOND SUB-PERIOD OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (1850-1871)

**BALANCE OF POWER:** By comparison to the previous sub-period this one was marked by a somewhat different constellation in terms of the balance of power. **Britain survived as a world hegemon dominating all the seas** of the world and in this connection it is significant to underline that at the moment **1850 the tonnage of the British fleet was as great those of all the other fleets of the world taken together,** otherwise another country acting as the dominant power within continental Europe and a partner of Britain in this respect. This **was France** under the political **regime of the second Empire.**

**INDUSTRIALIZATION:** Economical and social development proceeded in continuation to the previous period: **industrialization continued to expand from Western Europe into Central and Eastern Europe** making its first in-roads as far as **Russia.** One characteristic feature of the social and economic landscape was the **development of heavy metallurgy industries** together with the very rapid expansion of **railroads and the development of steel-engine chips.**

**SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CLASSES:** The **power of the landed aristocracies continued to decline** to the favour of the **urban bourgeoisie middle classes** while **industrial proletariat was also augmented** in size to the detriment of a **declining peasantry.**

**LIBERALISM AND DEMOCRACY:** In terms of political and ideological profile, the period was characterized by the **entrenchment of liberal constitutional** rule as a norm of civilized public life throughout **the entire continent except Russia.** The statement applies very significantly even to the more backward Balkan countries, including Romania. The political ideas of **democracy also expanded hand in hand with those of liberalism.** After an experiment of male-universal suffrage during the revolution, France made recourse under the Bonapartist second Empire very often to the **practice of plebiscite** in the tradition of the first Empire.

**SOCIALISM AND NATIONALISM:** **Socialism suffered a tremendous transformation** being recast in the **Marxist shape/guise,** a turning-point in the process being the publication in 1867 of Karl Marx's first volume of the Capital. **Nationalism was itself transformed.** After acting during the previous period as an oppositional idea subverting the establishment, now, nationalism was **appropriated by mainstream political** forces and political establishments throughout Europe as an **ideological device for gaining legitimacy.** This reshaping of nationalism emerged as most conspicuous as part of the **centralizing and nation-building process in Germany and Italy.**

## THE THIRD SUB-PERIOD OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (1871-1914)

**BALANCE OF POWER:** The third sub-period of the 19th century, stretching from 1871 to 1914, was characterized once again by different profile of international politics. **British overseas domination survived** and was even strengthened this strengthening coming from the very process of colonial imperialism which was brought to the fore at the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. **The dominant power on the continent of Europe was now the unified Germany.**

**SOCIALISM AND NATIONALISM:** In terms of the ideological profile, the period was characterized by the beginning of **polarization between left and right,** something which created the preconditions for the

subsequent rise of radical left and radical right politics after WWI. Marxist socialism was adopted now as the ideological foundation for the creation of powerful socialist parties which in some countries, most notably in Germany even managed to address a mass following. At the same time, nationalism continued its migration along the political spectrum from left to right. As a result of this, it was adopted as an ideological watchword for political parties and groups that contested the establishments from the right accusing mainstream political forces of not being nationalist enough. The ideological family of the kind was shaped for the first time in the French context and it stood as an originator of the post WWI fascism.

**INDUSTRIALIZATION:** In terms of economic development, the most notable evolution was the fact that some countries of the world took ahead of Britain in terms of industrial development. These new great industrial powers were Germany within Europe and US and Japan (outside Europe). In all the three cases, the relative delay in terms of developing an industrial economy acted as an asset. Local industrialists together with the governments involved learning from the British experience and accordingly building industrial segments placed from the beginning on a more advanced technological foundations. The segments of the industrial economy which most heavily benefited from this advantage of delay were the petroleum and chemical industry. In these fields specifically Germany emerged as a superpower in comparison to Britain, something which would affect the geostrategic framework of the first and the second world wars.

**IMPERIALISM:** The phenomenon of imperialism was also connected with economic developments of the time. Up to this age, European colonial powers had been confined to scratching the coastal regions of colonial expansion. At the end of the 19th century, the colonial powers led by Britain and France went deep into the main lands of the same territories of expansion cutting the entire non-European world into colonial Empires. The British Empire emerged as covering 1/3 of the surface of the world and 1/4 of its population.

**CAPITALISM AND MERCANTILISM:** The surge for the extension of colonists was connected with an incipient phenomenon of industrial overproduction within the metropolitan areas. Local markets could not absorb anymore the whole amount of industrial products coming out of the factories and, accordingly, industrialists looked around for non-European markets to sell their products. An urge for placing investment capitals outside the European markets went together from this. Another factor contributing to the same results was the transformation of the Capitalist system with the growth of monopolistic industrial canters dominated by great banking institutions. As capitalism grew thus as more centralized, there was a precondition for a stronger alliance between capitalist interests and state interests; the alliance in question was sealed in the form of colonial ventures.

**GREAT ALLIANCES:** Another characteristic of the same period was the gradual reshaping of the balance of power in the framework of a confrontation between two great alliances. On one hand there stood the alliance of the Central Powers dominated by Germany. On the other hand there emerged an alliance between Britain, France and the Russian Empire. This international framework opened the gate for WWI.

## THE CONGRESS OF WIEN:

To go back to the first sub-period, the baseline for historical developments at the time was created by the Congress of Wien, taking place between the years 1814 and 1815 and adopting a final document in June 1815. The Congress was meant to reorganize Europe after the defeat of Napoleon and to prevent any further resurgence of revolutionary politics.

## **THE BALANCE OF POWER AND THE WIEN SYSTEM:**

The balance of power in Europe was renegotiated among the **five powers** who participated at the Congress: **Britain, France, Austria, Prussia and Russia**. Within this system of the five powers there emerged a **split between the Western states** on one hand **and the Central and East European** one on the other hand.

## **THE HOLY ALLIANCE:**

The later ones created a narrower **international system within the Wien system**. This narrower international framework was called the holy Alliance **bringing together Austria, Prussia and Russia**. **The Holy Alliance** was underlined by **conservative and legitimists ideas**, asserting that is the sacred legitimacy of old regime arrangements against Enlightenment and revolutionary changes. This basic ideology was patterned as an **alliance between the throne and the altar**, underscoring thus the fundamental role played by **Christian religion as a reinforcement of legitimist politics**. In fact however and in closer scrutiny, the Holy Alliance displayed an ideological novelty which could only subvert the very doctrine that was meant to defend. Sealed by Christian principals, the **Alliance brought together indeed Catholic Austria, Protestant Prussia and Orthodox Russia**, a structure which **couldn't have been imagined in the pre-revolutionary period**.

## **ENTENTE:**

By **opposition to the Holy Alliance of the East**, the Western most European countries of **Britain and France came together** into a connection that started to be **labeled as Entente**. The phenomenon was highly significant if placed against the **background of 8 centuries of rivalry** and confrontation between the two powers. Now, however, Britain and France intimated their common interests which were based on the very fact that they **displayed the most modern and advanced profile in Europe** and the whole world in terms of social and economic structure and of political culture.

## **REVOLUTIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE:**

From 1818 to 1822, the Wien system was supplemented by a **series of international treaties which were all meant to formulate and entrench the principal of intervention** which allowed the signature powers to **exert pressures and to employ military means on the territories of neighboring smaller states** in order to **prevent the emergence of revolutionary movements** and political experiments of the sort. The principal of intervention was to be used very inconsistently. Great powers were to take indeed such interventions in order to suppress revolutionary movements in such context as the kingdom of Naples in 1820, Portugal in 1821 or Spain 1834. However, the **policy of intervention proved to be unfeasible precisely in the area for which it had originally been designed, namely the area of Eastern Europe dominated by the countries of the Holy Alliance**. **Revolutionary movements broke out** here on a territory of the Ottoman Empire and of its satellite states. A first **Serbian rebellion came in 1804** to be followed of a second one in 1815. In 1821 the **Greek war of independence** started which was joined by a **revolt in the same year in the Romanian principality**.

## **THE END OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE:**

All these movements made recourse to the stock of ideas coming from the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. However, the local powers of the Holy Alliance found themselves at odds when faced with the phenomenon. Despite its ideological reactionalism, **Russia took a half friendly attitude towards the Balkan revolutions**. As a result of this, **The Holy Alliance got dissolved in 1840** something which affected the entire Wien system and **creating as such a battleground** for the future 1848 revolutions.

## **THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848:**

The general evolution of Europe in the period preceding the 1848 revolution was affected by developments taking place within Britain and France as well as within the German world. The first two countries mentioned exhibited a contrast in terms of the paths of political development with Britain displaying a process of gradual adjustment of the political system to new challenges coming from economic and social modernization and France displaying a succession of political regimes separated from each other by revolutionary experiments.

**\*\*\*BRITAIN:** Following the death of king George the Third in 1820, Britain was ruled in turn by George the Fourth and William the Fourth from 1830 to 1837. In the last year, the throne came to be occupied by Queen Victoria who was to survive as a monarch for an unprecedented period of 64 years up to 1901; her name coming to be applied symbolically to the entire era of the second half of the 19th century. During the age of the French Revolution, the British political system was marked by two opposite tendencies: first there was the end of the Whig oligarchy which had characterized the 18th century. From this era on, the Whigs and the Tories would truly alternate in power, something which put a mark of pluralism on British political life. On the other hand, there was a tendency towards conservatism which itself was nourished by two factors.

1. First there was the fear of revolutionary contamination coming from France perceived as a threat to the traditional British institutions and denounced as such by the political pamphleteer Edmund Burke: Reflections on the Revolution in France. Burke came from the Whig political family but his work was to stay as the foundation of the conservative politics in Britain and entire Europe throughout the following century.
2. Second, the conservative term came from the dislocations produced by the industrial revolution in its first stage. Originally, the British political class was deeply scared of the possible effects of emerging industrialism on the Agrarian sector of the economy and on social hierarchies generally. Manifestations of conservatism came in 1815 and 1819.

**CORN LAWS:** The first year was marked by the adoption of "corn laws", establishing a system of state protection for the local agriculturalists, something which re-encounter to the general dynamics of industrializing economy towards free trade and free competition.

**MASSACRE OF PETERLOO:** In 1819, the city of Manchester was convoluted by social movements of the industrial workers which were put down bloody by the authorities. The event was mocked in the Press as the Massacre of Peterloo recalling the former victory of Napoleon.

**TRADE UNIONS:** The conservative term was closed in the 1820s when a reformist process of improvement was put in train, following initiatives coming from both the Whig and the Tory political camps. The year 1824 brought the legal recognition of trade unions as a device for the negotiations between the working class and the capitalist employers.

**LAW OF SOCIAL PROTECTION:** The legal initiative of the sort continued in the following years, the most important turning-point coming in 1833 when the first laws of social protection were adopted providing for example for a maximum of 8h of work in the case of the employed children.

**NO MORE SLAVE TRADE:** As part of the same social package, the British parliament also issued a law abolishing slavery in all parts of the Empire and intrusting the British military fleet to fight against the slave trade across the entire world. The first legal initiative of the sort had come in France during the revolution without however being reinforced by the following Napoleonic legislation. The British policy in the field was to be followed however in heavily consisted fashion and started with the 1830s, the British fleet would constantly attack slave naval transportation across the Atlantic, most often navigating under

Spanish and US flags. The same trend of social reform was also displayed the creation of the **working class movement**; this came in 1838 (Chartist movement).

### **REFORM BILL OF 1832:**

Social reform was accompanied by political reform which came in the shape of the first reform bill of 1832. This was a **package of laws** establishing for a **new electoral regime**, broadening the franchise such as to put the political system in conjunction with the underline social and economic transformation. Up to the reform bill of 1832, **the electoral regime of Britain had been overwhelmingly dominating by landholding** property and, hence, by the gentry class which had produced the Glorious Revolution. Such a situation came to be heavily incongruent with the realities of the industrial revolution which raised the urban bourgeoisie above the landholding gentry in terms of social and economic influence. The electoral reform accordingly **allowed for the bourgeoisie to dominate the Lower Chamber of the British Parliament, the House of Commons.**

**\*\*\*FRANCE:** Between 1815 and 1848, France was marked by **the succession of two political regimes** staying in mark discontinuity to each other: the first was the **regime of restoration** when the throne was occupied by the restored Bourbon king, Louis the 18th up to 1824 and then Charles the 10th up to 1830.

### **THE CHARTER:**

The regime was placed **on the base of a constitutional Charter** first issued by Louis the 18th during the first restoration of 1814 that is before the 100 days of Napoleon. The Charter was **patterned on the British model** providing for a **two chambers Parliament with a Senate** at the helm which gave exclusive representation to the aristocracy in the same way as the British House of Lords. The House of Deputies was elective with the system of restrictive franchise; significantly, however, the Charter was issued by the **king without making any reference to the principal of popular sovereignty**; instead it was presented as a gift given by the king to his subjects. Also significant was the fact that unlike Napoleon who had styled himself as an emperor of the French in order to underline the plebiscitary origins of his powers, **Louis the 18th went back to the old regime title of the King of France.** The constitutional framework was accompanied by the structuring of a political spectrum, a tradition inaugurated in France during the revolution.

**THE ULTRAS AND THE INDEPENDENTS:** Free orientations came to the fore: first there were the **ultra-royalist** or as they were called, **"the ultras"** which were led by the **Conte D'Artois**, the future king Charles the 10th. To the left of "the ultras" there stood **the Party of the Independents** around the **family d'Orleans.**

**THE DOCTRINAIRES:** sFurther to the left, but not very much, there stood the **Party of the Constitutionals** or the Doctrinaires which in a characteristic fashion **swore loyalty to the dynasty and the Charter**, this emphasizing their preference for constitutional principles over the dynastic principals. They **were lead by a group of intellectuals** form which the most significant **was F. Guizot.**

The evolution of the regime displayed **first a harshly conservative stage of 1815-1816** dominated by the so called invisible chamber as the house of Deputies, dominated by the ultras almost never came into session. There followed a **reformist stage between 1816 and 1820** with the party of the doctrinaires in power. The 1820 brought about a **new term towards conservatism** which was strengthened by the coming on the throne of Charles the 10th.

### **1830 REVOLUTION and the Bourgeoisie monarchy:**

Revolutionary energies were accumulated in this period in order for them to break out in the context of the July 1830 revolution. The revolution brought down the restoration regime and instead it brought to the throne king Louis Philippe, a representative of the family D'Orleans. The political regime thus installed came to be labeled the Bourgeoisie monarchy. Unlike the restoration regime, the July monarchy made extensive recourse to the revolutionary symbols coming from the stock of 1789. Louis Philippe named himself the king of France and the flag was reinstated whipping aside the symbols of the Bourbon dynasty.

Unlike the Charter of 1814, the constitution of the July Monarchy entrenched decisively the principal of the separation of powers, limiting at the same time the power of the executive branch and of the king specifically in favour of the two chamber parliament. The new ideological profile was underscored by the ceremonial style of the court. Louis Philippe performed his duties dressed in the civilian redingote of the Bourgeoisie instead of the military uniform harbored by his restoration predecessors. Otherwise, the regime was heavily favourable to the upper-strata of the Bourgeoisie. This orientation came partly from the very electoral provisions which gave the right to vote to one Frenchman from 170.

### **A NEW POLITICAL SPECTRUM:**

The Bourgeois economy was distorted as plutocratic oligarchy. The July monarchy accordingly created the opposition forces which were to break into the open in 1848. As a part of this process there stood the shaping of a new political spectrum, very different from that of the restoration era. The new spectrum issued partly from an event of 1840 consisting in the repatriation of Napoleon Bonaparte's remains which were re-buried in Paris in the Dome des Invalides. The ceremony of the sort contributed heavily to the reignition of the flame of Bonapartism as an ideological trend. There followed from this a three-tiered political spectrum featuring:

- 1.) The camp of the legitimist which look back to the old regime and the restoration traditions
- 2.) The camp of the Bonapartists which looked back to the revolutionary tradition while extolling at the same time the principal of order and the nostalgias of military glories
- 3.) The Party of the Republicans (Radicals) which got inspiration from the traditions of the Jacobine dictatorship

### **REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN ITALY AND GERMANY:**

The French Revolution of 1830 stood midway between the end of the Napoleonic era and the 1848 moment acting in such a way as to recast the revolutionary culture that was to get into open in 1848. A characteristic feature of the 1830s and 1840s was the spread of revolutionary organizations and societies throughout Europe. Most conspicuously, these societies flourished in Italy and in Germany, being patterned around the young Italy and young Germany movements. The Italian term referring to the revolutionary societies of the sort was employed as a generic term "carbonari".

The German lands were marked by a slight movement towards unification. The origins as we remember had come in 1806 with the creation of the Confederation of the Rhine under the pressure of Napoleon. The Napoleonic creation survived in a refashioned form after the defeat of Napoleon himself. Between 1815 and 1856, a German confederation functioned which brought together 39 states: 5 of them occupied a spatial position, themselves being divided in two groups.

The first group was constituted by the giant German state: Austria and Prussia which moreover were highly peculiar due to the fact that they covered territories both within and outside of the

confederation which meant further that they comprised both German habited territories and largely non German territories.

The second group of eccentric components of the confederation was constituted by European states which took part of the confederate arrangement by virtue of the fact that they controlled provinces within the German confederation. These countries were: Britain (which controlled the principality of Hanover), Denmark (control over the territory of Holstein and the Netherlands due to its control over Luxembourg). Moreover the tendencies towards unification were strengthened in 1844 when a customs union was adopted, abrogating trade barriers across the political borders in the confederation. Very significantly, the customs union was created around Prussia – it left aside Austria and of course it did not apply to the 3 non-German partners.

## THE 1848 REVOLUTIONS:

The revolution of 1848 acted as a Europe wide phenomenon affecting many countries of the continent from France in the West to the Romanian Principalities in the East. Although underlined by a common political culture, the revolution displayed different profiles in the Western and respectively, the Central and Eastern parts of the continent.

In the West, particularly in France, the revolutionary process was propelled by a confrontation between liberal democratic ideas on one side and a socialist challenge on the other side. As a manifestation of this ideological structure, the Communist Manifesto elaborated by Karl Marx and Engels was issued in the same context. The two authors were German originated but the revolution found them refugees in Belgium and their political pamphlet written in German but translated was immediately addressed to a French audience. In Central and Eastern Europe, the revolution was marked by a corresponding confrontation between the same liberal democratic ideas and the challenge of nationalism. Germany and Austria were heavily paradigmatic towards this.

## FRANCE

### THE SECOND REPUBLIC:

The Revolution first broke out in Paris in February and it lead to the creation of a second republic regime originally dominated by radical democratic political forces. The socialist provocation came to the fore immediately and it lead to bloody confrontations in June. The socialists were suppressed while at the same time, the revolutionary mainstream turned slowly to the right. In November, a constitution was adopted. It provided for a single chamber national Assembly elected by universal male suffrage but at the same time it provided for a strong executive entrusted to a presidential office. The president of the republic was to be elected directly by the people. In December 1848, by virtue of the elections, the presidency came to be occupied by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a nephew of the emperor Napoleon.

### THE SECOND EMPIRE:

Over the following years, the regime of the second republic drifted steadily to an ideology of order and militarism. As a result of this, in December 1851, Louis Napoleon made a coup d'etat, recalling the 1799 one of his predecessors. By virtue of the coup, he accumulated dictatorial powers and later in December 1852, Bonaparte abolished the Republic placing the foundations of a new political regime. This was the regime of the Second Empire under the emperor Napoleon the Third.

The Second Empire naturally ruled in a Bonapartist fashion which involved authoritarianism surrounded by a touch of populism. As part of this populist design, the legislative body was organized as a

two chambers assembly with a Chamber of the Deputies elected by Universal male suffrage and a Senate whose members were nominated by the Emperor.

## GERMANY

The 1848 revolution extended into the German lands in March where it took roots in both the Central German area and at Wien. The German 1848 revolution was meant to introduce liberal constitutional regimes in all German states and also to create a space of negotiation for the unification of the German world. The space of negotiation was created as the Frankfurt Parliament.

Nevertheless the problem of multi-nationalism affected the 1848 revolution in Germany even outside the Austrian as the design of German unification had to tackle the problem of the Slavic peoples intermingled with German-speaking population, notably the Czechs and the Poles. An All-German Assembly which was open in March 1848 was the Frankfurt Parliament.

In May 1848, The Frankfurt Parliament was transformed into a Nation Constituent Assembly which was meant to prepare a Constitution for a Unified Germany, elaborating the very political framework of Unification. All throughout the working of the Frankfurt Parliament were marked by the confrontation between two visions: Gross Deutschland and Klein Deutschland.

The first was elaborated with a view creating a German state including Austria with a part Austrian population ruled by it, also including Slavic inhabited areas in other parts of the German world. The Small German view was a more modest one meant to create a Germany for the Germans with Austrians left outside.

In the latter state, the March revolution led to the fall from power of Metternich and to the abdication of Ferdinand the First. The throne was taken by his son Franz Joseph who stayed in power up to his death in 1916, monarch acting himself as a monarch as long as he lived on the throne as the British Queen Victoria and putting his stand according to the entire era. As in Germany proper, so in Austria, the liberal democratic revolution clashed with the national problem. The latter issue made itself felt most strongly in two areas:

1.) In the area of the intermingling between Germans and Italians in the South: from March to August 1848 a revolutionary holy war of the Italians against the Habsburg monarchy was fought being ended with a defeat of the Italian insurgence

2.) From the same standpoint was the Eastern part of the country; here the Vienna revolution clashed with a similar revolutionary movement of the Hungarians which started at Budapest also in March. The Hungarian revolutionary political class proclaimed a Hungarian national state, laying down for the peoples of that region very generous constitutional freedoms which were meant to apply irrespective of the nationality of the people.

## AUSTRIA

However, the Hungarians were faced with the same predicament that the Vienna revolution itself had had to face. Non-Hungarian peoples of the area refused to get absorbed into the envisioned Hungarian national state. Most energetic was the reaction of the Romanians in Transylvania who started a revolutionary war against the Budapest revolution. Eventually, the Romania peasant revolutionary army established an alliance with the Austrian Imperial army in order to curtail the Hungarian design. This situation led to a crisis of the revolutionary forces all throughout the empire. As such, the Austrian revolution was drawn to an end in May 1849 when the Hungarian army was harshly defeated in the territory of North-Western Transylvania by a combined Austrian and Russian army.

The defeat of the revolution led to a temporary ascendancy of Austria within the German world. This situation was sealed by the Treaty of Olmutz of 1850 by which the German Confederation was restored around the Court of Vienna. Within the Austrian empire itself, the revolution was followed by a neo-absolutist regime, all discussion about constitutional checks on the imperial power being put aside. Neo-absolutism would survive up to 1859. In that year, Austria launched a period of constitutional experiments. The experiments of the sort also addressed the problem of multi-nationalism and the Vienna Court originally came with a generous design of territorial autonomies that were to take in view both historical and ethno-national factors. The design applied most specifically to the Eastern part of the monarchy and more precisely to the relations between the Hungarian political class and the non-Hungarian peoples of the area.

In Transylvania, the imperial policies led to the elaboration of a design for the Helvetisation of the province that is its structuring on the bases of equality between the Hungarians, the Romanians, the Germans and the Szeklers. This view was put forward consistently by the 1863 Diet of Sibiu with the Romanian majority. Soon thereafter, Austria faced new military defeats in its confrontations with Prussia coming in 1864 and 1866. Following that, the imperial court of Franz Joseph elaborated another view which rested on a strong alliance with the Hungarian political class. This led in 1867 to the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian dualism. The links between the two components of Austria-Hungary were provided first by the person of the emperor who also ruled in his capacity as a Hungarian king. Second, the Austrian and the Hungarian halves of the monarchy were united in matters of foreign policy and national defense, each field being served by one common ministry.

## ITALY

The period after 1850 was dominated by the processes of national unification in the Italian Peninsula and in Germany. Italy came first in this respect. Italian unification took place around the kingdom of Piedmont placed in the North-Western part of the Peninsula bordering France. By the time, Piedmont had emerged as the most advanced of the Italian states in terms economic and political. In 1852, the office of Prime-Minister in Piedmont came to be occupied by the politician Camillo Cavour, a figure with a liberal orientation but however opposed to the radical democratic discourse of the previous revolutionary era. Cavour turned his back to the political culture of the carbonari societies and to the spirit of Giuseppe Mazzini the radical democratic ideologist of the Italian unification. Accordingly, Cavour set on a design for uniting Italy from above without making recourse to the mobilization of the masses. The first stage in the political venture of Cavour consisted in strengthening Piedmont as an actor of international relations and establishing as such his state as a great power of Europe.

The first success on this road came in 1854 to 1856 when Cavour managed to enlist Piedmont together with Britain and France as member of the anti-Russian coalition in the Crimean War. The war was fought on Russian territory in order to prevent Russia from expending further its domination in South-Eastern Europe to the detriment of the declining Ottoman Empire. The defeat of Russia in the Crimean War accordingly meant a victory for Cavour. Then in 1858, Cavour established a close alliance with the France of Napoleon the Third which was targeted against Austria. Pressured diplomatically, Austria declared a war to the French Piedmontist alliance in 1859. The war already mentioned was a defeat for Austria which was forced to give up a part of the Italian inhabited territories dominated.

**TREATY OF TORINO:** Originally, Napoleon the Third occupied for France a territory placed in the Central part of Northern Italy, that of Lombardy with the capital at Torino. The territory of Lombardy was then exchanged by France with Piedmont. In exchange for Lombardy, Piedmont gave to France the

territories of Nice and Savoy which were largely French speaking inhabited, The territorial exchange was established by the Treaty of Torino of 1860.

### **CAVOUR VS. GARIBALDI:**

At that juncture, the politics of Cavour came to be confronted with a rival movement for Italian unification. This one was democratically oriented and focused on the grassroots mobilizations of the people. The leader of the latter movement was Giuseppe Garibaldi who stood firmly in the tradition of Mazzini and of the carbonari society. In May 1860, Mazzini left Piedmont with a small fleet carrying an army of 1000 peoples landing in Sicily on the territory of the kingdom of Naples, itself ruled at the time but a branch of the French Bourbon dynasty. The Bourbon authorities in Sicily did not take a serious reaction. A large part of the population contemplated the events passively while the largest part of the local political class joined the forces of Garibaldi. The context and the temper of the events are memorably described in the great historical novel "The Leopard" written in the 1950s by Lanpedusa. From Sicily, Garibaldi went on the Italian mainland, deep into the territory of the kingdom of Naples, scoring there the same kind of successes. Advancing towards central Italy, the revolutionary army of Garibaldi threatened to attack the Papal state. However, Papacy was at the time a close ally of Napoleon the Third, something which naturally impaired the relations between France and Cavour. In such a situation, Cavour was obliged to take a military reaction drawing the Piedmontist forces from the North towards Central and Southern Italy. Here, on the field, Cavour had to fight a war on three fronts: he faced the militias of the Papal state. At the same time, he fought against the Bourbon Army of the kingdom of Naples and third he had to fight against the Garibaldian forces which were animated by a different ideology of Italian unification; remarkably, Cavour got to upper-hand in all the three confrontations. Following that, Cavour organized a series of plebiscitary consultations of the population in most areas of Italy asking to the people a support for his moderate line of politics. As a result, Garibaldi was obliged to give up and to subscribe to the line of Cavour.

In 1861, the Bourbon army capitulated and the whole of kingdom of Naples was accordingly annexed by Piedmont. Following that, a series of other Italian territories joined the Piedmontist dominated Italy. Most importantly, the emerging Italian kingdom annexed the Duchy of Parma previously led by a branch of the Bourbon dynasty and the territories of Modena and Toscana, previously dominated by Austria who could not control them anymore. The Papal state itself shifted to the united Italy the provinces of Umbria and Romagna. As a result, on March 1861, the king of Piedmont, Victor Emanuel the Second crowned himself as the king of Italy and he was to remain on the throne up to 1878. In 1861, the most important part of Italian unification was thus accomplished. Two important territories were still left outside. The first was the Papal state still covering a significant territory around the city of Rome. The Second was the province of Venetto still controlled by Austria. In 1866, Italy got into an alliance with Prussia as part of the war with Austria. Following the Prussian victory, Italy obtained Venice; for the time being, the Italian state put aside its claims to other smaller territories still in Austrian hands. These were South Tirol and Istria. The latter placed at the borderline between Italy and Croatia. Tirol and Istria were to constitute the core of the political programme entitled Irredenta which consisted in the Italian anti-Austrian claims invoked in context of diplomatic tensions deep into the years of WWI. In 1870, Italy took advantage of the defeat of France in the French-German war of the time, occupying as a result the Papal state and allowing to the Papacy only the Vatican district of Rome.

### **THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY:**

#### **COMPARISON WITH THE ITALIAN UNIFICATION AROUND PIEDMONT:**

The German unification was accomplished around Prussia in the same way as Italian Unification proceeded around Piedmont. However, Prussia did not stay in relation to the whole of Germany in the

same position that Piedmont occupied in relation to the whole of Italy. Unlike Piedmont who was the most Western and most developed of Italian states, Prussia was the most Eastern German state, much less developed than other components of the German world in all areas of economy, society, politics and culture except one of them, namely military power. Prussia was economically backward with a small bourgeoisie and only an incipient industry outside the areas serving directly the military complex. Prussia society was dominated by the category of the lower landholding nobility or the Junkers. In terms of constitutional freedoms, at the beginning of unification, Prussia also ranked lower than most of the other German states.

#### **THE CHANCELLOR - OTTO VON BISMARCK:**

At the time of unification process, Prussia was ruled by king Wilhelm the First from 1861 to 1882. In 1862, the position of the Chancellor was occupied by prince Otto von Bismarck who was to act as the German counterpart of Cavour. Bismarck unified Germany from above, "by iron and blood"; following in the footsteps of Cavour in these steps, but however displaying a much more conservative and right wing vision than the Italian politician.

#### **ALLIANCE WITH RUSSIA:**

In 1863 Bismarck established an alliance with the Russian Empire giving help to the latter state in suppressing the Polish uprising of the same year. In the same year 1863, Austria convoked at Frankfurt its Assembly which was meant to obtain for itself formal powers as leaders of the German confederation. Bismarck sabotaged the Frankfurt Assembly.

#### **GERMAN-DANISH WAR:**

Instead, in the following year 1864, Bismarck started a war with the kingdom of Denmark, targeted on detaching from Denmark the provinces of Holstein and Schlefening. To this extent, Bismarck delivered a Pan-German discourse with demagogic overtones, obliging Austria to take part in the venture. The German - Danish war exhibited the military superiority of Prussia over Austria which was intimated by public opinion throughout the German world.

In 1865, an arrangement was settled for the temporary administration of the two provinces taken from Denmark. This was called the Convention of Gastein by which Schlefening was placed under the temporary mandate of Prussia and Holstein was symmetrically assigned to the administration of Austria.

#### **THE UNITARY PARLIAMENT AND THE PRUSSIA-AUSTRIAN WAR:**

Further in the same year, Bismarck issued a design for the reform of the German Confederation by the installation of a unitary Parliament. The design was on purpose overstressed and demagogic such as to oblige Austria to take a negative stance. Intern, Bismarck took advantage of this Austrian stance in order to denounce Austria as inimical to the view of German unification. On this account, Bismarck took an invasion of the province of Holstein under Austrian administration. Austria was obliged to come into the war, hence, the Prussia-Austrian war of 1866 which ended with a decisive and spectacular Prussia victory. Eventually as you remember, this defeat led Austria to the adoption of the Austro-Hungarian compromise within these territories.

#### **THE NORTH-GERMAN CONFEDERATION:**

Following that, Bismarck forced the dissolving of the German Confederation and its replacement with a North-German Confederation which left outside not only Austria, but also the Southern German states, most notably Bavaria. The creation of the North-German Confederation was also accompanied by

some territorial annexation in favour of Prussia. In 1867, a constitution of the Prussia dominated North-German Confederation was adopted with a federal presidency entrusted to the Prussia king, Wilhelm the First. The constitution also provided for the creation of a unitary Parliament called the Reichstag as also the creation of a federal executive body entitled "The Federal Council".

### **PRUSSIA VS. FRANCE:**

In order to obtain the full unification of Germany around Prussia, Bismarck had to fight against the opposition of France, the continental hegemon of the time which naturally disliked such a perspective. The solution Bismarck adopted was to drag France into a war and to this extent he exercised a series of diplomatic pressures and harassments on France.

Most annoying for Napoleon the Third was the candidature of a German prince from the ruling Prussian dynasty, namely Leopold of Hohenzollern, for the throne of Spain which was vacated at the time. Bismarck definitely did not take seriously this attempt (to impose a Hohenzollern on the throne of Spain) but nevertheless pressed on the issue in a demonstrative manner. France was obliged to strike back diplomatically, attacking Prussia for this design. The result was the French-German war of 1870 which ended with a decisive victory for Prussia. Bismarck managed to bring into the war the South-German states outside of the Confederation (including Bavaria). The entire military event was advertised/presented as an all-German enterprise. One result of the war was the end of the regime of the second empire in France.

### **OFFICIAL UNIFICATION:**

German armies took positions around the city of Paris which was left however to the administration of temporary/provisional French authorities. In January 1871, Bismarck proclaimed the creation of the German Empire in the French palace of Versailles (close to Paris), the Prussian king being coronated as an emperor of Germany under the name of Wilhelm the First.

### **THE LEAGUE OF THE THREE EMPERORS:**

The creation of the German Empire dramatically changed the balance of power in Europe with Germany now staying as the continental hegemon. Accordingly, after 1871, Bismarck took the initiative in terms of structuring Europe internationally around his empire. The original design he adopted came in 1872, when it was created the League of the Three Emperors which brought together United Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia. The league recalled the memories of the Holy Alliance created in 1815 as part of the Vienna system and following the defeat of Napoleon. The ideological discourse underling the new alliance also stood in continuity with the 1815 construction.

By the time, Europe has been faced with the first large-scale manifestation of socialism in the form of the Paris Commune, functioning in the French capital immediately after the defeat in the war and under the eyes of the German armies besieging Paris. Accordingly, the League of the Three Emperors was officially designed as to prevent the spread of the revolutionary tendencies. The League of the Three Emperors came under a crisis in 1875, the tensions coming from two sides:

1. There was in the West a bellicose and vengeful attitude taken by France
2. There stood the Balkan crisis which started with anti-Ottoman revolts in the provinces of Bosnia Herzegovina and of Bulgaria; the revolts were joined by the Principality of Serbia. The Ottoman authorities repressed the Balkan revolt in an extremely bloody manner, something which left a deep imprint on public opinion throughout Europe and particularly in the two Western countries of Britain and France.

As a result of this, Britain and France could not take anymore their traditional policy of supporting the Ottoman Empire and helping it to survive in face of the Russia pressures. In such circumstances, Russia was allowed to come into a new war against the Ottoman, the last of a long series started in 1711. The Russian-Turkish war was fought between 1877 and 1878 also involving on the Russian side the principalities of Romania. Ottoman defeat was followed in 1878 by the Treaty of San Stefano which created a very generously shaped Bulgarian state. Newly created Bulgaria was naturally a Russian satellite and for obvious reasons, such a situation was opposed by Austria which feared the further rise of Russia in the Balkans. By the tensions issuing/ensuing from this, the League of the Three Emperors was virtually terminated.

### **THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN:**

Moreover, Bismarck had to take an intervention in order to conciliate Austria-Hungary and Russia. To this extent he convoked to the representative of the powers in the Congress of Berlin on 1878. The Congress was also designed by Bismarck to address other issues and political tensions in Europe. By virtue of the Congress of Berlin, the Bulgarian state was reduced in size and Russia influence in the Balkans was diminished. There followed from this an estrangement between Russia and Germany and accordingly Bismarck had to look forward to find another international structure dominated by Germany.

### **THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE:**

To this extent in 1879, a close alliance was settled between Germany and Austria-Hungary. In 1882, the alliance was extended to include Italy thus bringing together the three states located along the vertical-medium axis of Europe. The diplomatic construction was labeled the Triple Alliance. In 1883, the Triple Alliance was consolidated, being joined by Romania who took part by virtue of a secret treaty never ratified in the Parliament.

### **BISMARCK RESIGNMENT AND THE ENTENTE:**

In 1888, the emperor Wilhelm the First was followed on the throne by his son, Wilhelm the Second. Several years afterwards in 1892, the newly installed emperor obliged Bismarck to resign after tenure of 3 decades. Following that moment, the stance taken by Germany in matters of international affairs changed considerably. Bismarck had acted as a conservative and order loving politician but nevertheless adopting a conciliating and pacifist attitude. Wilhelm the Second instead adopted from the beginning an aggressive stance, advertising Germany as a natural hegemon of Europe but also as a natural rival of Britain and France in terms of overseas colonial expansion. This new posture taken by Germany led in time to the creation of a second great international structure acting as a rival to the Triple Alliance.

In 1894 there came a French-Russian alliance (being equally dissatisfied with German policy) .

The great dilemma of international structuring at the time was the position of the British empire.

Starting with the 1850s, following the Crimean war, Britain had adopted a position which was labeled as the splendid isolation withdrawing herself from continental affairs and focusing steadily instead on colonial matters. Public opinion was highly supportive of the splendid isolation and generally wanted to leave the two alliances to deal the matters between them without British involvement.

The Splendid isolation was drawn to an end in 1898 by an event caused by problems of colonialism. In that year a British and a French army clashed on African territory in a place called Fashoda. An extended war between the two colonial powers was eventually avoided, but the debates surrounding the Fashoda incident opened a new stage in British foreign policy.

Following Fashoda, Britain pondered the relative advantages of the two options she could take in matters of foreign policy. An alliance with Germany and the Triple Alliance looked to many people as more a reasonable than an alliance with France which was the immediate competitor of Britain in matters of colonialism. Moreover, there existed tensions between Britain and Russia, the two powers meeting as rivals on the territories of Iran and China. However, against all these considerations, British governments evaluated very negatively the prospects of further German ascendancy. As a result, Britain joined the French-Russian axis.

In 1904, a French-British entente cordiale was created while in 1907 a British-Russian agreement on Asian matters was adopted, the Triple Entente coming out of this emerging as a rival to the Triple Alliance. The field was set thus for the outbreak of WWI. During the war, as we know, Italy and Romania would defect from the Triple Alliance coming later to join in 1916 the Entente forces.