

A. Introduction

This essay treats how Western civilization reacted after it recovered from the immediate shock of Napoleon. The course goal for this topic is **to evaluate the legitimation of human rights**. The difference between the legitimation of human rights and the legitimation of authority is in the focus. The former has an upward focus on the social scale; the latter has a downward focus where most of the people actually are.

B. Metternich (Do not pronounce the "h".)

The Age of Metternich began in 1815 with the Congress of Vienna, which formalized the end of French aggression in Europe. The Age of Metternich ended in 1848, when Metternich fled from office as the Austrian foreign minister. Metternich fled at a time of revolution, for fear of his life. During most of his career, which began in 1809, Metternich was the chief figure in European diplomacy.

As the Austrian representative, Metternich was host to the Congress of Vienna. He approached the great task of rebuilding Europe with truly conservative deliberations. Four men made most of the major decisions at Vienna: Metternich, Castlereagh, Talleyrand, and Czar Alexander I. Castlereagh, the British foreign minister, was less concerned with punishing the French than with preventing the appearance of new Bonapartes. Talleyrand was particularly good at using his nuisance value. His nation, France, was a defeated nation. Talleyrand had the skill to make Austria, England, and Russia jealous of one another. Talleyrand parleyed this jealousy into concessions for France.¹

Alexander I also contributed greatly his nuisance value. Whereas Talleyrand, though a Cardinal, had few religious scruples, Alexander I was too good to be true. Where the Talleyrand nuisance could not be safely ignored, Alexander's nuisance could be. A religious enthusiast, Alexander I prepared a "Holy Alliance" whereby all states would regenerate their policies by following, literally, the teachings of Jesus. In the final analysis, Alexander I was a poor politician, whether or not he was a good person.

In the first months at Vienna, it was not Alexander's romantic scheme of a Holy Alliance, but rather his devilish Polish policy that nearly disrupted the Congress. He wanted all, but only won part, of Poland. In the Germanies, the Congress provided for thirty-eight states, loosely grouped together in a confederation.

C. French Quarantine

France at first was given her enlarged boundaries of 1792, boundaries which included the minor territorial acquisitions made during the early days of the Revolution. Then came Napoleon's escape from Elba and the Hundred Days. The final settlement, reached after Waterloo, assigned France the frontiers of 1790, substantially those of the Old Regime. The French were to return Napoleon's art plunder to rightful owners, to pay a reasonably light indemnity, and to finance an army of occupation for not more than five years.

On "Map 22.1 Europe 1815" on page 764 in the sixth edition, note Prussia, Austria, Sardinia, Milan, Berlin, Budapest, Parma, and Saxony.² On the map "Physiography of Europe," on the front inside cover of the hardback edition, note: Plain of France, North German Plain, Carpathians, Black Earth Region, and Iranian Plateau. Knowledge of these places is essential for evaluating the legitimation of human rights.

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The Vienna diplomats did not so much punish France as take measures to quarantine any possible new French aggression. The Belgians and the Dutch, thus, were combined in the single kingdom of the Netherlands to the north. The Rhine Province of Prussia was established on the northeast and the expanded states of Switzerland and Piedmont were established on the east.

The Quadruple Alliance, signed in November 1815 by Britain, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, agreed to use force, if necessary, to preserve the Vienna settlement. This was a modest first step leading to the League of Nations and the United Nations.

In operation, the Quadruple Alliance never fulfilled the noble aims of Castlereagh. Because the Congress of Vienna attempted to stifle liberal and national aspirations, within five years there was new outburst of violence. The persistence of revolution forms the main theme through the political history of the Continental European states in the first half of the Nineteenth Century.

D. Spain

This course, as offered in the U. S., generally identifies U. S. interests with England. After that, Paris is placed in the cockpit of Europe, with Berlin, Moscow, Vienna, Rome, and Madrid holding less attention. Chambers likes Paris.

The history of the Spanish church from 1750 to 1850 marks a transition from an Old Regime monarchy to that of liberal constitutionalism. The Napoleonic wars wrenched the Church from the protective arms of the nobility. The new liberal government sold Church property and took over the ecclesiastical budget. Anticlericalism took hold as the frustrated clergy claimed civil supremacy.³

Religious practice changed. Before 1800, the Church had a type of unwritten social contract with the poor. Because the Church did not like the new liberal government, that contract with the poor broke apart after 1800. This left the poor open to new collectivist doctrines, such as that propounded by Karl Marx.

In Spain, the liberal human rights Constitution of 1812 was revoked by Ferdinand VII in exchange for a thoroughly reactionary policy. This change instigated a revolt in 1820. In 1822, Metternich arranged for suppressing the 1820 revolt. In 1823, a French army entered Spain and restored Ferdinand. After the French were gone, Ferdinand went back on his promises to be more liberal.

In 1832 Pope Gregory XVI declared the principle "that we must secure and guarantee to each one liberty of conscience; this is one of the most contagious of errors...To this is attached liberty of the press, the most dangerous liberty, an execrable liberty, which can never inspire sufficient horror"⁴ Marist Father and scholar, Ted Keating, observed, "Before Vatican II, the idea that social justice should influence the Vatican's foreign policy was laughable. It was exclusively a matter of institutional self-interest. That's changed."⁵

E. Conclusion

In this lesson, students have evaluated the legitimation of human rights. Human rights for the underclasses received a boost from the French Revolution. Europe, however, reacted with excessive authority to prevent future recurrences of the excess of liberty embodied in that Revolution. Students are reminded to read, study, think, and prepare a comment.

Supplement

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D. Spain (continued)

In 1832, Pope Gregory XVI condemned the principle "that we must secure and guarantee to each one liberty of conscience; this is one of the most contagious of errors... To this is attached liberty of the press, the most dangerous liberty, an execrable liberty, which can never inspire sufficient horror." His Holiness went on to declare the principle "false and absurd or rather mad."⁶

F. The Monroe Doctrine⁷

Things looked bad for human rights in Latin America. In 1823, James Monroe, knowing that the British opposed Spain reasserting her authority in the New World, unilaterally proclaimed the Monroe Doctrine. In his annual message to Congress in 1823, President James Monroe enunciated the dual principle that the U. S. would stay out of European affairs and that Europeans should stay out of American affairs. That is the Monroe Doctrine. John Quincy Adams, then serving as Secretary of State, actually drew up the doctrine. The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, enunciated in 1904, stated that the U. S. would intervene in Latin American affairs in order to keep the Europeans out. Latin Americans have come to regard the Monroe Doctrine as the basis for regarding the U. S. as the "Colossus of the North."

G. Latin America

No Latin American country tests the patience of the U. S. like Cuba. Jose Marti (1853-1895)⁸ was the intellectual behind the break by Cuba from Spain. His works merit continued study.⁹ Even before Lenin, Marti analyzed and denounced imperialist stages of capitalism. Marti rejected class struggle, yet united the workers to struggle for their own best interests. Marti only objected to excessive wealth based upon unfair wages, not to wealth and not to wages themselves.

Before 1923 few paid attention to Marti. From 1923 until 1934, Marti attracted student radicals for elements of rebellion, democracy, class collaboration, racial equality, economic and social justice, and socialism. Between 1934 and 1942, Marti was turned from an anti-imperialist hero into a national hero by the ruling elite. By 1952, Castro had found succor in Marti as he prepared to take over. Marti taught that part of the function of intellectuals was to raise consciousness. Marti fell in with modernism, characterized by sensitivity to change, a critical attitude, and defiance of social norms. Marti is revered throughout Latin America.

H. Balance of Power

The concept of "balance of power" is so difficult to understand that more is required. Balance of power means that the European nations kept each other from dominating, much as crabs keep each other from getting out of the basket. Just as when one crab starts to get out, the others pull it back, so when one country started to dominate, the others pulled it back. Just as the power relations in a basket of crabs keeps changing, so did the power relations in Europe similarly keep changing.

I. Conclusion

The incompatible inseparables at work here are those between violence and law, with Napoleon representing violence and Metternich law. With Metternich came peace in Europe for a century, from Waterloo to World War I. After a few decades, Metternich was followed by Bismarck, another master peacemaker.

Comments on the Seventh Edition of Chambers, pages 760-773

In the opinion of the professor, Chambers is the most scholarly textbook on the market. Chambers well represents mainstream thinking in the history profession. The professor, however,

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disagrees in many significant ways with mainstream thinking. Some of these disagreements are set forth above and others in the following comments.

Page Column

Paragraph
Line

0763 1 1 last *quixotic* is pronounced kwik-'sa-ik but Quixote is pronounced ke-ho-te

0765 1 2 15 "...he even banned slave traffic..."

Chambers describes this far better on page 707 as part of a slave rebellion. In a few words, W.E.B. Du Bois explained, Toussaint-Louverture "...rose to leadership through a bloody terror, which contrived a Negro `problem' for the Western Hemisphere, intensified and defined the anti-slavery movement, became one of the causes, and probably the prime one, which led Napoleon to sell Louisiana for a song, and finally, through the interworking of all these effects, rendered more certain the final prohibition of the slave-trade by the United States in 1807."¹⁰

0765 1 1. 5 "In Germany..."

Since Germany is not yet united, the professor would prefer "In the Germanies..."

0765 1 2 last "...popular opinion."

0765 2 1 7 "...public opinion..."

0767 1 1 1 "...public opinion..."

The professor senses a subtle shift here from regarding the people as common and needing authority to regarding the people as the source of legitimate authority.

0767 caption Eugène Delacroix

See another of his paintings on page 799.

0767 Chronology box 1817 Wartburg

"Wartburg" is not in the index.
versus caption on page 769
versus

0769 2 2 8 "...Wartburg Festival."

0768 2 3 7-8 "...by the 1840s Magyar had replaced German... in Hungary"

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versus page 770-771, "By 1833 most German governments except Austria had joined Prussia's customs union..." Evidently Hungary was not part of the *Zollverein*,

0772 2 2 13-14 "...dismissing some leading professors."

As best the Professor can tell, academic freedom as known in the United States is unique to the United States.

Footnotes

¹ A brief summary is provided in Enno E. Kraehe, "AHR Forum: A Bipolar Balance of Power," The American Historical Review, Vol. 97, No. 3 (June 1992), page 710.

² Page 706 in the sixth edition, 764 in the seventh.

³ Richard Herr, review of William J. Callahan, Church, Politics, and Society in Spain, 1750-1874, The American Historical Review, Vol. 90, No. 3 (June 1985), pp. 705-706.

⁴ John L. Allen, Jr., "Church's human rights record a mixed bag: Much progress since UN Declaration, but contradictions remain," *National Catholic Reporter*, December 11, 1998, page 13, column 1.

⁵ John L. Allen, Jr., "Church's human rights record a mixed bag: Much progress since UN Declaration, but contradictions remain," *National Catholic Reporter*, December 11, 1998, page 14, column 3.

⁶ John L. Allen, Jr., "Church's human rights record a mixed bag: Much progress since UN Declaration, but contradictions remain," *National Catholic Reporter*, December 11, 1998, page 13, columns 2-3.

⁷ Judith S. Levey and Agnes Greenhall, editors, The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia, (New York: Avon Books, 1983), p. 560.

⁸ Judith S. Levey and Agnes Greenhall, editors, The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia, (New York: Avon Books, 1983), page 520

⁹ Sheldon B. Liss, review of Christopher Abel and Nissa Torrents, editors, Jose Marti: Revolutionary Democrat in The American Historical Review, 93 (October 1983): across the center but page number unrecorded.

¹⁰ John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans*, 8th ed., (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), page 102.