

# Changing perception of "just war" in the 19th century European society

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**Abstract-** Military conflicts change society, no matter how deeply it is involved in them. Recognition of the appropriateness of military action by the society is one of the essential characteristics that to be reckoned with. Since the 19th century in Europe a new, dual perception of the military component of foreign policy formed, largely continuing until now. The perception of a just war is becoming a key to determine success or failure as in foreign policy as in the interior that is also important. Wide spread new social ideologies that came to replace the purely religious perception of the world determined the change of priorities in both the political and daily life. 19 century military conflicts have contributed to the more active reaction of society to state affairs, the common man became one of the major actors in world politics<sup>1</sup>

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The first scientist who published more or less profound reflection about the influence of the military conflicts on social relations was Scotsman Adam Fergusson. In 1766, he introduced the "Essay on the History of the Civil Society", which distinguished the "trigger-happ" and "commercial" peoples. In his view, society, based on military prowess, giving way to commercial society (Ferguson, 1782). The idea was supported by H. Spencer, Charles Fourier, and H. de Saint-Simon. But the reality destroyed their theoretical calculations. In the 19th century, European states had participated in 154 military conflicts. 24 took place on a continent, and not exceeding the duration 2-3 years each. They included both interstate collision (Italo-Austrian, Danish-Prussian, Franco-Prussian, etc.) and civil wars and uprisings (Polish, Greek, Hungarian, etc.). A total of military conflicts in Europe lasted for about 40 years. Armed clashes in other parts of the world were more numerous and lengthy. To one degree or another, the Europeans were involved in the conflicts, the duration of which 130 reaches from 2 to 47 years length (Caucasian war); a number of these clashes had recurrent nature (1-2 Opium wars, 1-2 Afghan wars, etc.). A permanent participant of wars of the 19th century was the United Kingdom that participated in 45% of all military engagements (France- in 18%, Russia-in 9%, Austria – in 7%, Prussia (Germany)- in 5%) (author's calculation). It should be noted that on the territory of England itself there was no military actions (with the exception of the

Irish conflict); land army was small, not modern and not popular in society.

Thus, in 19 century Europe a situation characterized by significantly from prior periods. Firstly, in foreign policy to the forefront colonial wars that had previously been "collateral" events of European affairs (war of the Spanish succession, the 7-year-old war, etc.); now often European powers were allies (and not rivals, as before) in the fight against "uncivilized peoples". Secondly, the character of the war changed- on the foreground motives of a social nature, such as the definition of national identity or the requirement of social justice. These new developments have influenced the perception of the European community, the war, the rule of law and justice. Military conflicts are divided between those that have a direct and indirect impact on society. The former include the declared war in the territory of the country (or in the immediate vicinity), which involved a significant amount of the population (right through the mobilization and participation in hostilities, and indirectly, in the rear, but experiencing the conditions of war time) and apparently significantly alter people's living conditions. The second is geographically far-flung, unannounced, not having a direct impact on the population of Europe. These include numerous colonial conflicts.

Napoleonic war seriously affected the balance of power in Europe. If viewed from a military point, glory of the Spanish and French armies was in the past; England had traditionally had a small and weak land army, being devoted only to its fleet; Russian armed forces were busy with internal problems. Therefore, Europe gets an opportunity at least for some period of time not having to worry about the threat of military confrontation on the European continent. Only the beginning of the military reforms in Russia, Great Britain and, especially, Germany once again draw attention to the war, as one of the ways to solve Europe's problems.

In European society the conviction that war is unacceptable has grown under the influence of danger emerged within the society, widespread throughout Europe and have become a significant factor in the history of the 19 century. It was terrorism. German radical Karl Heinzen, convinced that for the sake of the higher interests of mankind, there is justification for the destruction of tens, hundreds and thousands of people, in 1848 initiated a doctrine called "philosophy of the bomb", which soon found an enthusiastic followings (Heinzen, 2006, p. 98). His ideas developed a "dynamite apostle" Johann Most. By the end of the 19th century, Europe was engulfed in a

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terrorist war against the Kings and Prime Ministers, high-ranking officials and ordinary people, who were random victims. Internal problems demanded their immediate solution and terrorism has become one of them, forcing the authorities to focus on solving internal political problems.

Most military conflicts, with the participation of leading European States after the Napoleonic wars, took place in other parts of the world, or on the periphery of Europe. In a society have come to regard war as unworthy of civilized nations (Raymond, 1921, p. 74), which you can sublimate in competition on the Exchange, the "white man's burden" on development of the backward peoples", artistic creativity, finally-in sports. "Civilized nations do not fight" - this was the slogan of the European society of 19 century.

Religious, intellectual, scientific and business communities have turned to pacifism, seeing in it the basis for a future life. Peace societies were established throughout the world, philanthropic and religious movements expanded, there was a large amount of literature devoted to the exception of the military element from society. Even a contest for the best work on pacifism was held, a victory was won by Konstantin Peque, arguing that progress requires a peaceful environment. European society has changed qualitatively, according to the idealistic notions of the power of the mind and its sweeping authority over force of instinct. An active pacifist Eugénie Niboje (Ejeni Niboye) was convinced that three decades of peace on the European continent since 1815, brought to improve the lives of people far more good than all the Napoleonic war and the improvement of living conditions was proof of that (Cooper, 1998, p. 71, 73).

Events of major importance to the progressive development of Europe become world exhibitions to demonstrate the achievements of human thought and activity. The slogans of world exhibitions (the first exhibition in London in 1851, was held under the slogan "Let all peoples are working together on a great deal of human improvement"), the name of the pavilions ("Temple of peace" at the Paris exhibition of 1855), passed the belief in the omnipotence of the person who is able to transform the world, making it safe and easy.

Many years without war erased from the historical memory reminiscences of horrors, leaving only some heroic images of the past. On this basis, formed the attitude to a military conflict as to the game, entertainment, fun (Hobsbawm, 1999, p.438-439). J. Trevelyan, wrote that the British were bored with peace, so they initially enthusiastically greeted the news of the Crimean War. On one cartoon of that time wearing a boxer bodysuits British lion sent in knock-out awkward Russian bear. Symbolic comparison with a sports contest, which has not happened before. The same situation was observed in Russia. For example, during the Crimean War, during the battle for Malakhov Kurgan all secular society gathered with picnic baskets and umbrellas from the sun to look at the battle sitting on the hills like in the amphitheater.

Sobering came very quickly. And while the notion of a "contusion" in medical documentation appeared only during the First World war, the first shell-shocked were in the 19th century. As soon as society felt negative effects of military

actions, it changed the attitude to the war, which could no longer be ignored. One of the significant factors that during the Crimean War the British and the French Government has not implemented their intentions of extensive seizure and the weakening of Russia were casualties in the armies. Especially scary was the winter of 1854-1855, when thousands of British and French soldiers died from gastric diseases, pneumonia, lack of medical care and so it came to queries in the English House of Commons (Statistics; Uralnis. 1994, p.98-100). In France, in March 1854, Aix-en-Provence inhospitably met its warriors. A soldier "sitting on the sidewalk to the right post in the hand, cries of weariness and annoyance" was frequent spectacle here. Only the intervention of the authorities could break the persistence of aristocrats, merchants, small landlords, who did not want to give shelter to the military men. Only school boys arrange them a standing ovation. And as soon as the war ended, it ceased to interest the public.

Even more significant in terms of changing the perception of the military conflict was the Franco-Prussian War. Permanent President of Peace Congresses Victor Hugo refused to come to Switzerland in 1872 to participate in a meeting of the Geneva Peace Society: "in our time, the war has created severe conditions that threaten civilization as a whole. Our future is filled with hate. Now at least odd to talk about peace".

Two weeks after beginning the Franco-Prussian War, gaining victory, one by one, the German Army suddenly started to experience strong weakening morale. In the battle between the villages of Gravelott and Saint-Privat (on the road from Verdun to Metz) Kaiser, Moltke and Bismarck in desperation watched as the Prussian infantry started a stampede (then, theoretically, Prussian troops defeated in this battle, because the French had retreated from their positions) (Palmer, 1998, p. 269). The contradiction between residual memories (historical memory) about the war as something heroic, and the reality was reflected in a new public consciousness to turn weapons against their own Government (Ollivier, 1914, p.397, 402). In France it has become a revolution from below, the rest from above (in the words of the Russian Emperor Alexander II-"any further delay would be detrimental to the State").

War was not just a male thing. During and after the Crimean War in Europe saw a splash of feminism, and women were more attracted to autonomy, sense of freedom, pride of usefulness and relevance, with no particular understanding and experience about combat wound, death, help. During the Franco-Prussian War, the famous French actress Sarah Bernhardt organized hospital in the theater Odeon. As her friend Marie Colombier said, Bernard was ready to take the revolver and went into an ambush close to the defensive structures, to make herself a serious wounded man, and then she would have treated him so well.

But Bertha von Suttner, the first female Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, writes in her book "Lay Down Your Arms!" about the life of a young woman, how she changed attitudes towards the war once it becomes a real event in the life of a particular person. The heroine at first romanticizes war influenced by the books and stories of her father – military general, but she has some simple biological horror experiences, learning that her

husband should be sent to the front, and he can be killed (Suttner, 1914).

In 19 century war finally ceased to be solely the affair of sovereigns, "high politics" beginning to be seen by society as a personal matter (thanks in large part to the transition from salaried and professional armies to universal conscription). A French diplomat J. Cambon with dismay and indignation wrote about the intervention of the masses in the subtle art of diplomacy, including the danger of manipulating public opinion to carry out foreign policy (for example, using newspapers by Napoleon III and Bismarck for provocation, respectively, Crimean and Franco-Prussian wars) (Cambon, 1926, p. 68-69)

Thus, the real war by destructing traditional way of life, bringing death, suffering reveals the attitude towards war. It is a clear manifestation of the paintings of social transformation in society (Bismarck: "war won high school teacher"); changes in the social hierarchy of values, significance for the country of individuals.

The second option is connected with the influence of the distant war, which does not affects a large part of society directly. In this case, it was romanticized, was seen as a heroic event so that has continued to maintain the former meaning. The impact of the war was felt mainly in the "leisure" part of life - when reading about events at the front in the newspaper at the breakfast table, the discussion in the club or visiting day at the salon, in a restaurant or Café on Saturday afternoon or generally not noticing (Paterson, 2008, p.323).

On a distant colonial war they earned political capital, made a rapid career, climbed the social ladder, though not especially want to join the fighting on the battlefield (Martineau, 1864). Such steel for the Europeans, colonial wars in India, China and Africa, in Latin America. In Europe they mainly found their expression in the interest to the "exotic" things - from furniture (Chinese screens, the Ottomans), objects (vases), clothing and accessories (kimonos and fans) to artistic preferences (travelogues and drama like "Madame Butterfly"; interest in Japanese painting). It should be also noted that the "exotic" exhibits at international exhibitions were placed in the "own", along with the mother country, representing the diversity of the social life of the vast Empire. Interest was warmed by the exhibiting gems, rare in Europe, objects or historical values. In France, for example, in 1850s anthropology became rather popular (McPhee, 2004, p.232-233). This approach has created a sense of confidence in the military policy, the justification for war victims, that strengthened the opinion about the fairness of the military action there.

Minor loss to the Europeans in the colonial wars were another cause for the acquiescence with the actions of their Government abroad. The total number of soldiers and officers of the European armies killed in the colonial wars of 1815-1897 was 106 000 men (Uralis, 1994, p.125) . On all continents in the 19th century it was possible to find the graves of 88 000 Britons who have died for their country. In the same period, the British mines annually died 1430 British miners and 165000 (more than 10% of the workforce) were injured (Hobsbawm, 1999, p.440).

The loss of the natives was much greater, but few paid attention. Only the British religious pacifists (for example, led by Henry Richard) advocated the recognition of the rights of local populations of the countries of Asia and Africa and for the establishment of peaceful relations with "the less developed peoples". A distant war, taking away the lives of local residents, struggling for their freedom and independence, is considered to be equitable among Europeans, speakers on the Enlightenment position, social contract, but distributing these principles only in their society. However, the war corresponds to the term "just war" as long as the Europeans get triumph (Kingston, 1901, p. 153). When Chinese troops defeated the French under Lang-Son (March 28, 1885), indignation in France was so high that it led to the fall of the Cabinet of Jules Ferry.

So it is not surprising a whole series of small wars at the turn of the century that took place not only for the sake of military, political, geopolitical benefits, but also with a large part of the impact of domestic needs. These included the need to consolidate society in mind economic problems, political and social constraints, the search for national identity (Cramb, 1915, p.121-122). The war was demanded because of the socio-psychological atmosphere in society-a slow, quiet, nicely arranged life could not meet ambitious, passionate members of society.

In 19 century social and military influences became mutually conditioned. The war continues significantly change society, but now, and vice versa-the military dimension of international politics began to be heavily influenced by the entire society. This was due to the revitalization of public life in all its levels and in all areas, active social mobility, a revolutionary technological and economic development.

In 19 century war in Europe was perceived as an unfair, unlawful means State policies. First, it prevented economic development and material conditions of life of the population. Secondly, military conflicts have opened opportunities for radical groups and segments of the population, who were marginalized with the rapid socio-economic development. Thirdly, the development of humanistic thought, education system reinforce the ideas of pacifism and "war to end all wars" in the public consciousness. Fourthly, in the structure of society and everyday life introduces new features that demand the quiet flow of events.

Colonial conflicts were regarded as legitimate and fair (Kingston, 1901, p. 42). First, they are cost effective at relatively low cost, including human (number of affected local residents in accounting is not taken). Secondly, the success of own development found its expression in a certain sense of messianism, which was defined as "the white man's burden". Thirdly, these conflicts could be realized remaining sense of romanticism, a pioneering, though there were purely pragmatic motives-careerism (especially since the military reform, established a more broad prospects; or for inventors and engineers, whose numbers grew faster over the arranged Europe needs). Fourth, opinion about the "others" as "unwise", undeveloped nations allow violence similar to corporal punishment against children, and as it was believed in - for their own benefit.

Thus, since the 19 century in European society, increasingly show interest in foreign policy, under the influence of that military conflicts changes the perception of the justice of the war. It is different from the concepts of international law theorists, starting with Hugo Grotius and A. Gentili. Now conflict perceived as fair, if it does not affect directly the inhabitants of Europe, but brings dividends in the form of Imperial pride, greatness of the nation, economic benefits of daily life. The war waged on its own territory is considered unjust, wrong in any case despite cause, public interest. War in Europe almost all ended in revolution-a revolution from above or below. So, they are unjust as from the enemy side but also from their own Government. The result of the impact of armed conflict on the public perception of the fairness of war as a means of State policy would force European Governments to seek legal justification for foreign policy, resulting in the convening of the Hague conferences. On the other hand, the European social psychology of war will continue to be an integral part of life, "which may make sense". So are military confrontations that take place somewhere far away, against "barbarian peoples", which gives an additional heroic and romantic aura, filled with national pride.

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