1.1 nationalism is about relatability
1.2 big states tend to separate
1.3 bismarck removed austria to keep germany relatable

2.1 culture creates nationalism
2.2 unification of germany and italy changed europe

how to get luck? polish werent

7

The Unifications of Italy and Germany

Look for:
- Creation of the nation-state
- Bismarck's shenanigans with Austria
- The mess of Austria-Hungary

With the unification of Italy and Germany, the 1860s saw the emergence of two important new states in central Europe. At roughly the same time that a civil war was testing the unity of the United States of America, statesmen in Europe were using warfare and civic nationalism to forge powerful new nation-states out of a disparate collection of smaller political units. As we saw in chapter 4, the Peoples' Spring of 1848 had unleashed forces of nationalism and liberalism, but these forces were contained and reversed by a conservative reaction and the reestablishment of autocratic rule. In 1848, nationalism was popular—from the streets—and this threatened and frightened the conservative establishments of Europe. But even within that establishment, there was support for the creation of unified, centralized states. A decade after the popular revolutions, strong figures in Germany and Italy acted to create national states from above, using the modern technology of warfare to do so. The creation of a united Germany and a united Italy changed the face of, and the balance of power in, Europe. After the completion of Bismarck's wars of German unification in 1870, Germany was the largest and strongest state in Europe.

NATIONALISM AND THE NATION-STATE

As we saw in chapter 4, the nation-state, a political unit bringing together most people of one nationality, had begun emerging in Europe in the sixteenth century, but the process was a slow one. Before 1860, there were

only two major nation-states in Europe, England and France. Other nation-states like Portugal, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries existed, but these were mostly small and peripheral countries. In central Europe, most political units were mini-states, such as Hanover, Bavaria, Tuscany, and Sicily. From the sixteenth century, strong monarchs began forging strong national states by breaking the power of local lords and consolidating governmental power. After the French Revolution of 1789, popular nationalism became another force for national unity, independence, and the creation of nation-states.

The whole concept of a nation was relatively new and derived in part from Enlightenment ideas of popular sovereignty and the spread of literacy, which accompanied the Industrial Revolution and urbanization. A **nation** is a group of people with a common culture, a sense of identity, and political aspirations. Aspects of culture can include language, religion, ethnicity, traditions, customs, and history. Those common characteristics are not sufficient to constitute a nation, however, which also requires the psychological (or social psychological) element of identity and aspiration: A people has to feel these common ties to be a nation.

This sense of national identity was fostered in the nineteenth century by artists, writers, musicians, and linguists in almost every national culture. In Poland, for example, which was part of the Russian Empire at the time, the romantic and patriotic poet Adam Mickiewicz (see box in chapter 4) penned an epic poem called *Pan Tadeusz* (1834) that depicted a rural and idyllic society. At the end of this epic, young people don the uniform of the Polish Napoleonic army and proclaim the peasant a free citizen. The Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala*, was a compilation of folk stories and verses first published in the nineteenth century, at a time when Finland was dominated by Sweden and Russia. These literary works, like many others all over the Continent, helped define national groups and give them a sense of identity and pride. Musicians also contributed to this process, weaving folk tunes and themes into their compositions; witness, for instance, the mazurkas and polonaises of the Polish composer Frederic Chopin and the nationalist tone poem *Finlandia* by the Finn, Jean Sibelius. At the same time, linguists began compiling dictionaries and grammars of many languages, many of them appearing in written form for the first time in the nineteenth century. As ethnic groups began acquiring a literary, artistic, and musical heritage, as well as a written language, they increasingly recognized their common identity, and this shaped their aspirations for their own political communities. This was nationalism.

When nationalism arises in multinational states or empires, such as the Ottoman, Russian, or Austro-Hungarian empires, national groups typically want to break away from the larger empire, which is dominated by other nationalities, such as the Turks, Russians, or Germans. This nation-

BOX 7.1
Verdi and Italian Independence

The great Italian composer Giuseppe Verdi wrote operas with nationalistic themes (including his popular masterpiece *Aida*), leading many to consider him the musical figurehead of the struggle for Italian independence and unification. In his third opera, *Nabucco* (1842), the chorus of Hebrews lamenting their captivity in Babylon was, for Italians under Austrian rule, a thinly veiled reference to their own longing for freedom. Verdi's name even became a kind of codeword for those supporting Victor Emmanuel, then king of Sardinia, to assume leadership of all of Italy: ***V****ittorio* ***E****manuele* ***R****e* ***D'I****talia* (Victor Emmanuel King of Italy). Victor Emmanuel did become king of Italy in 1861, and Verdi himself was elected a member of the newly created Chamber of Deputies.

alist **separatism** is, of course, a threat to the survival of the empire and so is naturally resisted by its rulers. Nationalism led to the breakup of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century and the emergence of new nation-states like Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Romania out of that empire. It also roiled the Russian Empire throughout the nineteenth century (especially in Poland) and almost brought down the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1848.

The popular revolts of 1848, sometimes tinged with socialism, had frightened European rulers and aristocrats and even the new middle class. However, currents of nationalism stirred within the middle and upper classes too. Often, this nationalism took a very different form, called **irredentism**, which is the demand for territory belonging to another state. This top-down nationalism, used by national leaders making irredentist claims, fostered the creation of unified states in Germany and Italy.

PRELUDE TO UNIFICATION: THE CRIMEAN WAR

Before turning to the unifications of Italy and Germany, we should mention briefly another event that had some bearing on those events—the Crimean War (1853–1856). This war was named after the Crimean peninsula, part of the Russian Empire that juts out into the Black Sea. Britain and France launched an attack there to assist Turkey in resisting Russian claims on Ottoman Turkish territory and the Russian tsar's efforts to extend protection over Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire. The Kingdom of Sardinia also joined in the war against Russia, mainly to win support from England and France for the idea of a united Italy. Related to all of this was the issue of control over the Dardanelles, the critical straits

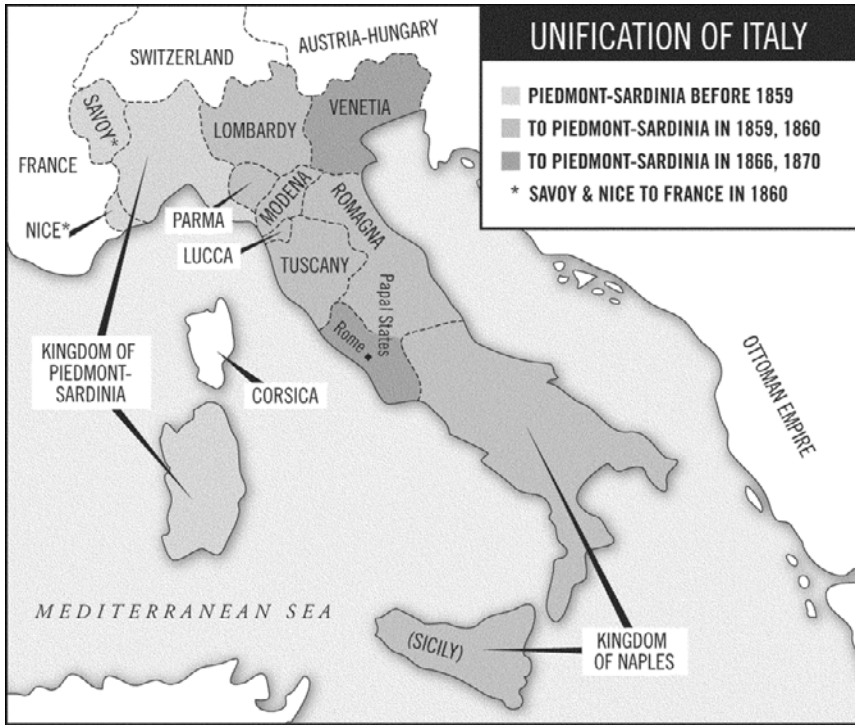
that connect the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. The conflict was a nasty one of trench warfare, cholera, and huge casualties, a foreshadowing of what was to come a half century later in World War I. It was the first war covered by newspaper correspondents and the first in which women served as army nurses. Florence Nightingale became a legend when she commanded the British nursing services during the war.

Russia's defeat in the war led to the neutralization of the Black Sea, the extension of joint European protection over Ottoman Christians, and a European guarantee of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. In addition, Romania and Serbia were recognized as self-governing principalities and soon thereafter became independent states. Even more important, however, was the impact of this war on the European balance of power. Russia's defeat in the war and Austria's abstention from it weakened the two states that were most determined to preserve the peace settlements of 1815 and to prevent change. Furthermore, the Sardinian gambit succeeded in advancing the Italian question.

MAZZINI, CAVOUR, AND THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

Before 1860, the Italian peninsula was a patchwork of about a dozen large states and a number of smaller ones. Sardinia (also known as Piedmont) in the northwest, had the only native Italian dynasty in Italy. Lombardy and Venetia had, since 1814, belonged to the Austrian Empire, which also dominated Tuscany, Parma, and Modena. Across the middle part of Italy were a cluster of small Papal States controlled by the Roman Catholic Church at the Holy See in Rome. In the south, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Naples and Sicily) was ruled by a branch of the Bourbon dynasty of France.

The Italian movement for national unification was known as *Il Risorgimento* (the resurgence) after a newspaper founded in 1847 by Count Camillo di Cavour (1810–1861), the prime minister of Sardinia after 1852. It had earlier roots, though, in a number of secret independence societies and in the Young Italy movement of Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–1872), whom we encountered in chapter 4, on the 1848 revolutions. Mazzini was a nationalist revolutionary and spent most of his life in exile in France, Switzerland, and England. "A nation," Mazzini proclaimed, "is the universality of citizens speaking the same tongue,"[1] so he favored uniting all Italians in one national state. Although Mazzini won support from some leaders in Sardinia and elsewhere, Cavour had little sympathy for Mazzini's revolutionary nationalism, preferring a more controlled movement toward unification under a liberal, constitutional monarchy.



Map 7.1. Unification of Italy

In 1848, as we saw in chapter 4, popular nationalism had erupted all over Italy, with independent republics proclaimed in Venice and Rome and rebellions in Sicily against the Bourbon monarch. All of these uprisings were crushed, however, as they had been elsewhere on the Continent. A decade later, though, the situation in Italy was different. Sardinia had won gratitude from France and Britain for participating in the Crimean War. Napoleon III of France was willing to support Sardinia's claims against Austria, which dominated much of northern Italy. With Napoleon's backing, Cavour provoked a war with Austria in 1859. Napoleon III himself led one hundred thousand troops from France into northern Italy to fight against Austria, which suffered major defeats. Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and Romagna drove out their Austrian rulers and were annexed to Sardinia. In the south, the romantic revolutionary from Piedmont, Giuseppe Garibaldi (see box 7.2), led his thousand "Redshirts" in a seizure of power in Sicily and Naples. Plebiscites there confirmed popular desire to join with Sardinia.

In the peace settlement that ended the war, Austria held on to Venetia but little else; the pope still ruled in Rome but lost control over the Papal States, and France took Savoy and Nice. But Sardinia had won control over the rest of Italy. In May 1861, an all-Italian parliament was convened in Turin and proclaimed the Sardinian ruler Victor Emmanuel II as king of Italy. Five years later, when Austria was at war with Prussia, Italy seized Venetia. In 1870, when France was distracted by the Franco-Prussian War, Italy seized the rest of the Papal States, including Rome, and limited the pope's dominion to the square mile of the Vatican. That completed the unification of Italy. The consolidation of territory, however, was only one part of the nation-building process. As one Italian nationalist remarked at the opening of the unification parliament in 1861, "Now that we have created Italy, we must start creating Italians."[2] At the time, only a minority of people living in Italy spoke the Italian language, which had evolved from Tuscan. The challenge of creating a sense of common Italian identity, particularly between northern and southern Italy, has endured until this day.

BISMARCK AND THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

The unification of Germany proceeded in a similar fashion to that of Italy, with a strong leader, Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898), of a powerful core state, Prussia, warring on neighboring states to consolidate other German territories under Prussia's dominion. As in Italy, the first stab at national unity had been stymied in the failed revolutions of 1848. A generation later, Germany was finally unified when the issue was pushed by the king of Prussia and his forceful chancellor, Bismarck.

Bismarck was a *Junker* (the landlord class) from Brandenburg, in Prussia, and was appointed chancellor (or premier) of Prussia, the most powerful of the German states, in 1862. Bismarck was neither a nationalist, nor a liberal, nor a democrat, but he wanted to strengthen the position of Prussia in Germany and of Germany in Europe. "The position of Prussia in Germany," he told the Prussian parliament, "will be determined not by its liberalism but by its power. . . . Not by speeches and majority votes are the great questions of the day decided—that was the great error of 1848 and 1849—but by iron and blood."[3] From this "blood and iron" speech and his forceful actions to achieve German unification, Bismarck became known as "the Iron Chancellor."

Bismarck essentially wanted a new German confederation, but one without Austria. He accomplished this through a series of short decisive wars against Denmark, Austria, and France, each time seizing pieces of territory and pushing those neighboring states out of German affairs. The first of these wars, in 1864, against Denmark was over the long-disputed

BOX 7.2
Giuseppe Garibaldi: Italian Nationalist and Romantic Revolutionary

The foremost military figure and most popular hero of the Italian unification movement was the flamboyant adventurer Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–1882).

After the pope's troops had been defeated by Cavour in 1860, the British satirical magazine Punch *depicted Garibaldi offering Pope Pius IX the cap of Liberty, "Take to this cap, Papa Pius. You will find it more comfortable than your own." © HIP-Archive/Topham/The Image Works.*

Garibaldi was born in Nice, France (just across the border from Italy), and was largely self-educated. In his youth, he joined Young Italy, the movement organized by Mazzini to achieve freedom and independence for the Italian people. He was sentenced to death by a Genoese court for participating in an abortive insurrection in Piedmont, in 1834, but escaped to South America, where he lived for twelve years. There, he led military actions in civil wars in both Brazil and Uruguay, helping to assure the independence of Uruguay from Argentina.

During the Peoples' Spring of 1848, he returned to Italy to take part in the movement for Italian freedom and unification known now as *Il Risorgimento.* Organizing a corps of three thousand volunteers, he fought against the Austrians in Lombardy and supported the Roman Republic established by Mazzini. In defeat, having lost most of his forces, he fled Italy, moved to Staten Island, New York, and became a U.S. citizen and a candle maker.

In the 1850s, Garibaldi returned to Italy to support Cavour and Victor Emmanuel in their wars of Italian unification. In 1860, he took a force of one thousand men, known by their uniforms as "Redshirts" to Sicily, which was then controlled by the Bourbon king of Naples. He conquered the island, set up a provisional government, and then crossed to the mainland and took Naples (which controlled most of the southern half of the Italian peninsula). This was a key piece of the Italian puzzle, enabling the establishment, in 1861, of the Kingdom of Italy with Victor Emmanuel as king. Garibaldi was dissatisfied with the exclusion of Rome from the kingdom, though, and fought several times over the next years to attach the Papal States to Italy. Eventually, Rome was annexed to Italy. Garibaldi was elected to Parliament in 1874, and died in 1882.

territories of Schleswig and Holstein. These two duchies were ruled by the Danish king, although they were not formally part of Denmark. Because large numbers of Germans lived in them, the separation of Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark became a passionate issue for German nationalists. Bismarck simply wanted to incorporate them into Prussia, but the issue of Schleswig-Holstein was arcane and complex. The British prime minister Lord Palmerston once said that only three men truly understood the problem: One was dead; one had gone mad; and the third, Palmerston himself, had forgotten it.[4] (And if Palmerston, a brilliant diplomat, could not figure out the details, I am not about to try to explain them here.) In any case, Bismarck's opportunity arose when Denmark decided to incorporate Schleswig. Bismarck organized an alliance with Austria, and together the two large states quickly defeated Denmark. Prussia took Schleswig, and Austria took Holstein.

For Bismarck, though, Austria was a bigger target than Denmark. He wanted to isolate Austria internationally and remove it from the German equation, so that Prussia would have a free hand in shaping (and dominating) a north German confederation. The opportunity to attack Austria came in 1866, when Austria and Prussia were quarreling over control of Schleswig-Holstein. Austria, as we have seen, was already relatively isolated after the Crimean War and its conflict with France during Italian unification. In a startlingly swift victory, Prussia was able to defeat Austria in what became known as the Seven Weeks' War. Prussian success was due in large measure to the application of new technologies to logistics and warfare: the new breech-loading "needle gun" (which could be fired from the prone position) and the use of the railroad and the telegraph to move and coordinate troops and supplies. In the aftermath of the war, Prussia annexed Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, and a number of other territories, and Bismarck formed his North German Confederation of twenty-two states. The constitution for the confederation included a parliament with broad suffrage, a move that won widespread popular support for his emerging German empire.

The final piece of the puzzle for Bismarck was the addition to the empire of the southern German states (including Bavaria), but this was opposed by France, which understandably feared this expansion of Prussian power. In 1870, Bismarck provoked the French ruler, Napoleon III, into declaring war on Prussia over a minor issue involving the fate of the Spanish throne. The Franco-Prussian War lasted only six weeks, and the Prussian victory was so swift and unexpected that there was no French government left to surrender. Napoleon III was taken prisoner, abdicated, and took refuge in England. An insurrection in Paris (following those in 1789, 1830, and 1848) eventually led to the establishment of

the French Third Republic (which survived until World War II). After six months of chaos, the French signed a humiliating peace accord, agreeing to pay huge reparations to Germany and ceding the territories of Alsace and Lorraine. Bismarck proclaimed the establishment of a new German empire, with Wilhelm I as emperor of Germany. The site for this important proclamation was not in Germany, but in France, in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. (The French did not forget this humiliation and, after World War I, forced the Germans to sign their surrender at the same site.) As with Italy, Germany had been unified from above and with force. Unlike Cavour, though, Bismarck did not rely on popular plebiscites to ratify the consolidation of the state. Bismarck had created Germany through blood and iron.

THE DUAL MONARCHY OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

After the unification of Germany, one-sixth of all Germans remained outside Germany, mostly in the Austrian Empire. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Austria had steadily lost influence in Europe, first by its exclusion from the Crimean War, then by the loss of its Italian territories, and then in its humiliating defeat in the Seven Weeks' War. Furthermore, the empire was weakened internally by the multiplicity of nationalities and the growing forces of nationalism within it, particularly among the Magyars (Hungarians). There were at least twenty other nationalities in the Habsburg Empire, including Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Slovenes, Croats, Romanians, and Italians. Germans constituted about one-third of the total population (mostly concentrated in Austria and Bohemia), and Magyars, mostly in the eastern part of the country, made up about a quarter of the total. The Magyars had long complained about the dominance of Germans in the empire and about German bureaucracy and centralization. The Prussian defeat of Austria in 1866 weakened Austria and quickened Magyar demands. The result was the *Ausgleich*, or compromise, of 1867 that created the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. Austria and Hungary each got its own constitution and parliament, but they were joined together under the common crown of the Habsburgs. This gave the restless Hungarians a considerable degree of autonomy without actually creating two separate nation-states. The nationality problem of the empire was not solved, however. Although the arrangement worked to the benefit of both Hungarians and Austrians, it did nothing to help other nationalities in the empire, especially the **Slavic** peoples, such as the Czechs, Slovaks, and Poles. The nationality problem would fester for the next fifty years, eventually contributing to the outbreak of World War I.

IMPLICATIONS OF NATIONALISM AND UNIFICATION

In Germany and Italy, civic nationalism, directed from the top, created unified nation-states after popular nationalism had failed in 1848. In both cases in the 1860s, the unification projects had the support of powerful states and leaders in Piedmont and Prussia and, in the Italian case at least, outside support (from France) as well. Elsewhere in Europe, nationalists were not so fortunate. The Poles, for example, who had uprisings against occupying powers in 1830, 1848, and 1863, had no outside support and no success. As the historian Norman Davies has put it, "The Polish national movement had the longest pedigree, the best credentials, the greatest determination, the worst press, and the least success."[5] The Poles had to wait until the conclusion of World War I to regain their statehood.

Nationalism had mixed success elsewhere on the Continent during the nineteenth century. The Greeks, Belgians, Romanians, and Norwegians got their own nation-states, but the Irish and the Czechs did not. The various nationalities of the Russian Empire had to wait another century before gaining independence. The hodgepodge of nationalities in the Balkans would provide the tinderbox that ignited World War I (and would remain problematic to the present day).

The unification of Italy and Germany fundamentally reshaped the map of Europe and the balance of power in Europe. The German Empire, in particular, was now the largest and most populous state on the Continent, next to Russia, and the most powerful one. The Industrial Revolution was advancing quickly in Germany, and with industry came military power. In Bismarck's wars of unification, the Germans had quickly and easily defeated the two other major military powers on the Continent, Austria and France. Bismarck's policies had created a Germany that was united, dynamic, and strong, and it was not the last time that Germany's leaders would use nationalism to advance Germany's interests.