



## CHAPTER PREVIEW

- What were the main features of the authoritarian nation-state built by Napoleon III?
- How were strong nation-states forged in Italy, Germany, and the United States?
- How did Russian and Ottoman leaders modernize their states and societies?
- How did the relationship between government and the governed change after 1871?
- What were the costs and benefits of nationalism for ordinary people?
- How and why did revolutionary Marxism evolve in the late nineteenth century?

### Popular Solidarity in the Age of Nationalism

In this 1878 painting titled *The Departure of the 1866 Conscripts*, men who responded to the national call to arms in an Italian village cheer a speech by a local military official as a soldier bids farewell to his family before joining the army in the field. This portrait pays homage to the Italian peasant, willing to fight for his newborn country. This idealized scene depicts the changing relationship between state and citizen as nationalism came to predominate at all levels of society. (*The Departure of the 1866 Conscripts*, by Gerolamo Induno [1825–1890], 1878, [oil on canvas]/Civico Museo del Risorgimento, Milano, Italy/De Agostini Picture Library/A. Dagli Orti/Bridgeman Images)

## What were the main features of the authoritarian nation-state built by Napoleon III?

Early nationalism was generally liberal and idealistic and could be democratic and radical (see Chapter 21). Yet nationalism also flourished in authoritarian states, which imposed social and economic changes from above. Napoleon Bonaparte's France had already combined national feeling with authoritarian rule. Napoleon's nephew, Louis Napoleon (1808–1873), revived and extended this combination.

### France's Second Republic

Although Louis Napoleon had played no part in French politics before 1848, he won three times as many votes as the four other presidential candidates combined in the French presidential election of December 1848. Louis Napoleon enjoyed popular support at a time of universal male suffrage for several reasons. First, he bore the famous name of his uncle, whom romantics had transformed into a demigod after 1820. Second, as Karl Marx stressed at the time, middle-class and peasant property owners feared the socialist challenge of urban workers and the chaos of the revolution of 1848, and they wanted a tough ruler to provide stability and protect their property. Third, Louis Napoleon advertised a positive social-economic program for the French people in pamphlets widely circulated before the election.

Above all, Louis Napoleon promoted a vision of national unity and social progress, in which the government represented all the people, rich and poor, and gave them economic and social benefits. But how, he asked, could these tasks be accomplished when corrupt French politicians supported the interests of special groups, particularly middle-class ones? Only a strong, even authoritarian, leader, like the wildly popular first Napoleon, could solve this problem. Louis Napoleon cast himself as just such a leader. He promised that his rule would be linked to each citizen by direct democracy, his sovereignty uncorrupted by politicians and legislative bodies, his acts approved by mass plebiscites, referendums in which all citizens would cast votes to approve or disapprove of important questions of public policy. To his many enthusiastic supporters, Louis Napoleon was a strong and forward-looking champion of popular interests.

Elected to a four-year term by an overwhelming majority, Louis Napoleon was required by the constitution to share power with the National Assembly, which was overwhelmingly conservative. With some misgivings, he signed bills that increased the role of the Catholic Church in primary and secondary education

and deprived many poor people of the right to vote, hoping that the Assembly would vote for funds to pay his personal debts and change the constitution so he could run for a second term.

But after the Assembly failed to cooperate with that last aim, Louis Napoleon conspired with key army officers to overthrow the government. On December 2, 1851, he illegally dismissed the legislature and seized power in a coup d'état. Acting in tandem with the coup, the national army crushed armed resistance in Paris and widespread insurrection in southern France. Louis Napoleon craftily wrapped himself in the mantle of his famous uncle. Claiming to be above political bickering, he restored universal male suffrage and proclaimed the arrival of the Second French Empire, a proud continuation of the mighty First Empire established by Bonaparte during the Napoleonic wars. As the first Napoleon had done, Louis Napoleon asked the French people to legalize his actions. They did: 92 percent voted to make him president for ten years. A year later, in a plebiscite, 97 percent voted to approve the Second French Empire and make Louis Napoleon its hereditary emperor.

### Napoleon III's Second Empire

Louis Napoleon—now proclaimed Emperor Napoleon III—experienced both success and failure between 1852 and 1870, when he fell from power during the Franco-Prussian War. In the 1850s his policies brought economic growth. His government promoted the new investment banks and massive railroad construction that were at the heart of the Industrial Revolution on the continent. The French state fostered general economic expansion through an ambitious program of public works, which included rebuilding Paris to improve the urban environment. Business profits soared, rising wages of workers outpaced inflation, and unemployment declined greatly.

Initially, economic progress reduced social and political tensions as Louis Napoleon had hoped. Until the mid-1860s the emperor enjoyed support from France's most dissatisfied group, the urban workers. They appreciated the 1850s reforms, such as the regulation of pawnshops, support for credit unions, and better working-class housing. In the 1860s Louis Napoleon granted workers the right to form unions and the right to strike.

Although he repeatedly claimed that the Second Empire stood for peace, Louis Napoleon maintained an aggressive foreign policy. He was deeply committed

# TIMELINE

1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
					1905
<b>1839–1876</b> Western-style Tanzimat reforms in Ottoman Empire		<b>1880s</b> Educational reforms in France create a secular public school system			Revolution in Russia; Norway wins independence from Sweden
<b>1852</b> Louis Napoleon proclaimed emperor of France		<b>1880s–1890s</b> Widespread return to protectionism among European states			
<b>1853–1856</b> Crimean War					
<b>1859–1870</b> Unification of Italy		<b>1881–1884; 1903–1906</b> Waves of anti-Jewish pogroms in the Pale of Settlement			
<b>1861</b> Tsar Alexander II abolishes Russian serfdom			<b>1890–1900</b> Witte initiates second surge of Russian industrialization		<b>1908</b> Young Turks seize power in Ottoman Empire
<b>1861–1865</b> U.S. Civil War					<b>1906–1914</b> Social reform in Great Britain
<b>1866</b> Austro-Prussian War				<b>1896</b> Zionist leader Theodor Herzl publishes <i>The Jewish State</i>	
	<b>1871</b> Franco-Prussian War ends; unification of Germany; defeat of Paris Commune; establishment of Third Republic in France				<b>1914</b> Outbreak of World War I
	<b>1870–1878</b> Kulturkampf, Bismarck's attack on Catholic Church				

to “the principle of nationalities,” which meant redrawing European state borders on the basis of shared national characteristics. He led France to victory in the Crimean War (see “The ‘Great Reforms’ in Russia” later in this chapter) and then, in 1859, waged war against Austria for the cause of Italian unification (see “The Unification of Italy” ahead in this chapter). During the U.S. Civil War, he meddled unsuccessfully in internal Mexican politics, which drew intense criticism in France.

At first, political power remained in the hands of the emperor. Louis Napoleon alone chose his ministers, who had great freedom of action. Yet in order to win popular support, he retained the legislative Assembly and senate, although with reduced powers. Members were elected by universal male suffrage every six years, and the government took these elections seriously. It tried to entice notable people, even those who had opposed the regime, to stand as candidates

to expand the base of support. Government officials and appointed mayors spread the word that election of mainstream candidates—and defeat of the opposition—would provide tax rebates, roads, and a range of other local benefits.

In elections in 1857 and again in 1863, Louis Napoleon’s system produced overwhelming electoral victories for government-backed candidates. In the late 1860s, however, this electoral system gradually disintegrated. With increasing effectiveness, the middle-class liberals who had always wanted a less authoritarian regime denounced his rule. Napoleon was always sensitive to the public mood. Public opinion, he once said, always wins the last victory, and he responded to critics with ever-increasing liberalization. He granted freedom of the press and gave the Assembly greater powers and opposition candidates greater freedom, which they used to good advantage. In 1869 the opposition, consisting of republicans,



### Paris in the Second Empire

**Empire** The flash and glitter of unprecedented prosperity in the Second Empire come alive in this vibrant contemporary painting. Writers and intellectuals chat with elegant women and trade witticisms with financiers and government officials at the Café Tortoni, a favorite rendezvous for fashionable society. Horse-drawn omnibuses with open top decks mingle with cabs and private carriages on the broad new boulevard.

(By Eugène Charles François Guérard [1821–1866]/Musée de la Ville de Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images)

monarchs, and liberals, polled almost 45 percent of the vote.

The next year, a sick and weary Louis Napoleon again granted France a new constitution, which combined a basic parliamentary regime with a hereditary emperor as chief of state. In a final plebiscite on the eve of the disastrous war with Prussia (see “The Franco-Prussian War and German Unification”

ahead), 7.3 million Frenchmen approved the new constitution — only 1.5 million opposed it. Napoleon III’s ability to rally voters’ support for a strong central state and an emperor rather than a republic and an elected leader showed that popular nationalism was compatible with authoritarian government, even as France moved in an increasingly democratic direction.

## How were strong nation-states forged in Italy, Germany, and the United States?

Napoleon III’s authoritarian rule in the 1850s and 1860s provided the old ruling classes of Europe with a new model in politics, in which the expanding middle classes and even portions of the working classes supported a unified, conservative national state that promised economic growth and social benefits. Would this model work elsewhere? This was one of the great political questions in the 1850s and 1860s. In Europe, the national unification of Italy and Germany offered a resounding answer. In the United States, the increased power of the federal government after a costly civil war offered another. As these three examples suggest, it often took war and violence to nourish popular nationalism and forge a strong central state.

### The Unification of Italy

The various nation-states on the Italian peninsula had never been united. Often a battleground for Europe’s Great Powers, Italy was reorganized in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna into a hodgepodge of different states, each with its own government, and the wealthy northern Italian-speaking territories of Milan and Venice were incorporated into the Austrian Empire. Austrian foreign minister Prince Klemens von Metternich captured the essence of the situation when he dismissed the notion of “Italy” as “only a geographical expression” (Map 23.1).

Yet the struggle for a unified Italian nation—the **Risorgimento**—captured the imagination of many



**MAP 23.1 The Unification of Italy, 1859–1870** The leadership of Sardinia-Piedmont, nationalist fervor, and Garibaldi's attack on the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies were decisive factors in the unification of Italy.

Italians. The appeal of Italian nationalism was exemplified in the Young Italy secret society founded by the radical and idealistic patriot Giuseppe Mazzini, who called for a centralized democratic republic based on universal male suffrage and the will of the people. In his best-known work, *Duties Towards Your County* (1858), Mazzini argued that language, historic traditions, and divine purpose defined a national people, and he called for the liberation of Italian territories from foreign governments (such as Austria) and unification based on “harmony and brotherhood.”

Catholicism and the papacy offered another potential source of shared belonging and even a potential foundation for an Italian nation-state, but Pope Pius IX (pontificate 1846–1878) opposed unification and most modern trends after the upheavals of 1848. In 1864 in the *Syllabus of Errors*, Pius IX denounced rationalism, socialism, separation of church and state, and religious liberty. The Catholic Church could not stop unification, but it resisted liberalism and progressive reform for the next two decades.

By the 1850s, many Italian nationalists focused on the promise of a national federation led by Victor Emmanuel II, the autocratic king of Sardinia-Piedmont. They looked to Piedmont for national leadership, much as German liberals looked to Prussia, because Piedmont boasted one of the most industrialized, wealthy, and socially advanced territories on the Italian peninsula. Victor Emmanuel, crowned in 1849, had retained the liberal constitution granted by his father under duress during the revolutions of 1848. This constitution combined a strong monarchy with a fair degree of civil liberties and parliamentary government, though deputies were elected by a limited franchise based on income. To some of the Italian middle classes, the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont appeared to be a liberal, progressive state ideally suited to drive Austria out of northern Italy and lead the drive to Italian unification. By contrast, Mazzini’s brand of democratic republicanism seemed idealistic and too radical.

■ **Risorgimento** The nineteenth-century struggle for Italian independence and unification.



**Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel II** The historic 1860 meeting in Naples between the leader of Italy's revolutionary nationalists and the king of Sardinia sealed the unification of northern and southern Italy. With the sleeve of his red shirt showing, Garibaldi offers his hand—and his conquests—to the uniformed king and his moderate monarchical government. The idealized patriotism evident in this painting, completed in 1866, testifies to the growing appeal of popular nationalism. (Detail, fresco, 1886, by Pietro Aldi [1852–1888]/Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, Italy/Bridgeman Images)

The struggle for Italian unification under Emmanuel II was supported by Count Camillo Benso di Cavour (kuh-VOOR), a brilliant statesman who served as prime minister of Sardinia-Piedmont from 1852 until his death in 1861. A nobleman who had made a substantial fortune in business before entering politics, Cavour had limited and realistic national goals. Until 1859 he sought unity only with the states of northern and perhaps central Italy, which would nonetheless greatly expand the existing kingdom.

In the 1850s Cavour consolidated Sardinia-Piedmont as a liberal constitutional state capable of leading northern Italy. His program of building highways and railroads, expanding civil liberties, and opposing clerical privilege increased support for his efforts throughout northern Italy. Yet because Sardinia-Piedmont could not drive Austria out of the north without the help of a powerful ally, Cavour established a secret alliance with Napoleon III against Austria in July 1858.

Cavour then goaded Austria into attacking Piedmont in 1859, and Louis Napoleon came to Italy's defense. After defeating the Austrians at the Battles of Magenta and Solferino, however, Napoleon did a sudden about-face. Worried by criticism from French

Catholics for supporting the pope's declared enemy, he abandoned Cavour and made a compromise peace with the Austrians in July 1859. The Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont received only Lombardy, the area around Milan, from Austria. The rest of Italy remained essentially unchanged.

Yet the skillful maneuvers of Cavour's allies in the moderate nationalist movement salvaged his plans for Italian unification. While the war against Austria raged in the north, pro-unification nationalists in Tuscany and elsewhere in central Italy led popular revolts that easily toppled their ruling princes. Encouraged by and appropriating these popular movements, middle-class nationalist leaders in central Italy called for fusion with Sardinia-Piedmont. In early 1860, Cavour regained Napoleon III's support by ceding Savoy and Nice to France. The people of central Italy then voted overwhelmingly to join a greatly enlarged kingdom under Victor Emmanuel. Cavour had achieved his original goal, a united northern Italian state (see Map 23.1).

For superpatriots such as Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–1882), however, the unification of the north left the job half done. The son of a poor sailor,

Garibaldi personified the romantic, revolutionary nationalism and republicanism of Mazzini and 1848. Leading a corps of volunteers against Austria in 1859, Garibaldi emerged in 1860 as an independent force in Italian politics.

Partly to use him and partly to get rid of him, Cavour secretly supported Garibaldi's bold plan to "liberate" the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Landing in Sicily in May 1860, Garibaldi's guerrilla band of a thousand Red Shirts inspired the peasantry, who rose in bloody rebellion against their landlords. Outwitting the twenty-thousand-man royal army, the guerrilla leader won battles, gained volunteers, and took Palermo. Then Garibaldi and his men crossed to the mainland, marched triumphantly toward Naples, and prepared to attack Rome and the pope. The wily Cavour quickly sent Sardinian forces to occupy most of the Papal States (but not Rome) and to intercept Garibaldi.

Cavour realized that an attack on Rome would bring war with France, and he feared Garibaldi's radicalism and popular appeal. He immediately organized a plebiscite in the conquered territories. Despite the urging of some radical supporters, the patriotic Garibaldi did not oppose Cavour, and the people of the south voted to join the kingdom of Sardinia. When Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel II rode together through Naples to cheering crowds in October 1860, they symbolically sealed the union of north and south, of monarch and nation-state.

Cavour had successfully controlled Garibaldi and turned popular nationalism in a conservative direction. The new kingdom of Italy, which expanded to include Venice in 1866 and Rome in 1870, was a parliamentary monarchy under Victor Emmanuel II. The new nation was hardly democratic or prosperous. Only a half million out of 22 million Italians had the right to vote, and great social inequalities divided the propertied classes and the common people. A deep and growing economic gap separated the progressive, industrializing north from the stagnant, agrarian south. Italy was united on paper, but profound divisions remained.

## The Austro-Prussian War

In the aftermath of 1848 the German states were locked in a political stalemate. After Austria and Russia blocked Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm IV's attempt in 1850 to unify Germany, tension grew between Austria and Prussia as they struggled to dominate the German Confederation (see "Prussia, the German Confederation, and the Frankfurt National Parliament" in Chapter 21).

Economic differences exacerbated this rivalry. Austria had not been included in the German Customs Union, or *Zollverein* (TZOLE-fur-ayn), when

it was founded in 1834 to stimulate trade and increase state revenues. By the end of 1853 Austria was the only state in the German Confederation outside the union. As middle-class and business groups profited from participation in the *Zollverein*, Prussia's leading role within the customs union gave it a valuable advantage in its struggle against Austria.

Prussia had emerged from the upheavals of 1848 with a weak parliament that by 1859 was in the hands of the wealthy liberal middle class. Longing for national unification, these representatives wanted to establish that the parliament, not the king, held ultimate political power, including control of the army. At the same time, the national uprising in Italy in 1859 made a profound impression on Prussia's tough-minded Wilhelm I (r. 1861–1888). Convinced that great political change and war—perhaps with Austria, perhaps with France—were quite possible, Wilhelm I and his top military advisers pushed to raise taxes and increase the defense budget in order to double the size of the army. The Prussian parliament rejected the military budget in 1862, and the liberals triumphed completely in new elections, creating a deadlocked constitutional crisis. Wilhelm I then appointed Count Otto von Bismarck as Prussian prime minister and encouraged him to defy the parliament. This was a momentous choice.

Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) was a master of **Realpolitik**, a German term referring to political practice based on a careful calculation of real-world conditions rather than ethical ideals or ideological assumptions. Bismarck had honed his political skills as a high-ranking diplomat for the Prussian government. Born into the landowning aristocracy and devoted to his sovereign, he had a strong personality and an unbounded desire for power. Yet in his drive to secure power for himself and for Prussia, Bismarck remained extraordinarily flexible and pragmatic. Keeping his options open, he moved with determination and cunning toward his goal.

When he took office as prime minister in 1862, in the midst of the constitutional crisis caused by the deadlock on the military budget, Bismarck made a strong but unfavorable impression. Declaring that Wilhelm's government would rule without parliamentary consent, he lashed out at the liberal middle-class opposition: "The great questions of the day will not be decided by speeches and resolutions—that was the blunder of 1848 and 1849—but by blood and iron."

Denounced by liberals for his view that "might makes right," Bismarck had the Prussian bureaucracy go right on collecting taxes, even though the

**■ Realpolitik** A German term referring to political practice based on a careful calculation of real-world conditions rather than ethical ideals or ideological assumptions, employed by Bismarck and other nineteenth-century politicians.

parliament refused to approve the budget. Bismarck also reorganized the army. And for four years, from 1862 to 1866, voters continued to express their opposition by sending large liberal majorities to the parliament.

Opposition at home spurred Bismarck to search for success abroad. The extremely complicated question of Schleswig-Holstein—two provinces on the disputed border between Denmark and Germany, populated by a large majority of ethnic Germans—provided a welcome opportunity. In 1864 the Danish king tried, as he had in 1848, to bring these two provinces into a more centralized Danish state against the will of the German Confederation. In response, Prussia enlisted Austria in a short and successful war against Denmark (Map 23.2).

Bismarck, however, was convinced that Prussia had to control completely the northern, predominantly Protestant part of the confederation, which meant expelling Austria from German affairs. After the victory over Denmark, Bismarck's clever Realpolitik maneuvering left Prussia in a position to force Austria out by war. Recognizing that Russia, France, and Italy might come to Austria's defense, Bismarck persuaded them to remain neutral through a skillful blend of territorial promises and reminders of past Prussian support.

The Austro-Prussian War of 1866 that followed lasted only seven weeks. Using railroads to quickly mobilize troops, who were armed with new and more efficient breech-loading rifles, the Prussian army defeated Austria decisively at the Battle of Sadowa (SAH-daw-vah) in Bohemia on July 3. Anticipating Prussia's future needs, Bismarck offered Austria generous peace terms. Austria paid no reparations and lost no territory to Prussia, although Venetia was ceded to Italy. But the existing German Confederation was dissolved, and Austria agreed to withdraw from German affairs. Prussia conquered and annexed several small states north of the Main River and completely dominated the remaining principalities in the newly formed North German Confederation. The mainly Catholic states of the south remained independent but allied with Prussia. Bismarck's fundamental goal of Prussian expansion was partially realized (see Map 23.2).

### Taming the German Parliament

Bismarck had long been convinced that the old order he so ardently defended would have to make peace with the liberal middle class and nationalists. Impressed with Napoleon III's example in France, he realized that nationalists were not necessarily hostile to conservative, authoritarian government. Moreover, the events of 1848 convinced Bismarck that the German middle class could be led to prefer national unity under conservative leadership rather than endure a long, uncertain battle for a truly liberal state. Thus during the Austrian war, he increasingly identified

Prussia's fate with what he called the "national development of Germany."

To consolidate Prussian control, Bismarck fashioned a federal constitution for the new North German Confederation. Each state retained its own local government, but the king of Prussia became president of the confederation, and the new imperial chancellor—Bismarck—was responsible only to the president. The federal bureaucracy, under Wilhelm I and Bismarck, controlled the army and foreign affairs. A weak federal legislature, with members of the lower house elected by universal male suffrage, gave some voice to popular opinion. With this radical innovation, Bismarck opened the door to the possibility of going over the head of the middle class directly to the people, as Napoleon III had done in France. Ultimate power, however, still rested with the Prussian king and army.

In Prussia itself, Bismarck held out an olive branch to the parliamentary opposition. Marshalling all his diplomatic skill, he asked the parliament to pass a special indemnity bill to approve, after the fact, all the government's spending between 1862 and 1866. With German unity in sight, most of the liberals cooperated. The constitutional struggle in Prussia ended, and the German middle class came to accept the monarchical authority that Bismarck represented.

### The Franco-Prussian War and German Unification

The final act in the drama of German unification followed quickly. Bismarck calculated that a patriotic war with France would drive the south German states into his arms. He manipulated a minor diplomatic issue—whether a distant relative of Prussia's Wilhelm I might become king of Spain, in defiance of French interests—to goad the leaders of the Second French Empire into a declaration of war on Prussia.

As soon as war began, Bismarck enlisted the support of the south German states. While other governments maintained their neutrality—Bismarck's generosity to Austria in 1866 paid big dividends—combined German forces under Prussian leadership decisively defeated the main French army at Sedan on September 1, 1870. Napoleon III was captured and humiliated. Three days later, French patriots in Paris proclaimed yet another French republic and vowed to continue fighting. But after five months, in January 1871, a besieged and starving Paris surrendered, and France accepted Bismarck's harsh peace terms.

By this time, the south German states had agreed to join a new German Empire. With Chancellor Bismarck by his side, Wilhelm I was proclaimed emperor of Germany in the Hall of Mirrors in the palace of Versailles (see "Evaluating Visual Evidence: The Proclamation of the German Empire, January 1871," page 702). As in the 1866 constitution, the king of



## MAPPING THE PAST

### MAP 23.2 The Unification of Germany, 1864-1871

This map shows how Prussia expanded and a new German Empire was created through wars with Denmark (1864), Austria (1866), and France (1870-1871).

**ANALYZING THE MAP** What losses did Austria experience in 1866? What territories did France lose as a result of the Franco-Prussian War?

**CONNECTIONS** Why would the unification of Germany pose a problem for the traditional balance of power on the European continent?

Prussia and his ministers had ultimate power in the new German Empire, and the lower house of the legislature was elected by universal male suffrage.

Bismarck imposed a severe penalty on France: payment of a colossal indemnity of 5 billion francs and loss of the rich eastern province of Alsace and part of Lorraine to Germany. French men and women of all classes viewed these territorial losses as a terrible crime (see Map 23.2). They could never forget and never forgive, and relations between France and Germany were poisoned after 1871.

The Franco-Prussian War, which many Europeans saw as a test of nations in a pitiless Darwinian struggle for existence, released a surge of patriotic feeling in the German Empire. United Germany had become the most powerful state in Europe in less than a decade, and most Germans were enormously proud of Bismarck's genius and the supposedly invincible Prussian army. Semi-authoritarian nationalism and a new conservatism, based on an alliance of the landed nobles and middle classes, had triumphed in Germany.

## The Proclamation of the German Empire, January 1871

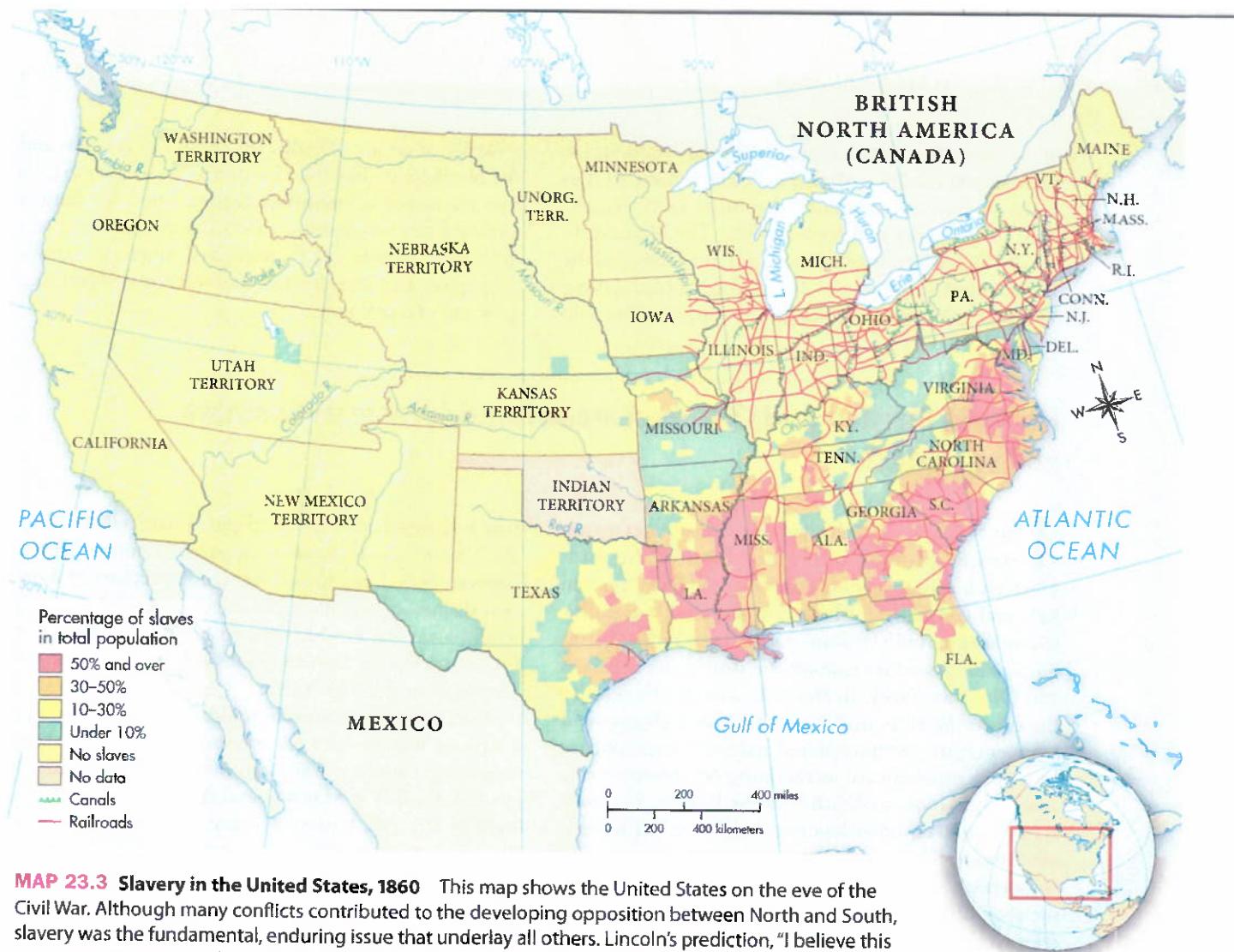


(By Anton Alexander von Werner [1843–1915]/Schloss Friedrichsruhe, Germany/Bridgeman Images)

This famous commemorative painting by Anton von Werner testifies to the nationalistic intoxication in Germany after the victory over France at Sedan. Wilhelm I of Prussia stands on a platform surrounded by princes and generals in the famous Hall of Mirrors in the palace of Versailles, while officers from all the units around a besieged Paris cheer and salute him with uplifted swords as emperor of a unified Germany. Bismarck, in white (center), stands between king and army. The painting was commissioned by Wilhelm I as a gift for Bismarck's seventieth birthday in 1885.

### EVALUATE THE EVIDENCE

- How does this painting compare to work by Realist artists such as Gustave Courbet (see Chapter 22)?
- Von Werner actually attended the ceremony depicted here, but he changed some of the details in his painting. Bismarck, for example, was dressed in a blue (not white) uniform. Why would von Werner make such changes? Is there anything else that seems unrealistic, exaggerated, or staged for effect?
- What sort of subjective impact would this painting have on a viewer? What message is von Werner trying to impart? How does the decorated frame contribute to that message?



**MAP 23.3 Slavery in the United States, 1860** This map shows the United States on the eve of the Civil War. Although many conflicts contributed to the developing opposition between North and South, slavery was the fundamental, enduring issue that underlay all others. Lincoln's prediction, "I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free," proved correct.

## Civil War and Nation Building in the United States

The United States also experienced a process of bloody nation building. Although united under the U.S. federal Constitution, the country was divided by the slavery question, and economic development carried free and slaveholding states in very different directions. By 1850 an industrializing, urbanizing North was building canals and railroads and attracting large numbers of European immigrants. In sharp contrast, industry and cities developed more slowly in the South, and European immigrants largely avoided the region. Even though three-quarters of all Southern white families were small farmers and owned no slaves, plantation owners holding twenty or more slaves dominated the economy and society. These profit-minded slave owners used enslaved Africans to establish a vast plantation economy across the Deep South, where cotton was king (Map 23.3). By 1850 the region produced 5 million bales a year, supplying textile mills in Europe and New England.

The rise of the cotton empire greatly expanded slave-based agriculture in the South, spurred exports, and ignited rapid U.S. economic growth. The large profits

flowing from cotton led influential Southerners to defend slavery. Because Northern whites viewed their free-labor system as economically and morally superior to slavery, North-South antagonisms intensified.

Tensions reached a climax after 1848 when the United States won the Mexican-American War (1846–1848) and gained a vast area stretching from west Texas to the Pacific Ocean. Debate over the extension of slavery in this new territory hardened attitudes on both sides. Abraham Lincoln's election as president in 1860, on an antislavery, pro-Union party platform, gave Southern secessionists the chance they had been waiting for. Eleven states left the Union and formed the Confederate States of America.

The resulting Civil War (1861–1865), in which advanced weaponry brought the bloodiest conflict in American history, ended with the South decisively defeated and the Union preserved.



**U.S. Secession, 1860–1861**

In the aftermath, certain characteristics of American life and national culture took shape. Powerful business corporations emerged, steadfastly supported by the Republican Party during and after the war. The Homestead Act of 1862, which gave western land to settlers, and the Thirteenth Amendment of 1865, which ended slavery, reinforced the concept of free labor taking its chances in

a market economy. Finally, the success of Lincoln and the North in holding the Union together seemed to confirm the notion of “**manifest destiny**”: the idea that the United States was destined to straddle the continent as a great world power. Thus a revitalized American nation-state, grounded in economic and territorial expansion, grew out of a civil war.

## How did Russian and Ottoman leaders modernize their states and societies?

The Russian and the Ottoman Empires experienced profound political crises in the mid-nineteenth century. These crises differed from those in Italy and Germany, for both empires were vast multi-national states built on long traditions of military conquest and absolutist rule by the dominant Russians and Ottoman Turks. In the early nineteenth century the governing elites in both empires strongly opposed representative government and national independence for ethnic minorities, concentrating on absolutist rule and competition with other Great Powers. For both states, however, relentless power politics led to serious trouble. Their leaders recognized that they had to “modernize” and embrace the economic, military, and social-political reforms that might enable their countries to compete effectively with leading European nations such as Great Britain, Germany, and France.

### The “Great Reforms” in Russia

In the 1850s Russia was a poor agrarian society with a rapidly growing population. Almost 90 percent of the people lived off the land, and industrialization developed slowly. Bound to the lord from birth, the peasant serf was little more than a slave, and by the 1840s serfdom had become a central moral and political issue for the government. The slow pace of modernization encouraged the growth of protest movements, from radical Marxists clamoring for socialist revolution to middle-class intellectuals who sought a liberal constitutional state. Then a humiliating Russian defeat in the Crimean War underscored the need for modernizing reforms.

The **Crimean War** (1853–1856) grew out of general Great Power competition in the Middle East and Russian attempts to grab lands from the declining Ottoman Empire,

which shared extensive and disputed borders with Russia. The initial cause was an apparently minor dispute between France and Russia over the protection of Christian shrines in Jerusalem, but the dispute escalated into a full-blown war in which France and Britain joined the Ottomans to halt Russian expansion into the Ottoman Empire’s European territories.

Famous for incompetent leadership on all sides, the Crimean War revealed the awesome power of modern weaponry, particularly artillery, in ways that anticipated the U.S. Civil War. Massive naval engagements, doomed cavalry charges, and staggering casualties—Russia alone lost about 450,000 soldiers—captured the imagination of home-front audiences, who followed events in the national press. The Crimean War also brought professional women nurses to the front lines for the first time, exemplified most famously in the British volunteer nurse Florence Nightingale. Her advocacy of simple sanitary precautions, such as washing hands before medical procedures, helped reduce mortality rates among wounded soldiers.

By 1856 the French-led alliance had decisively defeated Russia. The conflict between Russia and the French and British helped break down the European balance of power established after the Napoleonic Wars at the Congress of Vienna. Austria had refused to come to Russia’s aid in the war, so Russia turned its back on its former ally. Cooperation among the Great Powers was replaced by competition and hostility. The destruction of the old international system, the isolation of Austria, and conflict between Russia and France smoothed the way to Italian and German unification.

Defeat by superior armies and weaponry furthermore convinced Russia’s leaders that they had fallen behind the nations of western Europe. Russia needed railroads, better armaments, and military reform to remain a Great Power. Military disaster thus forced



liberal-leaning Tsar Alexander II (r. 1855–1881) and his ministers along the path of rapid social change and modernization.

In a bold move, Alexander II abolished serfdom in 1861. About 22 million emancipated peasants received citizenship rights and the chance to purchase, on average, about half of the land they cultivated. Yet they had to pay fairly high prices, and because the land was to be owned collectively, each peasant village was jointly responsible for the payments of all the families in the village. Collective ownership made it difficult for individual peasants to improve agricultural methods or leave their villages. Most peasant families continued to live in one-story log cabins with a single living room, a storage room (sometimes shared with animals), and a shallow cellar. Thus old patterns of behavior predominated, limiting the effects of reform.

Most of Alexander II's later reforms were also halfway measures. In 1864 the government established a new institution of local government, the zemstvo. Members were elected by a three-class system of townspeople, peasant villagers, and noble landowners, to manage local issues and concerns. Russian liberals hoped that this reform would lead to an elected national parliament, but it did not. The zemstvos remained subordinate to the traditional bureaucracy and the local nobility. In addition, changes to the legal system established independent courts and equality before the law. The government relaxed but did not remove censorship, and it somewhat liberalized policies toward Russian Jews.

Russian efforts to promote economic modernization proved more successful. Transportation and industry, both vital to the military, were transformed in two industrial surges. The first came after 1860, when the government subsidized private railway companies. The railroads linked important cities in the western territories of the empire and enabled Russia to export grain and thus earn money to finance further development. The jewel in the crown of the Russian rail system was the 5,700-mile-long Trans-Siberian Railway. Passing through seven time zones from Moscow to Vladivostok, this crucial rail line brought millions of immigrant peasants from western Russia into the lightly populated areas to the east. The grain they grew was moved west along the line, to help feed the growing cities in Russia's heartland (Map 23.4). Industrial suburbs grew up around Moscow and St. Petersburg, and a class of modern factory workers began to take shape. These workers helped spread Marxist thought, and a Russian revolutionary movement began to take shape after 1890.

Strengthened by industrial development, Russia began to expand by seizing lands on the borders. It took control of territory in far eastern Siberia, on



**Street Scene from a Russian Village** This portrayal of everyday life in a rural Russian village at the turn of the century, with dirt streets, idle peasants, and ramshackle wooden homes, seems to underscore Russian backwardness and the need for the modernizing reforms of the late nineteenth century. The photo here is from a card designed for a stereoscope, a device that gained immense popularity in the second half of the nineteenth century. With its dual-image cards viewed through a pair of lenses, the stereoscope gave the viewer the illusion that the scene portrayed came alive in three-dimensional space; companies marketed hundreds of thousands of cards with images of famous landmarks, epic landscapes, exotic foreigners, and natural wonders. Why, in your opinion, would a western European or American be interested in a scene from the Russian hinterland? (Universal History Archive/Getty Images)

the border with China, and in Central Asia, north of Afghanistan. It also encroached upon the Islamic lands of the Caucasus, along the northeast border of the Ottoman Empire. Russian peasants, offered the chance to escape the small plots of their ancestral homes, used the new rail systems to move to and settle in the newly colonized areas, at times displacing local residents (see Map 23.4). The rapid expansion of the Russian Empire to the south and east excited ardent Russian nationalists and superpatriots, who

■ **manifest destiny** The idea that the United States was destined to expand across the North American continent and become a great world power.

■ **Crimean War** A conflict fought between 1853 and 1856 over Russian desires to expand into Ottoman territory; Russia was defeated by France, Britain, and the Ottomans, underscoring the need for reform in the Russian Empire.



**MAP 23.4 Russian Expansion, 1856–1900** The impressive expansion of the Russian railroad system in the second half of the nineteenth century, capped by the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway around 1910, helped Russia integrate territories along its southern and eastern Asian borders into the imperial state.

became some of the government's most enthusiastic supporters. Alexander II consolidated imperial control by suppressing nationalist movements among Poles, Ukrainians, and Baltic peoples in east-central Europe. By 1900 the Russian Empire commanded a vast and diverse array of peoples and places.

Alexander II's political reforms outraged conservatives but never went far enough for liberals and radicals. In 1881 a member of the "People's Will," a small anarchist group, assassinated the tsar, and the reform era came to an abrupt end. The new tsar, Alexander III (r. 1881–1894), was a determined reactionary. Nevertheless, from 1890 to 1900 economic modernization and industrialization again surged ahead, led by Sergei Witte (suhr-GAY VIH-tuh), finance minister from 1892 to 1903. The tough, competent Witte believed that industrial backwardness threatened Russia's greatness. Under his leadership, the government doubled the network of state-owned railways to thirty-five thousand miles. Witte established high protective tariffs to support industry, and he put the country on the gold standard to strengthen finances.

Witte's greatest innovation was to use Westerners to catch up with the West. He encouraged foreigners to build factories in Russia, believing that "the inflow

of foreign capital is . . . the only way by which our industry will be able to supply our country quickly with abundant and cheap products."<sup>1</sup> His efforts were especially successful in southern Russia. There, in eastern Ukraine, foreign entrepreneurs and engineers built an enormous and up-to-date steel and coal industry. In 1900 peasants still constituted the great majority of the population, but Russia was catching up with the more industrialized West.

### The Russian Revolution of 1905

Catching up in part meant further territorial expansion, for this was the age of Western imperialism. By 1903 Russia had established a sphere of influence in Chinese Manchuria and was eyeing northern Korea, which put Russia in conflict with an equally imperialistic Japan. When Tsar Nicholas II (r. 1894–1917), who replaced his father in 1894, ignored their diplomatic protests, the Japanese launched a surprise attack on Port Arthur, a Russian naval base in northern China, in February 1904. The resulting Russo-Japanese War lasted less than a year. Japan scored repeated victories and annihilated a Russian fleet, and a humiliated Russia surrendered in September 1905.

Once again military disaster abroad brought political upheaval at home. The business and professional classes had long wanted a liberal, representative government. Urban factory workers were organized in a radical and still-illegal labor movement. Peasants had gained little from the era of reforms and suffered from poverty and lack of land. The empire's minorities and subject nationalities, such as Poles, Ukrainians, and Latvians, continued to call for self-rule. With the army pinned down in Manchuria, these currents of discontent converged in the revolution of 1905.

On a Sunday in January 1905, a massive crowd of workers and their families marched peacefully on the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg to present a petition to Nicholas II. Suddenly troops opened fire, killing and wounding hundreds. The Bloody Sunday massacre produced a wave of general indignation that turned many Russians against the tsar. (See "Evaluating Written Evidence: Eyewitness Account of Bloody Sunday," page 708.)

By the summer of 1905 strikes and political rallies, peasant uprisings, revolts among minority nationalities, and mutinies by troops were sweeping the country. The **Russian Revolution of 1905** culminated in October that year in a paralyzing general strike that forced the government to capitulate. The tsar then issued the October Manifesto, which granted full civil rights and promised a popularly elected **Duma** (DO-mah, or parliament) with real legislative power. The manifesto helped split opposition to the tsarist government. Frightened middle-class leaders embraced the liberal reforms and turned their backs on the radical labor movement, which helped the government repress the popular uprising and survive as a constitutional monarchy.

On the eve of the first Duma in May 1906, the government issued the new constitution, the Fundamental Laws. The tsar retained great powers. The Duma, elected indirectly by universal male suffrage with a largely appointive upper house, could debate and pass laws, but the tsar had an absolute veto. As in Bismarck's Germany, the tsar appointed his ministers, who did not need to command a majority in the Duma.

The predominantly middle-class liberals, the largest group in the newly elected Duma, saw the Fundamental Laws as a step backward. Cooperation with Nicholas II's ministers soon broke down, and after months of deadlock the tsar dismissed the Duma. Thereupon he and his advisers, including the talented prime minister Pyotr Stolypin, unilaterally rewrote the electoral law to greatly increase the electoral weight of the conservative propertied classes. When new elections were held, the tsar could count on a legislative majority loyal to the monarchy. The government then pushed through important agrarian reforms designed

to break down collective village ownership of land and encourage the more enterprising peasants—Stolypin's "wager on the strong and sober," meant to encourage economic growth. The government reformed the education and banking systems, but these acts were accompanied by harsh repression of dissidents and radicals. About three thousand suspected revolutionaries were executed by the state, and the hangman's noose became known as "Stolypin's necktie." In 1914, on the eve of the First World War, Russia was partially modernized, a repressive constitutional monarchy with a peasant-based but industrializing economy and significant pockets of discontent.

### Reform and Readjustment in the Ottoman Empire

By the early nineteenth century the economic and political changes reshaping Europe were also at play in the Ottoman Empire, which stretched around the northeastern, eastern, and southern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The borderlands of this vast empire experienced constant flux and conflict. Russia had occupied Ottoman provinces on the Danube River in the last decades of the eighteenth century and grabbed more during the Napoleonic Wars. In 1816 the Ottomans were forced to grant Serbia local autonomy. In 1830 the Greeks won independence, and French armies began their long and bloody takeover of Ottoman Algeria. Yet the Ottomans also achieved important victories. Forces under Muhammad Ali, the Ottoman governor in Egypt, restored order in the Islamic holy lands and conquered significant portions of Sudan, south of Egypt.

Muhammad Ali, a ruthless and intelligent soldier-politician, ruled Egypt in the name of the Ottoman sultan from 1805 to 1848. His modernizing reforms of agriculture, industry, and the military helped turn Egypt into the most powerful state in the eastern Mediterranean. In time, his growing strength directly challenged the Ottoman sultan and Istanbul's ruling elite. From 1831 to 1840 Egyptian troops under the leadership of Muhammad Ali's son Ibrahim occupied the Ottoman province of Syria and Palestine and threatened to depose the Ottoman sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839).

This conflict forced the Ottomans to seek European support. Mahmud II's dynasty survived, but only because the European powers, led by Britain, allied

**Russian Revolution of 1905** A series of popular revolts and mass strikes that forced the tsarist government to grant moderate liberal reforms, including civil rights and a popularly elected parliament.

**Duma** The Russian parliament that opened in 1906, elected indirectly by universal male suffrage but controlled after 1907 by the tsar and the conservative classes.

### Eyewitness Account of Bloody Sunday

Newspaper reporters for the *London Times* expressed shock at the rapid outbreak of deadly violence in Moscow on Bloody Sunday (January 22, 1905), one of the events that sparked the Russian Revolution of 1905. The Cossacks referred to in the excerpt below were soldiers recruited from Russia's southern steppes. Father Gapon, also mentioned in the report, was an Orthodox priest who led the march.

Event has succeeded event with such bewildering rapidity that the public is staggered and shocked beyond measure. The first trouble began at 11 o'clock, when the military tried to turn back some thousands of strikers at one of the bridges . . . where the constant flow of workmen pressing forward refused to be denied access to the common rendezvous in the Palace Square. The Cossacks at first used their knouts [whips], then the flat of their sabers, and finally they fired. The strikers in the front ranks fell on their knees and implored the Cossacks to let them pass, protesting that they had no hostile intentions. They refused, however, to be intimidated by blank cartridges, and orders were given to load with ball.

The passions of the mob broke loose like a bursting dam. The people, seeing the dead and dying carried away in all directions, the snow on the streets and pavements soaked with blood, cried aloud for vengeance. Meanwhile the situation at the Palace was becoming momentarily worse. The troops were reported to be unable to control the vast masses which were constantly surging forward. Re-enforcements were sent, and at 2 o'clock here also the

order was given to fire. Men, women, and children fell at each volley, and were carried away in ambulances, sledges, and carts. The indignation and fury of every class were aroused. Students, merchants, all classes of the population alike were inflamed. At the moment of writing, firing is going on in every quarter of the city.

Father Gapon, marching at the head of a large body of workmen, carrying a cross and other religious emblems, was wounded in the arm and shoulder. The two forces of workmen are now separated. Those on the other side of the river are arming with swords, knives, and smiths' and carpenters' tools, and are busy erecting barricades. The troops are apparently reckless, firing right and left, with or without reason. The rioters continue to appeal to them, saying, "You are Russians! Why play the part of bloodthirsty butchers?" . . .

A night of terror is in prospect.

#### EVALUATE THE EVIDENCE

1. Can you begin to reconstruct the events of Bloody Sunday from this report? Who seems to be responsible for the violence?
2. Why would press accounts from London seem more sympathetic to the protesters than to the soldiers, who represent the power of the Russian state?
3. Did popular protest help Russians win civil rights from the tsarist government?

Source: James Harvey Robinson and Charles Beard, eds., *Readings in Modern European History*, vol. 2 (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1909), pp. 373–374.

with the Ottomans to discipline Muhammad Ali. The European powers preferred a weak and dependent Ottoman Empire to a strong, economically independent state under a dynamic leader such as Muhammad Ali.

Faced with growing European military and economic competition, liberal Ottoman statesmen in 1839 launched the **Tanzimat**, or "Reorganization." The radical Tanzimat reforms, borrowed from western European models, were designed to modernize the empire. The high point of reform came when the new liberal-minded sultan, Abdul Mejid (r. 1839–1861), issued the Imperial Rescript of 1856, just after the Ottoman victory in the Crimean War. Articles in the decree called for equality before the law regardless of religious faith, a modernized administration and army, and private ownership of land. As part of the reform policy, and under economic pressure from the

European powers that had paid for the empire's war against Russia in Crimea, Ottoman leaders adopted free-trade policies. New commercial laws removed tariffs on foreign imports and permitted foreign merchants to operate freely throughout the empire.

The turn to nineteenth-century liberal capitalism had mixed effects. With the growth of Western-style banking and insurance systems, elite Christian and Jewish businessmen prospered. Yet most profits went to foreign investors rather than Ottoman subjects. In addition, the elimination of traditional state-controlled monopolies sharply cut imperial revenues. In 1851 Sultan Mejid was forced to borrow 55 million francs from British and French bankers to cover state deficits. Other loans followed, and intractable indebtedness led to the bankruptcy of the Ottoman state two decades later.

The Tanzimat reforms led to partial recovery but fell short of their goals. The Ottoman initiatives did



**Pasha Hilim Receiving Archduke Maximilian of Austria** As this painting suggests, Ottoman leaders became well versed in European languages and culture. They also mastered the game of power politics, playing one European state against another to secure the Ottoman Empire's survival. (By Peter Johann Nepomuk Geiger [1805–1880]/Miramare Palace, Trieste, Italy/Alfredo Dagli Orti/Shutterstock)

not curtail the appetite of Western imperialists, who secured a stranglehold on the imperial economy by issuing loans. The reforms also failed to halt the growth of nationalism among some Christian subjects in the Balkans, which resulted in crises and increased pressure from neighboring Austria and Russia, eager to gain access to the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean.

Finally, equality before the law for all citizens, regardless of religious affiliation, actually increased religious disputes, which were often encouraged and manipulated by the European powers eager to seize any pretext for intervention. This development embittered relations between religious conservatives and social liberals, a struggle that ultimately distracted the government from its reform mission. Religious conservatives in both the Muslim and Greek Orthodox

communities detested the religious reforms, which they viewed as an impious departure from tradition. These conservatives became dependable supporters of Sultan Abdülhamid II (ahb-dool-hah-MEED) (r. 1876–1909), who in 1876 halted the reform movement and turned away from European liberalism in his long and repressive reign.

Abdülhamid II's government failed to halt foreign efforts to fragment and ultimately take control over key Ottoman territories. Defeated in the Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878), the Ottomans ceded districts in the Caucasus to Russia; saw the Balkan territories of Romania, Montenegro, and Serbia declare independence; and granted the establishment

■ **Tanzimat** A set of reforms designed to remake the Ottoman Empire on a western European model.

of an autonomous Bulgaria, still nominally under the Ottoman sultan's control. By the 1890s the government's failures had encouraged a powerful resurgence of the modernizing impulse under the banner of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), an umbrella organization that united multiethnic reformist groups from across the empire. These fervent

patriots, unofficially called the **Young Turks**, seized power in a 1908 coup and forced the sultan to implement new reforms. Although they failed to stop the rising tide of anti-Ottoman nationalism in the Balkans, the Young Turks helped prepare the way for the rise of modern secular Turkey after the defeat and collapse of the Ottoman Empire in World War I.

## How did the relationship between government and the governed change after 1871?

The decades after 1870 brought rapid change to European politics. Despite some major differences among countries, European domestic politics had a new common framework, the nation-state. The nation-state made new demands on its citizens but also offered them a number of new benefits, embodied in growing state institutions and bureaucracies.

### The Responsive National State

Common themes within the framework of the new nation-state were the emergence of mass politics and growing popular loyalty toward the nation. Traditional elites were forced into new arrangements in order to exercise power, and new, pragmatic politicians took leading roles. The major states of western Europe adopted constitutions of some sort, and universal male suffrage was granted in Britain, France, and Germany and elsewhere, at least in voting for the lower houses of parliament. New political parties representing a broad spectrum of interests and groups, from workers and liberals to Catholics and conservatives, engaged in hard-fought election campaigns.

Powerful bureaucracies also emerged to govern growing populations, manage modern economies, and administer social programs. The responsive national state offered its citizens free education and some welfare and public health benefits, and for good reason many ordinary people felt increasing loyalty to their governments.

Building support for nation-states also had a less positive side. Elite leaders only reluctantly extended the popular vote to their male citizens, and they dismissed women's demands for political equality. Many men were also forced to serve in the military. Although the British maintained an all-volunteer army until the First World War, most continental countries had established conscription systems by the 1870s. They also began to levy income taxes to pay for the expansion of national bureaucracies.

In addition, conservative and moderate leaders both found that workers who voted socialist—whose potential revolutionary power they feared—would

rally around the flag in a diplomatic crisis or cheer when colonial interests seized a distant territory. Therefore, after 1871 governing elites frequently used antiliberal militarist and imperialist policies to unite national populations and overcome or mask intractable domestic conflicts. The failure to resolve internal conflicts and the tendency to manipulate foreign policy to win popular support inflamed the domestic and international tensions that erupted in the cataclysms of World War I and the Russian Revolution.

### The German Empire

The history of Germany after 1871 exemplified many of the political developments associated with the formation of nation-states. Like the United States, the new German Empire adopted a federal system: a union of Prussia and twenty-four smaller states, each with separate legislatures. Much of the business of government was conducted at the state level, but there was a strong national government with a chancellor—until 1890, Bismarck—and a popularly elected parliament called the **Reichstag** (RIKES-tahg). Although Bismarck frequently ignored the wishes of the parliamentary majority, he preferred to win the support of the Reichstag to lend legitimacy to his policy goals. This situation gave the political parties opportunities to influence national policy. Until 1878 Bismarck relied mainly on the National Liberals, who supported legislation useful for economic growth and unification of the country.

Less wisely, the National Liberals backed Bismarck's attack on the Catholic Church, the so-called Kulturkampf (kool-TOOR-kahmpf), or "culture struggle." Like Bismarck, the middle-class National Liberals were alarmed by Pius IX's declaration of papal infallibility in 1870. That dogma seemed to ask German Catholics to put loyalty to their church, a foreign power, above their loyalty to their newly unified nation. Kulturkampf initiatives aimed at making the Catholic Church subject to government control. However, only in Protestant Prussia did the Kulturkampf have even limited success.

In 1878 Bismarck abandoned his attack on the church and instead courted the Catholic Center Party, whose supporters included many Catholic small farmers in western and southern Germany. By revoking free-trade policy and enacting high tariffs on cheap grain from the United States, Canada, and Russia, he won over both the Center Party and the conservative Protestant Junkers, nobles with large landholdings in East Prussia.

Other governments followed Bismarck's lead, and the 1880s and 1890s saw a widespread return to protectionism in Europe. France, in particular, established very high tariffs to protect agriculture and industry. European governments thus offered an effective response to foreign competition in a way that won popular loyalty. But the rise of protectionism exemplified the dangers of self-centered nationalism: new tariffs led to international name-calling and nasty trade wars.

After the failure of the Kulturkampf, Bismarck's government tried to stop the growth of the **German Social Democratic Party (SPD)**, Germany's Marxist, working-class political party that was established in the 1870s. Both conservative elites and middle-class liberals feared the SPD's revolutionary language and allegiance to a Marxist movement that transcended the nation-state. In 1878 Bismarck pushed through the Reichstag the Anti-Socialist Laws, which banned Social Democratic associations, meetings, and publications. The Social Democratic Party was driven underground, but it maintained substantial influence, and Bismarck decided to try another tack.

To win working-class support, Bismarck urged the Reichstag to enact state-supported social welfare measures. Big business and some conservatives accused him of creating "state socialism," but Bismarck ably pressed his program in many lively speeches. "Give the working-man the right to work as long as he is healthy," he said. "Assure him care when he is sick; assure him maintenance when he is old. If you do that," he added, "and do not fear the [financial] sacrifice, or cry out at State Socialism as soon as the words 'provision for old age' are uttered," then "working-men" would see that the German government, not the Social Democrats, had their best interests in mind.<sup>2</sup>

Bismarck carried the day, and his conservative nation-state was among the first to set up extensive social welfare programs. In 1883 he pushed through the Reichstag the first of several social security laws to help wage earners by providing national sickness insurance. Other laws established accident insurance, old-age pensions, and retirement benefits. Henceforth sick, injured, and retired workers could look forward to some regular benefits from the state. This national social security system, paid for through compulsory contributions by wage earners and employers as well

as grants from the state, was the first of its kind anywhere. Bismarck's social security system did not wean workers from voting socialist, but it did give them a small stake in the system and protect them from some of the uncertainties of the competitive industrial economy. This enormously significant development was a product of political competition and conservative efforts to win popular support by defusing the SPD's radical appeal.

Increasingly, the key issue in German domestic politics was socialism and the rapid growth of the SPD. In 1890 the new emperor, the young, idealistic, and unstable Wilhelm II (r. 1888–1918), opposed Bismarck's attempt to renew the Anti-Socialist Laws. Eager to rule in his own right and to earn the support of the workers, Wilhelm II forced Bismarck to resign. Afterward, German foreign policy became far more aggressive—in part to distract the population from ongoing internal conflicts—but the government did pass new laws to aid workers and legalize socialist political activity.

Yet Wilhelm II was no more successful than Bismarck in getting workers to renounce socialism. Social Democrats won more and more seats in the Reichstag, becoming Germany's largest single party in 1912. Though this victory shocked aristocrats and their wealthy, conservative allies, who held exaggerated fears of an impending socialist upheaval, the revolutionary socialists had actually become less radical. In the years before World War I, the SPD broadened its base by adopting a more patriotic tone, allowing for greater military spending and imperialist expansion. German socialists abandoned revolutionary aims to concentrate instead on gradual social and political reform.

## Republican France and the Third French Republic

Although Napoleon III's reign reduced some antagonisms between classes, the Franco-Prussian War undid these efforts. In 1871 France seemed hopelessly divided once again. The patriotic republicans who proclaimed the Third Republic in Paris after the military disaster at Sedan refused to admit defeat by the Germans. They defended Paris with great heroism

**■ Young Turks** Fervent patriots who seized power in a 1908 coup in the Ottoman Empire, forcing the conservative sultan to implement reforms.

**■ Reichstag** The popularly elected lower house of government of the new German Empire after 1871.

**■ German Social Democratic Party (SPD)** A German working-class political party founded in the 1870s, the SPD championed Marxism but in practice turned away from Marxist revolution and worked instead in the German parliament for social benefits and workplace reforms.

for weeks, until they were starved into submission by German armies in January 1871.

The next national elections sent a large majority of conservatives and monarchists to the National Assembly, and France's new leaders decided they had no choice but to surrender Alsace (al-SAS) and Lorraine to Germany. The traumatized Parisians exploded in patriotic frustration and proclaimed the Paris Commune in March 1871. Its radical leaders wanted to establish a revolutionary government in Paris and rule without interference from the conservative French countryside. Their program included workplace reforms, the separation of church and state, press censorship, and radical feminism. The National Assembly, led by aging politician Adolphe Thiers (TEE-ehr), ordered the French army into Paris and brutally crushed the Commune. Twenty thousand people died in the fighting. As in June 1848, it was Paris against the provinces, French against French.

Out of this tragedy, France slowly formed a new national unity under the banner of the Third Republic, achieving considerable stability before 1914. How do we account for this? Luck played a part. Until 1875 the monarchists in the ostensibly republican National Assembly had a majority but could not agree on who should be king. The compromise Bourbon candidate refused to rule except under the white flag of his absolutist ancestors—a completely unacceptable condition for many supporters of a constitutional monarchy. In the meantime, Thiers's destruction of the Commune and his other firm measures showed the fearful provinces and the middle classes that the Third Republic could be politically moderate and socially conservative. Another stabilizing factor was the skill and determination of moderate republican leaders in the early years. France therefore reluctantly retained republican government, with a presidential system rather than a parliamentary monarchy. As President Thiers cautiously said, this was “the government which divides us least.” By 1879 most members of both the upper and lower houses of the National Assembly were republicans, giving the Third Republic firm foundations.

The moderate republicans sought to preserve their creation by winning the allegiance of the next generation. The Assembly legalized trade unions, and France expanded its colonial empire. More important, a series of laws between 1879 and 1886 greatly broadened the state system of public, tax-supported schools and established free compulsory elementary education for both girls and boys. In the past, most elementary and much secondary education had occurred in Catholic

schools, which had long been hostile to republicanism and secularism. Now free compulsory elementary education became secular republican education. Throughout the Western world, the expansion of public education was a critical nation-building tool in the late nineteenth century.

Although the educational reforms of the 1880s disturbed French Catholics, many of them rallied to the republic in the 1890s. The limited acceptance of the modern world by the more liberal Pope Leo XIII (pontificate 1878–1903) eased conflicts between church and state. Unfortunately, the **Dreyfus affair** renewed church-state tensions.

In 1894 Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish captain in the French army, was falsely accused and convicted of treason. His case enlisted the support of prominent republicans and intellectuals, including novelist Émile Zola. In 1898 and 1899 the Dreyfus affair split France apart. On one side was the army, which had manufactured evidence against Dreyfus, joined by anti-Semites, conservative nationalists, and most of the Catholic establishment. On the other side stood liberals and most republicans.

Dreyfus was eventually declared innocent, but the battle revived republican animosity toward the Catholic Church. Between 1901 and 1905 the government severed all ties between the state and the church. It stopped paying priests' and bishops' salaries and placed committees of lay Catholics in control of all churches. Suddenly on their own financially, Catholic schools soon lost a third of their students, greatly increasing the state school system's reach and thus its power of indoctrination. In short, deep religious and political divisions, as well as a growing socialist movement, challenged the apparent stability of the Third Republic.

## Great Britain and Ireland

Historians often cast late-nineteenth-century Britain as a shining example of peaceful and successful political evolution, where an effective two-party Parliament skillfully guided the country from classical liberalism to full-fledged democracy with hardly a misstep. This “Whig view” of British history is not so much wrong as it is incomplete. After the right to vote was granted to wealthy middle-class males in 1832, opinion leaders and politicians wrestled with further expansion of the franchise. In 1859 the Whig Party merged with other groups to form the Liberal Party, which advocated social reform and *laissez-faire* economics and would continue to challenge the opposing Conservative Party into the twentieth century. In the Second Reform Bill of 1867, Benjamin Disraeli and the Conservative Party extended the vote to all middle-class males and the best-paid workers to broaden their base of support beyond the landowning class. After 1867 English

■ **Dreyfus affair** A divisive case in which Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish captain in the French army, was falsely accused and convicted of treason. The Catholic Church sided with the anti-Semites against Dreyfus; after Dreyfus was declared innocent, the French government severed all ties between the state and the church.

political parties and electoral campaigns became more modern, and the “lower orders” appeared to vote as responsibly as their “betters.” Hence the Third Reform Bill of 1884, introduced by Liberal prime minister William Gladstone (1809–1898), gave the vote to almost every adult male. The long reign of Queen Victoria (r. 1837–1901), whose role in Britain’s evolving constitutional monarchy became increasingly symbolic, offered the British a sense of pride and stability in an era of political change.

While the House of Commons drifted toward democracy, the House of Lords was content to slumber nobly. Between 1901 and 1910, however, the Lords tried to reassert themselves. Acting as supreme court of the land, they ruled against labor unions in two important decisions. And after the Liberal Party came to power in 1906, the Lords vetoed several measures passed by the Commons, including the so-called People’s Budget, designed to increase spending on social welfare services. When the king threatened to create enough new peers to pass the bill, the Lords finally capitulated, as they had

with the Reform Bill of 1832. Aristocratic conservatism yielded slowly to popular democracy.

Extensive social welfare measures, previously slow to come to Great Britain, were passed in a spectacular rush between 1906 and 1914. During those years the Liberal Party, inspired by the fiery Welshman David Lloyd George (1863–1945), enacted the People’s Budget and substantially raised taxes on the rich. This income helped the government pay for national health insurance, unemployment benefits, old-age pensions, and a host of other social measures, although the refusal to grant women the right to vote encouraged a determined and increasingly militant women’s suffrage movement.

This record of accomplishment was only part of the story, however. On the eve of World War I, the unanswered question of Ireland brought Great Britain to the brink of civil war. The terrible Irish famine of the 1840s and early 1850s had fueled an Irish revolutionary movement. The Irish Republican Brotherhood, established in 1858 and known as the “Fenians,” engaged in violent



**Irish Home Rule** In December 1867 members of the “Fenians,” an underground group dedicated to Irish independence from British rule, detonated a bomb outside Clerkenwell Prison in London. Their attempt to liberate Irish Republican activists failed. Though the bomb blew a hole in the prison walls, damaged nearby buildings, and killed twelve innocent bystanders, no Fenians were freed. The British labeled the event the “Clerkenwell Outrage,” and its violence evokes revealing parallels with the radical terrorist attacks of today.  
(From *Illustrierte Zeitung*, Leipzig, Germany, 4 January 1868/akg-images)

campaigns against British rule. The British responded with repression and arrests. Seeking a way out, the English slowly granted concessions, such as rights for Irish peasants and abolition of Anglican Church privileges. Gladstone, who twenty years earlier had proclaimed, “My mission is to pacify Ireland,” introduced bills to give Ireland self-government, or **home rule**, in 1886 and in 1893, though they failed to pass.

Ireland was on the brink of achieving self-government, but while the Catholic majority in the southern counties wanted home rule, the Protestants of the northern counties of Ulster opposed it. The Ulster Protestants (or Ulsterites) refused to submerge themselves in a majority-Catholic Ireland, just as Irish Catholics had refused to submit to a Protestant Britain.

By December 1913 the Ulsterites had raised one hundred thousand armed volunteers, and much of English public opinion supported their cause. In 1914 the Liberals in the House of Lords introduced a compromise home-rule bill that did not apply to the northern counties. This bill, which openly betrayed promises made to Irish nationalists, was rejected in the Commons, and in September the original home-rule bill passed but with its implementation delayed. The Irish question had been overtaken by the world war that began in August 1914, and final resolution was suspended for the duration of the hostilities.

Irish developments illustrated once again the power of national feeling and national movements. Moreover, they demonstrated that central governments could not elicit greater loyalty unless they could capture and control that elemental current of national feeling. Though Great Britain had power, prosperity, and parliamentary rule, none of these availed in the face of the conflicting nationalisms created by Irish Catholics and Protestants. Similarly, progressive Sweden was powerless to stop a Norwegian national movement, which culminated in Norway's leaving Sweden and becoming fully independent in 1905. The Ottoman Empire also had similar difficulties in the Balkans in the late nineteenth century. It was only a matter of time before the Serbs, Bulgarians, and Romanians would break away.

### The Austro-Hungarian Empire

The dilemma of conflicting nationalisms in Ireland or the Ottoman Empire helps one appreciate how

desperate the situation in the Austro-Hungarian Empire had become by the early twentieth century. In 1848 Magyar nationalism had driven Hungarian patriots to declare an independent Hungarian republic, which Russian and Austrian armies savagely crushed in the summer of 1849. Throughout the 1850s Hungary was ruled as a conquered territory, and Emperor Franz Joseph and his bureaucracy tried hard to centralize the state and Germanize the language and culture of the different ethnic groups there.

Then, in the wake of its defeat by Prussia in 1866 and the loss of northern Italy, a weakened Austria agreed to a compromise and in 1867 established the so-called dual monarchy. The Austrian Empire was divided in two, and the Magyars gained virtual independence for Hungary. Henceforth each half of the empire dealt with its own ethnic minorities. The two states, now called the Austro-Hungarian Empire or Austria-Hungary, still shared the same monarch and common ministries for finance, defense, and foreign affairs.

In Austria, ethnic Germans were only one-third of the population, and many Germans saw their traditional dominance threatened by Czechs, Poles, and other Slavs. The language used in local government and elementary education became a particularly emotional issue in the Austrian parliament. From 1900 to 1914 the legislature was so divided that ministries generally could not obtain a majority and ruled instead by decree. Efforts by both conservatives and socialists to defuse national antagonisms by stressing economic issues that cut across ethnic lines were largely unsuccessful.

In Hungary, the Magyar nobility in 1867 restored the constitution of 1848 and used it to dominate both the Magyar peasantry and the minority populations until 1914. Only the wealthiest one-fourth of adult males had the right to vote, making the parliament the creature of the Magyar elite. Laws promoting the Magyar language in schools and government were bitterly resented, especially by Croatians and Romanians. While Magyar extremists campaigned for total separation from Austria, the radical leaders of their subject nationalities dreamed of independence from Hungary. Unlike most major countries that harnessed nationalism to strengthen the state after 1871, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was progressively weakened by it.

## What were the costs and benefits of nationalism for ordinary people?

**A**lthough the familiar boundaries of Europe's nation-states were mostly in place by the 1870s, national leaders faced a unique problem: how could they encourage ordinary people to identify with the

state? While shared languages and institutions and new national symbols helped build popular support, some people were marginalized, either excluded from political representation or turned into scapegoats.

## Making National Citizens

Responding to national unification, an Italian statesman famously remarked, “We have made Italy. Now we must make Italians.” His comment captured the dilemma faced by political leaders in the last third of the nineteenth century. As the nation-state extended voting rights and welfare benefits to more and more people, the question of national loyalty became increasingly important. How could the new nation-states win the people’s heartfelt allegiance?

The issue was pressing. The recent unification of Italy and Germany, for example, had brought together a patchwork of previously independent states with different customs, loyalties, and in some cases languages. In Italy, only about 2 percent of the population spoke the language that would become official Italian. In Germany, regional and religious differences and strong traditions of local political autonomy undermined collective feeling. In Great Britain, deep class differences still dampened national unity, and across the territories of central and eastern Europe, overlapping ethnic groups with distinct languages and cultures challenged the logic of nation building. Even in France, where national boundaries had been fairly stable for several centuries, only about 50 percent of the people spoke proper French. The 60 percent of the population that still lived in rural areas often felt stronger allegiance to their village or region than to the distant nation headquartered in Paris.

Yet by the 1890s most ordinary people had accepted, if not embraced, the notion of national belonging, for various reasons. For one, centralized institutions imposed across entire territories reached even the lowliest citizen. Universal military conscription, introduced in most of Europe after the Franco-Prussian War (Britain was an exception), yanked peasants off their land and workers out of their factories and exposed young male conscripts to patriotic values. Free compulsory education leveled out language differences and taught children about glorious national traditions. In Italy and Germany, the introduction of a common currency, standard weights and measurements, and a national post office eroded regional differences. Boasting images of grand historical events or prominent leaders, even postage stamps and banknotes could impart a sense of national solidarity.

Improved transportation and communication networks broke down regional differences and reinforced the national idea as well. The extension of railroad service into hinterlands and the improvement of local roads shattered rural isolation, boosted the growth of national markets for commercial agriculture, and helped turn “peasants into Frenchmen.”<sup>3</sup> Literacy rates and compulsory schooling advanced rapidly in the late nineteenth century, and

more and more people read about national history or the latest political events in newspapers, magazines, and books.

Intellectuals, politicians, and ideologues of all stripes eagerly promoted national pride. At Humboldt University in Berlin, the prominent history professor Heinrich von Treitschke championed German superiority, especially over archrival Great Britain. Scholars like Treitschke uncovered the deep roots of national identity in ancient folk traditions; in shared language, customs, race, and religion; and in historic attachments to national territory. Such accounts, often based on flimsy historical evidence, were popularized in the classroom and the press. Few nationalist thinkers sympathized with French philosopher Ernest Renan, who suggested that national identity was based more on a people’s current desire for a “common life” and an invented, idealized past than on actual, true-to-life historical experiences.

New symbols and rituals brought nationalism into the lives of ordinary people. Each nation had its own unique capital city, flag, military uniform, and national anthem. New symbols, such as Britain’s doughty John Bull, France’s republican Marianne, America’s stern Uncle Sam, and Germany’s stolid Michel, supposedly embodied shared national characteristics. All citizens could participate in newly invented national holidays, such as Bastille Day in France, first held in 1880 to commemorate the French Revolution, or Sedan Day in Germany, created to celebrate Germany’s victory over France in 1871. Royal weddings, coronations, jubilees, and funerals brought citizens into the streets to celebrate the nation’s leaders—British Queen Victoria’s 1887 Golden Jubilee set a high standard. Public squares and parks received prominent commemorative statues and monuments, such as the grand memorial to Victor Emmanuel II in central Rome, or the ostentatious Monument to the Battle of Nations built in Leipzig to honor German victory in the Napoleonic Wars. Surrounded by these inescapable elements of everyday nationalism, most ordinary people grew to see themselves as members of their national communities.<sup>4</sup> (See “Thinking Like a Historian: How to Build a Nation,” page 716.)

## The Feminist Movement

Facing discrimination in education and employment and a lack of legal rights, some women began to demand that the nation-state guarantee the rights of women and the equality of the sexes. Women had much to fight for in the late nineteenth century.

**home rule** The late-nineteenth-century movement to give Ireland a government independent from Great Britain; it was supported by Irish Catholics and resisted by Irish Protestants.

# THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

## How to Build a Nation

Nationalism permeated many aspects of everyday life and became a powerful political ideology in the late nineteenth century. Yet because Europeans were divided by opposing regional and religious loyalties, social and class divisions, and ethnic differences, developing a sense of national belonging among ordinary people posed a problem. How did leaders encourage citizens to embrace national identities?

### 1 Ernest Renan, "What Is a Nation?" 1882.

In a famous lecture, French philosopher Ernest Renan argued that national identity depended on an imagined past that had less to do with historical reality than with contemporary aspirations for collective belonging.

A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form. . . .

More valuable by far than common customs posts and frontiers conforming to strategic ideas is the fact of sharing, in the past, a glorious heritage and regrets, and of having, in the future, [a shared]

programme to put into effect, or the fact of having suffered, enjoyed, and hoped together. These are the kinds of things that can be understood in spite of differences of race and language. I spoke just now of "having suffered together" and, indeed, suffering in common unifies more than joy does. Where national memories are concerned, griefs are of more value than triumphs, for they impose duties, and require a common effort.

A nation is therefore a large-scale solidarity, constituted by the feeling of the sacrifices that one has made in the past and of those that one is prepared to make in the future. It presupposes a past; it is summarized, however, in the present by a tangible fact, namely, consent, the clearly expressed desire to continue a common life. A nation's existence is, if you will pardon the metaphor, a daily plebiscite, just as an individual's existence is a perpetual affirmation of life.

### 2 National banknotes and stamps.

Patriotic images turned up in everyday places. An Italian banknote (1881), for example, featured Leonardo da Vinci and King Victor Emmanuel II, while a Belgian stamp (1905) (right) portrayed King Leopold II.



(De Agostini/A. Dagli Orti/Getty Images)



(CSP\_Boris15/age-fotostock)

## ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. In Source 1, why does Ernest Renan conclude that "[a] nation's existence is . . . a daily plebiscite"?
2. Consider Sources 2–5. What symbols or ideas are used to promote a sense of national belonging? Why, for example, would an Italian banknote feature an image of the sixteenth-century artist/philosopher Leonardo da Vinci? Why do these sources repeatedly evoke blood, battles, and national leaders?
3. Are nationalists good historians? Do the sources above accurately represent the "true-to-life" historic experiences of specific national peoples?

**3 "The Watch on the Rhine," lyrics**  
**1840, music 1854.** German soldiers sang this triumphal patriotic anthem about the Rhine River, which defines the borderlands between France and Germany, as they marched to fight in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) and World War I (1914–1918).

A voice resounds like thunder-peal,  
'Mid dashing waves and clang of steel:  
The Rhine, the Rhine, the German Rhine!  
Who guards to-day my stream divine?  
*[Chorus]* Dear Fatherland, no danger thine;  
Firm stand thy sons to watch the Rhine!

They stand, a hundred thousand strong,  
Quick to avenge their country's wrong;  
With filial love their bosoms swell,  
They'll guard the sacred landmark well!

*Chorus*

The dead of an heroic race  
From heaven look down and meet this gaze;  
He swears with dauntless heart, "O Rhine,  
Be German as this breast of mine!"

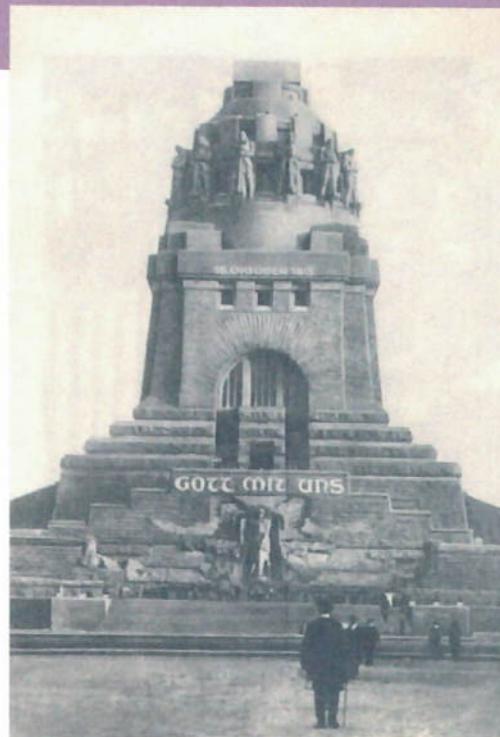
*Chorus*

While flows one drop of German blood,  
Or sword remains to guard thy flood,  
While rifle rests in patriot hand,  
No foe shall tread thy sacred strand!

*Chorus*

Our oath resounds, the river flows,  
In golden light our banner glows;  
Our hearts will guard thy stream divine:  
The Rhine, the Rhine, the German Rhine!

*Chorus*



(adoc-photos/Getty Images)

**4 Monument to the Battle of Nations, Leipzig, Germany, 1913.** This colossal monument commemorates the victory of the Prussians and their allies over Napoleon in 1813. A large statue of the archangel Michael underneath an inscription reading "Gott Mit Uns" (God with Us) guards the entrance, while Teutonic knights with drawn swords stand watch around the memorial's crest. The visitors climbing the stairs at the bottom right of the photo give some idea of the monument's size.

**5 The National Monument to King Victor Emmanuel II, Rome, Italy, 1911.** Nicknamed the "wedding cake" by local wits, this memorial/museum features an equestrian statue of the king above a frieze representing the Italian people, and an imposing Roman-style colonnade crowned by two horse-drawn chariots.



(Bailey-Cooper Photography/Alamy)

## PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned about nationalism in class and in Chapters 21 and 23, write a short essay that applies Ernest Renan's ideas about national identity to the spread of nationalism in the late nineteenth century. Can you explain why nationalism might subsume or erode existing regional, religious, or class differences?



**First-Wave Feminists in Action** In July 1905 a woman campaigning for the right to vote is restrained by policemen at a suffragette demonstration in London. British suffragettes often engaged in provocative public acts of civil disobedience in their campaigns. The responsive national state offered benefits to its citizens, but only grudgingly offered women full political rights. (Manchester Daily Express/SSPL/Getty Images)

The ideal of separate spheres and the rigid gender division of labor meant that middle-class women faced great obstacles when they needed or wanted to move into the man's world of paid employment. Married women were subordinated to their husbands by law and lacked many basic legal rights. In England, a wife had no legal identity and hence no right to own property in her own name. Even the wages she might earn belonged to her husband. In France, the Napoleonic Code enshrined the principle of female subordination and gave the wife few legal rights regarding property, divorce, and custody of the children.

Following women such as Mary Wollstonecraft, middle-class feminists campaigned for equal legal rights for women as well as access to higher education, professional employment, and the vote. They argued that unmarried women and middle-class widows with inadequate incomes simply had to have more opportunities to support themselves. Feminists also argued that paid employment, as opposed to unpaid housework, could relieve the monotony that some women found in their sheltered middle-class existence.

In the late nineteenth century women's organizations scored some significant victories, such as the 1882 law giving English married women full property rights. In the decade before World War I, the British women's **suffrage movement** mounted a militant struggle for the right to vote. Inspired by the slogan "Deeds Not Words," women

"suffragettes" marched in public demonstrations, heckled members of Parliament, and slashed paintings in London's National Gallery. Jailed for political activities, they went on highly publicized hunger strikes. Conservatives dismissed "the shrieking sisterhood," and British women received the vote only in 1919.

In Germany before 1900, women were not admitted as fully registered students at a single university. Determined pioneers had to fight to break through sexist barriers to advanced education and professional employment. By 1913 the Federation of German Women's Association, an umbrella organization for regional feminist groups, had some 470,000 members. Their protests had a direct impact on the revised German Civil Code of 1906, which granted women substantial gains in family law and property rights.

Women inspired by utopian and especially Marxist socialism blazed an alternative path. Often scorning the reform programs of middle-class feminists, socialist women leaders argued that the liberation of working-class women would come only with the liberation of the entire working class through Marxist revolution. In the meantime, they championed the cause of working women and won some practical improvements, especially in Germany, where the socialist movement was most effectively organized.

Progress toward women's rights was slow and hard-won, yet the state did respond with more gender-equitable property and family laws, workplace

reforms, and civil rights. Women's right to vote, however, was typically only granted in the years after World War I.

## Nationalism and Racism

Whereas nationalism in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century had often promoted liberal reform and peaceful brotherhood, after the 1870s it took on more populist and exclusionary tones. The growing popularity of supposedly scientific understandings of racial difference fueled this animosity. Though we now understand that there is no genetic basis for distinct human races, most people in the late nineteenth century believed that race was a product of heredity or "blood." Many felt pride in their own national racial characteristics—French, English, German, Jewish, Polish, and many others—that were supposedly passed down from generation to generation. Unfortunately, pride in one's own heritage easily led to denigration of someone else's.

Modern attempts to use race to categorize distinct groups of people had their roots in Enlightenment thought (see Chapter 16). Now a new group of intellectuals, including race theorists such as Count Arthur de Gobineau, claimed that their ideas about racial difference were scientific, based on hard biological "facts" about bloodlines and heredity. In *On the Inequality of the Human Races* (1854), Gobineau divided humanity into the white, black, and yellow races based on geographical location and championed the white "Aryan race" for its supposedly superior qualities. Social Darwinist ideas about the "survival of the fittest" (see "Darwin and Natural Selection," in Chapter 22), when applied to the "contest" between nations and races, further popularized stereotypes about inferior and superior races.

The close links between nationalism and scientific racism helped justify imperial expansion, as we shall see in the next chapter. Nationalist racism also fostered domestic persecution and exclusion, as witnessed in Bismarck's Kulturkampf and the Dreyfus affair. According to race theorists, the nation was supposed to be racially pure, and ethnic minorities were viewed as outsiders and targets for reform, repression, and relocation. Thus ethnic Russian leaders targeted minority Poles and Czechs for "Russification" so they might learn the Russian language and assimilate into Russian society. Germans likewise viewed the many ethnic Poles in East Prussia as a "national threat" that required "Germanization" before they could be seen as equals to the superior Germans. For many nationalists, driven by ugly currents of race hatred, Jews were the ultimate outsiders,

the stereotypical "inferior race" that posed the greatest challenge to national purity.

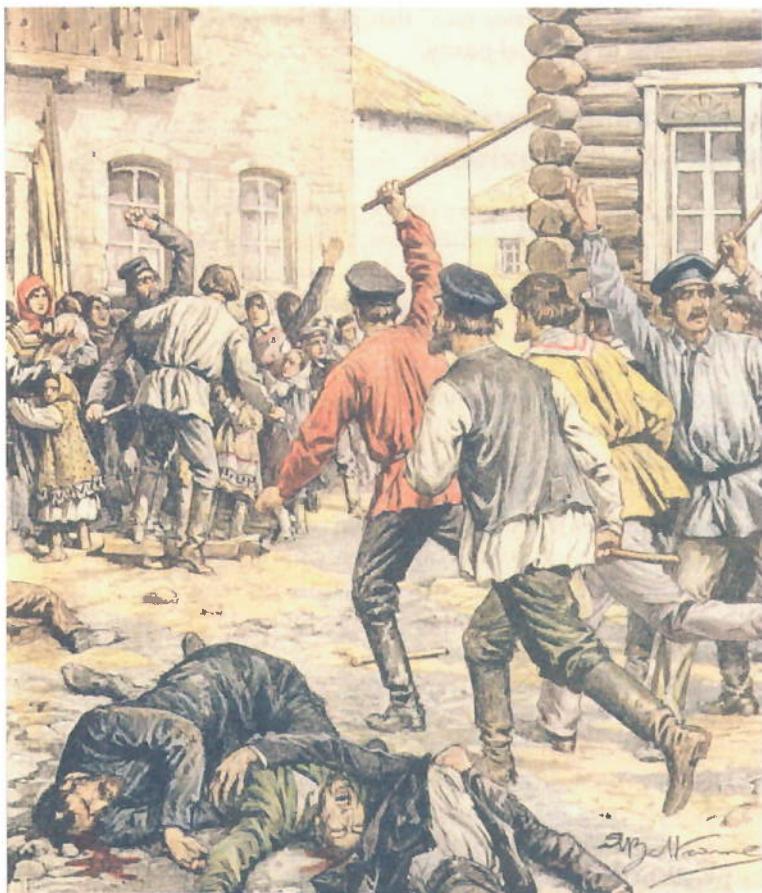
## Jewish Emancipation and Modern Anti-Semitism

Changing political principles and the triumph of the nation-state had revolutionized Jewish life in western and central Europe. By the 1870s, Jews across western and central Europe had won "emancipation," that is, legal and civic equality with other citizens. In 1871, for example, the constitution of the new German Empire abolished all restrictions on Jewish marriage, choice of occupation, place of residence, and property ownership. Many European Jewish families had improved their economic situation enough to enter the middle classes. They often identified strongly with their respective nation-states and, with good reason, saw themselves as patriotic citizens. Even with these changes, Jews faced discrimination in employment opportunities and social relations.

Vicious anti-Semitism reappeared with force in central and eastern Europe after the stock market crash of 1873. Drawing on long traditions of religious intolerance, segregation into ghettos, and periodic anti-Jewish riots (or pogroms), this anti-Semitism also built on the exclusionary aspects of popular nationalism and the pseudoscience of race. Fanatic anti-Semites whipped up resentment against Jewish achievement and "financial control" and claimed that Jewish "blood" posed a biological threat to Christian peoples. Such ideas were popularized by the repeated publication of the notorious forgery "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," a fake account of a secret meeting supposedly held at the First Zionist Congress in Basel in 1897 that suggested that Jewish elders planned to dominate the globe. Such anti-Semitic beliefs were particularly popular among conservatives, extreme nationalists, and people who felt threatened by Jewish competition, such as small shopkeepers, officeworkers, and professionals.

Anti-Semites created nationalist political parties that attacked and insulted Jews to win popular support. In one noted example, anti-Semitism combined with a large-scale public works program helped Austrian politician Karl Lueger (LOU-ger) and his Christian Socialist Party win striking electoral victories in Vienna in the 1890s. Lueger, mayor of Vienna from 1897 to 1910, tried to limit Jewish immigration from the Russian Empire and used fierce anti-Semitic rhetoric to appeal to the worst instincts of the electorate, especially the lower middle class. Future Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler lived in Vienna during this time, and

■ **suffrage movement** A militant movement for women's right to vote led by middle-class British women, which exemplified broader international campaigns for women's political rights around 1900.



**An Anti-Jewish Pogrom in the Pale of Settlement** In April 1903 a violent anti-Semitic riot (or pogrom) broke out in Kishinev, a city in the Pale of Settlement that is the capital of current-day Moldova. In two days of rioting, a mob angered by specious anti-Semitic propaganda murdered at least forty-seven Jews and vandalized and looted hundreds of Jewish homes and businesses. As this cover page from an Italian illustrated magazine suggests, the pogrom focused international media coverage on the violent persecution of Jews in Russia. (By Achille Beltrame, from *La Domenica del Corriere*, 1903/Alfredo Dagli Orti/Shutterstock)

his fervent hatred of Jews drew strength from Lueger's racist rhetoric.

Before 1914 anti-Semitism was most oppressive in eastern Europe, where Jews suffered from rampant poverty. In Europe 4 million of the 7 million Jewish people lived with few legal rights in the western borderlands of the Russian Empire—the Pale of Settlement (see Chapter 16). In the Pale, officials used anti-Semitism to channel popular discontent away from the government and onto the Jewish minority. Jews were regularly denounced as foreign exploiters who corrupted national traditions, and between 1881 and 1884 a wave of violent pogroms (or popular anti-Jewish riots) commenced in southern Russia. The police and the army stood aside for days while peasants looted and destroyed Jewish property, and official harassment continued in the following decades. Another wave of pogroms broke out in 1903; mass anti-Semitic rioting in Odessa in 1905, which killed at least four hundred Jews, marked the worst event.

The growth of radical anti-Semitism spurred the emergence of **Zionism**, a Jewish political movement whose adherents believed that Christian Europeans would never overcome their anti-Semitic hatred. To escape anti-Semitism, Zionists such as Theodor Herzl advocated the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine—a homeland where European Jews could settle and live free of oppression. (See “Individuals in Society: Theodor Herzl,” page 721.) Zionism was particularly popular among Jews living in the Pale. While some embraced the vision of a Zionist settlement in Palestine, many more emigrated to western or central Europe and the United States. About 2.75 million Jews left central and eastern Europe between 1881 and 1914.

## How and why did revolutionary Marxism evolve in the late nineteenth century?

Socialist parties, generally Marxist groups dedicated to international proletarian revolution, grew rapidly in the late nineteenth century. The radical rhetoric of socialist politicians continued to trouble the conservative upper classes. But behind the talk of revolution, Marxism was becoming more mainstream, particularly as the consolidation of labor unions and the turn to Marxist “revisionism” promised real practical improvements for workers.

### The Socialist International

The growth of socialist parties after 1871 was phenomenal. In Germany, neither Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Laws nor his extensive social security system checked the growth of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD), which espoused revolutionary Marxism even though it sought reform through legal parliamentary politics. By 1912 the SPD had millions of working-class followers and was the largest party in the Reichstag. Socialist parties grew in other countries

■ **Zionism** A movement dedicated to combatting anti-Semitism in Europe by building a Jewish national homeland in Palestine, started by Theodor Herzl.

# INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

## Theodor Herzl

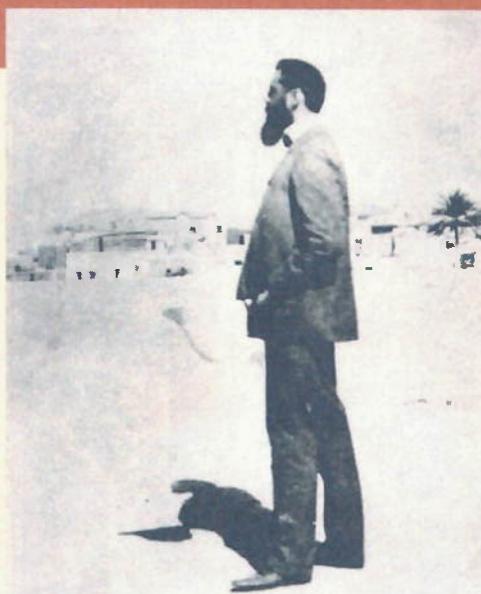
In September 1897, only days after his vision had animated the First Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland, Theodor Herzl (1860–1904) assessed the results in his diary: “If I were to sum up the Congress in a word — which I shall take care not to publish — it would be this: At Basel I founded the Jewish state. If I said this out loud today I would be greeted by universal laughter. In five years perhaps, and certainly in fifty years, everyone will perceive it.”\* Herzl’s buoyant optimism was prophetic.

Herzl was born in Budapest, Hungary, into an upper-middle-class, German-speaking Jewish family. When he was eighteen, his family moved to Vienna, where he earned a law degree in 1884. Like many well-to-do Viennese Jews, Herzl struggled with his mixed Jewish-German heritage. As a student he embraced German nationalism and joined a German dueling fraternity. But Herzl discovered that full acceptance required an open repudiation of all things Jewish. He resigned.

The popularity of radical anti-Semitism shocked Herzl, as it did many Jewish intellectuals. Moving to Paris in 1891, he worked for Vienna’s leading liberal newspaper and studied politics and the history of European anti-Semitism. The Dreyfus affair confirmed his bold conclusions, published in 1896 as *The Jewish State: An Attempt at a Modern Solution to the Jewish Question*. Jewish assimilation had failed, Herzl argued, and attempts to combat European anti-Semitism would never succeed.

Herzl concluded that the Jewish people — like other repressed minorities in Europe — needed their own nation-state in order to flourish. He suggested that this take form in Palestine, a territory in the Ottoman Empire that was the biblical homeland of the Jewish people. He encouraged European Jews to migrate to Palestine; if their numbers increased, they might eventually create an independent nation. Herzl was not deeply religious. Yet he understood the emotional appeal of a Jewish international community, united in the face of Christian persecution, embodied in a Jewish state with a national flag.

Many European Jews rejected Zionism. Calls for Jewish separation, they believed, would bolster accusations that Jews were foreign outsiders in Christian nations and impede Jewish assimilation. Herzl turned for support to youthful idealists and lower-class Jews, who sought civil rights and economic opportunity, but also relief from hostile anti-Semitism. An inspiring man of action, Herzl rallied the delegates to the annual Zionist congresses, directed the growth



Theodor Herzl in Palestine, 1898. (Imago/Getty Images)

of the worldwide Zionist organization, and convinced modest numbers of Jews to move to Palestine.

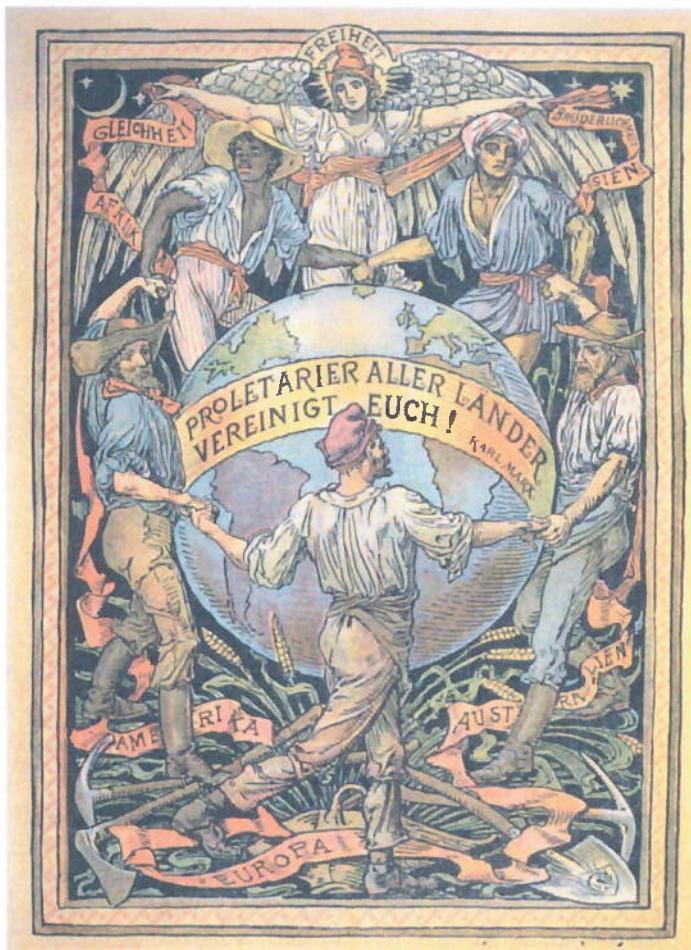
Always ready to promote his Zionist vision before non-Jews and world public opinion, Herzl believed in international diplomacy and political agreements. He eagerly negotiated with European leaders and officials, seeking support in securing territory for the Jewish nation. Herzl proved most successful in Britain. As we will see in Chapter 25, his work paved the way for the 1917 Balfour Declaration, which solemnly pledged British support for a “Jewish homeland” in Palestine.

Herzl died in 1904 so did not witness the foundation of the state of Israel in 1948. Nor could he know that Zionism would become Israel’s guiding national philosophy. The results remain controversial. Critics of Zionism claim that Herzl’s program drew on the waves of ethnic nationalism and expansionist imperialism that washed through Europe in the late nineteenth century, and they call attention to the role of Zionism in the current Arab-Israeli conflict. Yet Herzl guided the historic steps toward a modern Jewish identity, and it is impossible to imagine the creation of contemporary Israel without him.

### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why did Herzl believe in the necessity of an independent Jewish state in Palestine, the biblical homeland of the Jewish people? How did his personal experience influence his ideas?
2. Current critics of Zionism argue that Herzl’s program was rooted in the late-nineteenth-century European enthusiasm for nationalism and imperialism. Is this a fair critique?

\*Theodor Herzl, *The Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, trans. and ed. with an introduction by Marvin Lowenthal (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1962), p. 224.



**"Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!"** Quoting the last line in Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, the front page of the 1905 May Day issue of a radical Zurich journal portrayed a world harmonious and united under the banner of socialism. Muscular workers from Asia, Australia, Europe, America, and Africa grasp hands under an angel crowned with a halo reading freedom, holding a banner reading equality and brotherhood. May Day—the first of May—was and continues to be an annual celebration of international socialist solidarity. Can you find other meaningful symbols in this proud representation of socialist unity? (bpk Bildagentur/Photo: Dietmar Katz/Art Resource, NY)

as well, though nowhere else with such success. In 1883 Russian exiles in Switzerland founded the Russian Social Democratic Party, and various socialist groups were unified in 1905 in the French Section of the Workers International. Belgium and Austria-Hungary also had strong socialist parties.

Marxist socialist parties strove to join together in an international organization, and in 1864 Marx himself helped found the socialist International Working Men's Association, also known as the First International. In the following years, Marx battled successfully to control the organization and used its

annual international meetings to spread his doctrines of socialist revolution. He endorsed the radical patriotism of the Paris Commune and its terrible struggle against the French state as a giant step toward socialist revolution. Marx's fervent embrace of working-class violence frightened many of his early supporters, especially the more moderate British labor leaders. Internal tensions led to the collapse of the First International in 1876.

Yet even after Marx's death in 1884 international proletarian solidarity remained an important objective for Marxists. In 1889, as the individual parties in different countries grew stronger, socialist leaders came together to form the Second International, which lasted until 1914. Though only a federation of national socialist parties, the Second International had a powerful psychological impact. It had a permanent executive, and every three years delegates from the different parties met to interpret Marxist doctrines and plan coordinated action. May 1 (May Day) was declared an annual socialist holiday, a day for strikes, marches, and demonstrations. Prosperous elites and conservative middle-class citizens feared the growing power of socialism and the Second International, but many workers joined the cause.

## Labor Unions and the Evolution of Working-Class Radicalism

Was socialism really radical and revolutionary in these years? On the whole, it was not. As socialist parties grew and attracted many members, they looked less and less toward revolution and more and more toward gradual change and steady improvement for the working class. The mainstream of European socialism became militantly moderate. Socialists still liked to alarm mainstream politicians with revolutionary rhetoric. But they increasingly worked within the system, often joining labor unions to win practical workplace reforms.

Workers were less inclined to follow radical programs for several reasons. As they gained the right to vote and won tangible benefits, they focused more on elections than on revolutions. And workers were not immune to patriotic education and indoctrination during military service. Many responded positively to drum-beating parades and aggressive foreign policy as they loyally voted for socialist parties. Nor were workers by any means a unified group with shared social and political interests—as we saw in Chapter 22.

Perhaps most important of all, workers' standard of living rose gradually but substantially after 1850. The

# VIEWPOINTS

## Marxist Revisionism



In 1848 Marx and Engels published *The Communist Manifesto* (see Chapter 21), which predicted that the proletariat or working class would lead a violent revolution to overthrow capitalism. This work, excerpted below, was foundational for the development of an international socialist movement. But by the late nineteenth century criticism of Marx's basic ideas, led by a group of so-called Revisionists, was coming from within the movement itself. German socialist Eduard Bernstein explained why in this excerpt from his book *Evolutionary Socialism*, first published in 1899.

### From *The Communist Manifesto*

Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labor, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine. . . .

The lower strata of the middle class—the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handcraftsmen, and peasants—all these sink gradually into the proletariat. . . .

The modern laborer . . . instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class. . . . It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state. . . .

The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, is its own grave diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable. . . .

The Communists . . . openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

### From *Evolutionary Socialism*

I set myself against the notion that we have to expect shortly a collapse of the bourgeois economy, and that social democracy should be induced by the prospect of such an imminent, great, social catastrophe to adapt its tactics to that assumption. . . .

The adherents of this theory of a catastrophe base it especially on the conclusions of the *Communist Manifesto*. This is a mistake in every respect. . . .

Social conditions have not developed to such an acute opposition of things and classes as is depicted in the *Manifesto*. It is not only useless, it is the greatest folly to attempt to conceal this from ourselves. The number of members of the possessing classes is today not smaller but larger. The enormous increase of social wealth is not accompanied by a decreasing number of large capitalists but by an increasing number of capitalists of all degrees. The middle classes change their character but they do not disappear from the social scale. . . .

In all advanced countries we see the privileges of the capitalist bourgeoisie yielding step by step to democratic organizations. . . . [A] social reaction has set in against the exploiting tendencies of capital, a counteraction which, although it still proceeds timidly and feebly, yet does exist, and is always drawing more departments of economic life under its influence. Factory legislation, the democratizing of local government . . . the freeing of trade unions and systems of co-operative trading from legal restrictions, the consideration of standard conditions of labour in the work undertaken by public authorities—all these characterize this phase of the evolution. . . .

No one has questioned the necessity for the working classes to gain the control of government. . . . But the conquest of political power necessitates the possession of political rights; and the most important problem of tactics which German social democracy has at the present time to solve, appears to me to be to devise the best ways for the extension of the political and economic rights of the German working classes.

### QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why does Bernstein label the view advanced in *The Communist Manifesto* a "theory of a catastrophe"? Is this justified?
2. What specific criticisms of Marx does Bernstein offer in support of his argument? Why would Bernstein's approach anger committed Marxist revolutionaries?
3. How do Bernstein's ideas reflect historical changes that had taken place since 1848?

Sources: Marx and Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2d ed., ed. Robert C. Tucker (New York: Norton, 1978), pp. 479–480, 483, 501. Copyright © 1978, 1972 by W. W. Norton & Company. Used by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.; Eduard Bernstein, *Evolutionary Socialism: A Criticism and Affirmation*, trans. Edith C. Harvey (New York: B. W. Heubsch, 1911), pp. x–xii, xiv, xvi.

quality of life in urban areas improved dramatically as well. For all these reasons, workers became more moderate: they demanded gains, but they were less likely to take to the barricades in pursuit of them.

The growth of labor unions reinforced the trend toward moderation. In the early stages of industrialization, unions were considered subversive bodies to be hounded and crushed, and were generally prohibited by law. Determined workers organized and fought back. In Great Britain in 1824 and 1825 unions won the legal right to exist—though generally not the right to strike. Limited primarily to highly skilled workers such as machinists and carpenters, these “new model unions” concentrated on winning better wages and hours through collective bargaining and compromise. This approach helped pave the way to the full acceptance of unions across Europe in the 1870s, and after 1890 unions for unskilled workers developed.

### Marxist Revisionism

Germany, the most industrialized and unionized continental country by 1914, offers an instructive case study of the transformation of socialism around 1900. German unions did not receive basic rights until 1869, and until the Anti-Socialist Laws were repealed in 1890, they were frequently harassed by the government. As a result, in 1895 Germany had only about 270,000 union members in a male industrial workforce of nearly 8 million. Then, with almost all legal harassment eliminated, union membership skyrocketed, reaching roughly 3 million in 1912.

This great expansion both reflected and influenced the changing character of German unions. Increasingly, union activists focused on bread-and-butter issues—wages, hours, working conditions—rather than on fomenting revolution. Genuine collective bargaining, long opposed by socialist intellectuals as a sellout, was officially recognized as desirable by the German Trade Union Congress in 1899. When employers proved unwilling to bargain, strikes forced them to change their minds. In 1913 alone, over ten thousand collective bargaining agreements benefiting 1.25 million workers were signed.

The German trade unions and many of their leaders were in fact, if not in name, thoroughgoing revisionists. **Marxist revisionism** was an effort to update Marx’s doctrines to reflect current realities. Thus the socialist Eduard Bernstein (1850–1932) argued in 1899 in his *Evolutionary Socialism* that many of Marx’s predictions had been proven false. Socialists, according to thinkers like Bernstein, should reform their doctrines and tactics to meet these changed conditions. They should combine with other progressive

forces to win continued steps forward for workers through legislation, unions, and further economic expansion; revolution might happen later, but the movement, not the final goal, was the point. These views were denounced as heresy by hard-core Marxists in the SPD and later by the leaders of the Second International. Yet the revisionist, gradualist approach continued to gain the tacit acceptance of many German socialists, particularly in the trade unions. (See “Viewpoints: Marxist Revisionism,” page 723.)

Moderation found followers elsewhere. In France, the famous socialist leader Jean Jaurès (1859–1914) formally repudiated revisionism in order to establish a unified socialist party, but he remained at heart a gradualist and optimistic secular humanist. Questions of revolution or revisionism also divided Russian Marxists on the eve of the Russian Revolution, as we shall see in Chapter 25.

By the early twentieth century socialist parties had clear-cut national characteristics. Russians and socialists in the Austro-Hungarian Empire tended to be the most radical. The German party talked revolution and practiced reformism, greatly influenced by its enormous trade-union movement. The French party talked revolution and tried to practice it, unrestrained by a trade-union movement that was both very weak and very radical. In Britain, the socialist but non-Marxist Labour Party, reflecting the well-established union movement, was formally committed to gradual reform. In Spain and Italy, Marxist socialism was very weak. There anarchism, seeking to smash the state rather than the bourgeoisie, dominated radical thought and action.

In short, socialist policies and doctrines varied from country to country. Although leaders liked to talk about “socialist internationalism,” the notion of international unity was more myth than reality. This helps explain why when war came in 1914, almost all socialist parties and most workers supported their national governments and turned away from international solidarity.

### NOTES

- Quoted in J. McKay, *Pioneers for Profit: Foreign Entrepreneurship and Russian Industrialization, 1885–1913* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 11.
- W. Dawson, *Bismarck and State Socialism* (London: Swan Sonnenschen & Co., 1890), pp. 63–64.
- E. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1976).
- See E. Hobsbawm, “Mass Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 263–307.



## LOOKING BACK LOOKING AHEAD

In 1900 the triumph of the national state in Europe seemed almost complete. In the aging Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and Ottoman Empires, ethnic minorities continued to fight for national independence. Class, religion, and ethnicity still divided people across the rest of Europe. But in most places, the politically unified nation-state governed with the consent and even the devotion of many citizens. Many men and women embraced patriotism and identified as members of a national group. This newfound sense of national identity could be ugly and exclusionary, but it could also erode traditional social differences.

Responsive and capable of tackling many practical problems, the European nation-state of 1900 was in part the realization of patriotic ideologues and the middle-class liberals active in the unsuccessful revolutions of 1848. Yet whereas early nationalists had envisioned a Europe of free peoples and international peace, the nationalists of 1900 had been nurtured in an atmosphere of competition

between European states and the wars of unification in the 1850s and 1860s. This new generation of nationalists reveled in the strength of their unity, and the nation-state became the foundation of a new system of global power.

Thus after 1870, even as the responsive nation-state brought some benefits and some burdens to ordinary people, Europe's leading countries extended their imperial control around the globe. In Asia and Africa, the European powers seized territory, fought brutal colonial wars, and built authoritarian empires. Moreover, in Europe itself the universal faith in nationalism, which usually reduced social tensions within states, promoted a bitter competition between states. In this way European nationalism threatened the very progress and unity it had helped to build. In 1914 the power of unified nation-states would turn on itself, unleashing the First World War and doling out self-inflicted wounds of enormous proportions to all of Europe's peoples.

### Make Connections

Think about the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. By 1900 most countries in Europe and North America had established modern nation-states, but the process of nation building varied dramatically. Which countries were most successful in building viable nation-states? What accounts for the variation?
2. The new nation-state made demands on its citizens but also offered them benefits and a new way to think about and experience social community. How would you evaluate the balance? Was the consolidation of the nation-state good for most people?
3. Liberalism, socialism, and nationalism first emerged as coherent ideologies in the decades around 1800 (Chapter 21). How had they changed by 1900?

## 23 REVIEW & EXPLORE

### Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Risorgimento (p. 696)  
Realpolitik (p. 699)

manifest destiny (p. 704)  
Crimean War (p. 704)

Russian Revolution of 1905 (p. 707)  
Duma (p. 707)  
Tanzimat (p. 708)  
Young Turks (p. 710)  
Reichstag (p. 710)  
German Social Democratic Party (SPD) (p. 711)

Dreyfus affair (p. 712)  
home rule (p. 714)  
suffrage movement (p. 718)  
Zionism (p. 720)  
Marxist revisionism (p. 724)

## Review the Main Ideas

Answer the section heading questions from the chapter.

1. What were the main features of the authoritarian nation-state built by Napoleon III? (p. 694)
2. How were strong nation-states forged in Italy, Germany, and the United States? (p. 696)
3. How did Russian and Ottoman leaders modernize their states and societies? (p. 704)
4. How did the relationship between government and the governed change after 1871? (p. 710)
5. What were the costs and benefits of nationalism for ordinary people? (p. 714)
6. How and why did revolutionary Marxism evolve in the late nineteenth century? (p. 720)

## Suggested Resources

### BOOKS

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 1991. Famous for its argument about the social construction of nationalism.
- Calhoun, Craig. *Nationalism*. 1997. A clear and concise overview of recent theories of nationalism and national identity.
- Clyman, Toby W., and Judith Vowles, eds. *Russia Through Women's Eyes: Autobiographies from Tsarist Russia*. 1999. An eye-opening collection detailing women's experiences in Russia.
- Findley, Carter Vaughn. *The Turks in World History*. 2005. An exciting reconsideration of the Turks in long-term perspective.
- Fink, Carole. *Defending the Rights of Others: The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878–1938*. 2004. Skilled consideration of the cruelty and tragedy of ethnic conflict and minority oppression.
- Geary, Dick, ed. *Labour and Socialist Movements in Europe Before 1914*. 1989. An excellent collection that examines labor movements in several different countries.
- Hennock, E. P. *The Origin of the Welfare State in England and Germany, 1850–1914*. 2007. Compares Germany's statist approach with England's response to demands from below.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terrence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. 1992. An influential collection of articles on the invented nature of modern nationalism.