❸ Nationalism

PATTERNS OF CHANGE

CASE STUDIES: Italy and Germany

MAIN IDEA	WHY IT MATTERS NOW
The force of nationalism contributed to the formation of two new nations and a new political order in Europe.	Nationalism is the basis of world politics today and has often caused conflicts and wars.

SETTING THE STAGE Nationalism was the most powerful ideal of the 1800s. Its influence stretched throughout Europe. Nationalism shaped countries. It also upset the balance of power set up at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and affected the lives of millions.

The Ideal of Nationalism

Nationalism during the 1800s fueled efforts to build nation-states. Nationalists were not loyal to kings, but to their *people*—to those who shared common bonds. These bonds might include a common history, culture, world-view, or language. Nationalists believed that people of a single "nationality," or ancestry, should unite under a single government. People would then identify with their government to create a united nation-state.

Background
Nationalists often spoke of a "national character." Thus, they saw the French as "civilized"; the Germans as "scientific"; the English as "practical."

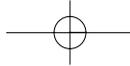Romantic nationalists preached that a nation, like a person, has the right to independence. Independence would allow a nation's identity to develop.

As nationalists saw it, a number of links bound a people together as a nation. Some—though not all—had to exist before a nation-state would evolve and survive. The chart below summarizes those nationalist links.

PATTERNS OF CHANGE: Nationalism

Bonds That Create a Nation-State

Nationality	• A belief in a common ethnic ancestry—a belief that may or may not be true
Language	• Different dialects (forms) of one language; one dialect chosen as the "national language"
Culture	• A shared way of life (food, dress, behavior, ideals)
History	• A common past; common experiences
Religion	• A religion shared by all or most of the people
Territory	• A certain territory that belongs to the ethnic group; its "land"
Nation-State	• Defends the nation's territory and its way of life • Represents the nation to the rest of the world • Embodies the people and its ideals

SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Charts
1. *Besides food, dress, behavior, and ideals, what are two other elements that could fall under the category of "culture"?*
2. *Which factors listed in the upper part of the chart are absolutely necessary to form a nation-state?*

Nationalism Shakes Aging Empires

Three aging empires—the Austro-Hungarian Empire of the Hapsburgs, the Russian Empire of the Romanovs, and the Ottoman Empire of the Turks—were a jumble of ethnic groups. After all, territory and peoples had for centuries been pawns in a political chess game for these empires. Land and ethnic groups moved back and forth, depending on victories or defeats in war and on royal marriages. When nationalism emerged in the 19th century, ethnic unrest threatened and eventually toppled these empires.

A Force for Disunity or Unity?
Nationalist movements were capable of tearing apart long-established empires. They could also create new, unified nation-states. Those who wanted to restore the old order from before the French Revolution saw nationalism as a force for disunity. The kingdoms and empires of the old order often ruled over a variety of ethnic groups. Conservatives of the old order reasoned that if each ethnic group wanted its own state, empires would split and crumble.

Gradually, however, rulers began to see that nationalism could also unify masses of people. The rulers of Europe had seen how the nationalist spirit inspired French citizen armies to conquer the armies of other European powers. Authoritarian rulers soon began to use nationalist feelings for their own purposes. They built nation-states in areas where they remained firmly in control. Nationalism worked as a force for disunity, shaking centuries-old empires. But it also worked as a force for unity. It gave rise to the nation-state that is basic to our world today.

The Breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire
The Austro-Hungarian Empire brought together Hungarians, Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Poles, Serbs, and Italians. In 1866, Prussia defeated Austria in the Austro-Prussian War. With its victory, Prussia gained control of the new North German Federation. Then, pressured by the Hungarians, Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria split his empire in half, declaring Austria and Hungary independent states—with himself as ruler of both.

Nevertheless, nationalist disputes continued to plague the empire for more than 40 years. Finally, after World War I, Austria-Hungary crumbled into separate nation-states.

In 1903, Ottoman troops moved against rebellious subjects in Salonika, Greece. A drawing of the period illustrates the event.

The Russian Empire Crumbles
Nationalism also helped break up the 400-year-old empire of the czars in Russia. In addition to the Russians themselves, the czar ruled over 22 million Ukrainians, 8 million Poles, and smaller numbers of Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Finns, Jews, Romanians, Georgians, Armenians, and Turks. Each group had its own culture.

The ruling Romanov dynasty of Russia was determined to maintain iron control over this diversity. However, their severe policy of Russification—imposing Russian culture on all the ethnic groups in the empire—strengthened nationalist feelings. The rise in nationalism then helped to disunify Russia. The weakened czarist empire finally could not withstand the double shock of World War I and the communist revolution. The last Romanov czar gave up his power in 1917.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY
A. Making Inferences Why would a policy like Russification tend to produce results that are the opposite of those intended?

The Ottoman Empire Weakens
The Ottomans controlled Greeks, Slavs, Arabs, Bulgarians, and Armenians, in addition to the ruling Turks. In 1856, under pressure from the British and the French, the Ottomans issued reforms to grant equal citizenship to all the people under their rule. That measure, however, angered conservative Turks, who wanted no change in the situation, and caused tensions in the empire. For example, in response to nationalism in Armenia, the Ottomans carried out massacres and deportations of Armenians in 1894 to 1896 and in 1915. Like Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire broke apart soon after World War I.

Cavour Unites Italy

While nationalism destroyed empires, it also built nations. Italy was one of the countries to form from the territory of crumbling empires. After the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Austria ruled the Italian provinces of Venetia and Lombardy in the north, and several small states. In the south, the Spanish Bourbon family ruled the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

Nevertheless, between 1815 and 1848, increasing numbers of Italians were no longer content to live under foreign rulers. Amid growing discontent, two leaders appeared—one was idealistic, the other practical. They had different personalities and pursued different goals. But each contributed to the unification of Italy.

The Movement for Unity Begins

In 1832, an idealistic 26-year-old Italian named Giuseppe Mazzini (maht·TSEE·nee) organized a nationalist group called Young Italy. No one older than 40 was allowed to join.

During the violent year of 1848, revolts broke out in eight states on the Italian peninsula. Mazzini briefly headed a republican government at Rome. He believed that nation-states were the best hope for social justice, democracy, and peace in Europe. However, the 1848 rebellions failed in Italy as they did elsewhere in Europe. The former rulers of the Italian states drove Mazzini and other nationalist leaders into exile.

Sardinia Leads Italian Unification After 1848, Italian nationalists looked to the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia for leadership. Piedmont-Sardinia was the largest and most powerful of the Italian states. The kingdom had also adopted a liberal constitution in 1848. So, to the Italian middle classes, unification under Piedmont-Sardinia seemed a sensible alternative to Mazzini's democratic idealism.

In 1852, Sardinia's King Victor Emmanuel II named Count **Camillo di Cavour** (kuh·VOOR) as his prime minister. Cavour was a wealthy, middle-aged aristocrat, who worked tirelessly to expand Piedmont-Sardinia's power. With careful diplomacy and well-chosen alliances, he achieved that expansion. Almost as a coincidence, he also achieved the unification of Italy. Mazzini distrusted Cavour. He believed correctly that Cavour wanted to strengthen Sardinia's power, not to unite Italy.
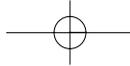
At first, Cavour's major goal was to get control of northern Italy for Sardinia. He carefully went about achieving this territorial goal through diplomacy and cunning. Cavour realized that the greatest roadblock to annexing northern Italy was Austria. To help him expel the Austrians from the north, Cavour found an ally in France. In 1858, the French emperor Napoleon III agreed to help drive Austria out of the northern provinces of Lombardy and Venetia. Cavour soon after provoked a war with Austria. A combined French-Sardinian army won two quick victories against Austria. Sardinia succeeded in taking over all of northern Italy, except Venetia, from the Austrians.

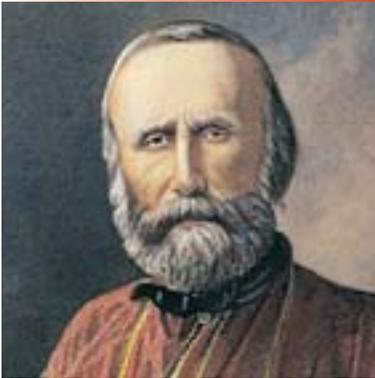## The Unification of Italy, 1858–1870

Kingdom of Sardinia, 1858
Added to Sardinia, 1859–1860
Added to Italy, 1866
Added to Italy, 1870
Kingdom of Italy
Papal States

GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Maps
1. **Region** *During what time period was the greatest amount of territory unified in Italy?*
2. **Region** *What territory did the Italians actually lose during their process of unification?*

Cavour Looks South As Cavour was uniting the north of Italy, he began to consider the possibility of controlling the south. He secretly started helping nationalist rebels in southern Italy. In May 1860, a small army of Italian nationalists led by a bold and romantic soldier, **Giuseppe Garibaldi** (GAR·uh·BAWL·dee), captured Sicily. In battle, Garibaldi always wore a bright red shirt, as did his followers. As a result, they became known as the **Red Shirts.**

From Sicily, Garibaldi crossed to the Italian mainland and marched north. Volunteers flocked to his banner. In an election, voters gave Garibaldi permission to unite the southern areas he conquered with the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia. Cavour arranged for King Victor Emmanuel II to meet Garibaldi in Naples. "The Red One" willingly agreed to step aside and let the Sardinian king rule.

Challenges After Unification In 1866, the Austrian province of Venetia, which included the city of Venice, became part of Italy. In 1870, Italian forces took over the last part of a territory known as the Papal States. The Roman Catholic popes had governed the territory as both its spiritual and earthly rulers. With this victory, the city of Rome came under Italian control. Soon after, Rome became the capital of the united Kingdom of Italy. The pope, however, would continue to govern a section of Rome known as Vatican City.

Despite unification, Italy suffered from many unsolved problems. Centuries of separation had bred fierce rivalries among the different Italian provinces. The greatest tension arose between the industrialized north and the agricultural south. The people of these two regions had very different ways of life, and they scarcely understood each other's versions of the Italian language. In the Italian parliament, disorganized parties with vague policies constantly squabbled. As a result, prime ministers and cabinets changed frequently.

In addition to its political instability, Italy also faced severe economic problems. Bloody peasant revolts broke out in the south. At the same time, strikes and riots troubled the northern cities. Meanwhile, the Italian government could not deal with the country's economic problems. As a result, Italy entered the 20th century as a poor country.

HISTORY MAKERS

Giuseppe Garibaldi
1807–1882

Giuseppe Garibaldi might have been a character out of a romantic novel. Fisherman, trader, naval commander, guerrilla fighter, poet, rancher, teacher, idealistic revolutionary in Europe and South America—Garibaldi captured the imagination of Europe. The red shirts of his soldiers helped spread his fame, but they started out simply as the cheapest way to clothe his soldiers.

The independence of Italy was Garibaldi's great dream. The French writer Alexandre Dumas wrote of him: "Once mention the word independence, or that of Italy, and he becomes a volcano in eruption."

Garibaldi's bravery attracted the attention of U.S. President Abraham Lincoln. In 1861, Lincoln offered him a command in the Civil War. Garibaldi declined for two reasons: he felt Lincoln did not condemn slavery strongly enough, and he told Lincoln that he wanted to command the entire Union Army!

THINK THROUGH HISTORY
B. Analyzing Causes Besides their old rivalries, what is another reason why the Italian provinces might have a hard time cooperating?

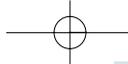**CASE STUDY: Germany**

The Rise of Prussia

Like Italy, Germany also achieved national unity in the mid-1800s. Since 1815, 39 German states had formed a loose grouping called the German Confederation. The two largest states, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Prussia, dominated the confederation.

Prussia enjoyed several advantages that would eventually help it forge a strong German state. First of all, unlike the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Prussia had a mainly German population. As a result, nationalism actually unified Prussia, while ethnic groups in Austria-Hungary tore it apart. Moreover, Prussia's army was by far the most powerful in central Europe. Finally, Prussia industrialized more quickly than other German states.

Prussia Leads German Unification Like many other European powers, Prussia experienced the disorder of the revolutions of 1848. In that year, Berlin rioters forced the frightened and unstable Prussian king, Frederick William IV, to call a constitutional convention. The convention then drew up a liberal constitution for the kingdom.

In 1861, Wilhelm I succeeded Frederick William to the throne. The strong-minded Wilhelm first moved to reform the army and double the already powerful Prussian

military. However, his liberal parliament refused him the money for his reforms.

Wilhelm saw the parliament's refusal as a major challenge to his authority. He was supported in his view by the Junkers (YUNG·kuhrz), members of Prussia's wealthy landowning class. The Junkers were strongly conservative and opposed liberal ideas. For that reason, Wilhelm drew all his ministers and army officers from the Junker class. In 1862, to help solve his problem with parliament, Wilhelm chose a conservative Junker named **Otto von Bismarck** as his prime minister. Bismarck was a master of what came to be known as **realpolitik.** This German term means "the politics of reality." The word described tough power politics with no room for idealism. With realpolitik as his style, Bismarck would become one of the commanding figures of German history.

Unable to persuade parliament to grant Wilhelm's desires, Bismarck took a dramatic step. With the king's approval, he declared that he would rule without the consent of parliament and without a legal budget. Those actions were in direct violation of the constitution. In his first speech as prime minister, he defiantly told members of the Prussian parliament, "The great questions of the day will not be settled by speeches or by majority decisions—that was the great mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by blood and iron."
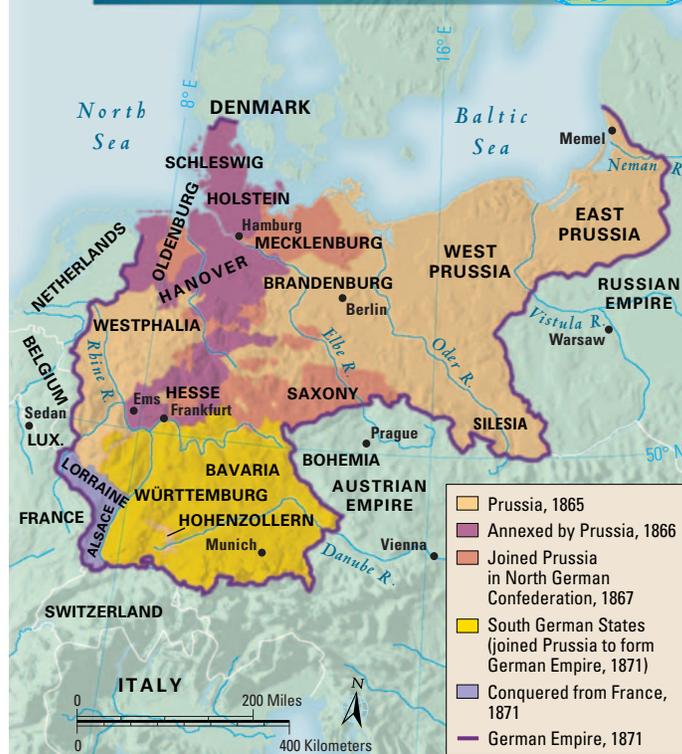

The Unification of Germany, 1865 – 1871

GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Maps

1. **Location** *What was unusual about the territory of Prussia as it existed in 1865?*
2. **Regions** *After 1865, what year saw the biggest expansion of Prussian territory?*

Map legend:
- Prussia, 1865
- Annexed by Prussia, 1866
- Joined Prussia in North German Confederation, 1867
- South German States (joined Prussia to form German Empire, 1871)
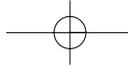- Conquered from France, 1871
- German Empire, 1871

THINK THROUGH HISTORY
C. Drawing Conclusions Bismarck succeeded in ignoring both the parliament and constitution of Prussia. How do you think his success would affect Prussian government?

Germany Expands Though he was devoted to country and king, Bismarck was also ambitious. One contemporary described him as a man "who is striving after supreme power, including military power." By working to expand Prussia, he could satisfy both his patriotism and his desire for power. In 1864, Bismarck took the first step toward molding an empire. He formed an alliance between Prussia and Austria. They then went to war against Denmark to win two border provinces, Schleswig and Holstein.

A quick victory increased national pride among Prussians. It also won new respect from other Germans and lent support for Prussia as head of a unified Germany. After the victory, Prussia governed Schleswig, while Austria controlled Holstein. Bismarck suspected that this arrangement would soon lead to friction between the two powers. And such tensions would suit his plans perfectly.

Bismarck Eliminates Austria To disable his powerful rival, Bismarck purposely stirred up border conflicts with Austria over Schleswig and Holstein. The tensions provoked Austria into declaring war on Prussia in 1866. This conflict became known as the Seven Weeks' War. As the name suggests, the war was over quickly. The Prussians used their superior training and equipment to win a smashing victory. They humiliated Austria. The Austrians lost the region of Venetia, which was given to Italy. They also had to accept Prussian annexation of yet more German territory.

With its victory in the Seven Weeks' War, Prussia took control of northern Germany. For the first time, the eastern and western parts of the Prussian kingdom were joined. In 1867, the remaining states of the north joined a North German Confederation, which Prussia dominated completely.

Background
Many Germans looked on Austria as their natural leader. Vienna had been capital of the Holy Roman Empire and was a center of German music, art, and literature.

HISTORY MAKERS

**Otto von Bismarck
1815–1898**

Germans have still not decided how to judge Otto von Bismarck. To some Germans, he was the greatest and noblest of Germany's statesmen. They say he almost single-handedly unified the nation and raised it to greatness. To others, he was a devious politician who abused his powers and led Germany into dictatorship.

Bismarck's complex personality has also fascinated historians. By 1895, 650 books had already been written about his life. His speeches, letters, and his memoirs do not help to simplify him. They show him to be both cunning and deeply religious. At one moment, he could declare "It is the destiny of the weak to be devoured by the strong." At another moment he could claim "We Germans shall never wage aggressive war, ambitious war, a war of conquest."

The Franco-Prussian War By 1867, a few southern German states remained independent of Prussia. The majority of southern Germans were Catholics. So, many in the region resisted domination by a Protestant Prussia. However, Bismarck felt he could win the support of southerners if they faced a threat from outside. He reasoned that a war with France would rally the south.

Bismarck was an expert at manufacturing "incidents" to gain his ends. And he was successful with France. He published an altered version of a diplomatic telegram he had received. The telegram gave a false description of a meeting between Wilhelm I and the French ambassador. In the description, Wilhelm seemed to insult the French. Reacting to the insult, France declared war on Prussia on July 19, 1870.

At once, the Prussian army poured into northern France. In September 1870, the Prussian army surrounded the main French force at Sedan. Among the 80,000 French prisoners taken was Napoleon III himself—a beaten and broken man. Only Paris held out against the Germans. For four months, Parisians withstood a German siege. Finally, hunger forced them to surrender.

The Franco-Prussian War was the final stage in German unification. Now the nationalistic fever also seized people in southern Germany. They finally accepted Prussian leadership.

On January 18, 1871, at the captured French palace of Versailles, King Wilhelm I of Prussia was crowned **kaiser** (KY·zuhr), or emperor. Germans called their empire the Second Reich. (The Holy Roman Empire was the first.) Bismarck had achieved Prussian dominance over Germany and Europe "by blood and iron," as he had set out to do.

Background
Food became so scarce during the siege of Paris that people ate sawdust, leather, and rats. Parisians even slaughtered animals in the zoo for food.

The Balance of Power Shifts

The 1815 Congress of Vienna established five Great Powers in Europe—Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. The wars of the mid-1800s greatly strengthened one of the Great Powers, as Prussia became Germany. In 1815, the Great Powers were nearly equal in strength. By 1871, however, Britain and Germany were clearly the most powerful—both militarily and economically. Austria, Russia, and Italy lagged far behind. France struggled along somewhere in the middle. The European balance of power had broken down. This shift also found expression in the art of the period. In fact, during that century, artists, composers, and writers pointed to paths that European society should follow.

Section 3 Assessment

1. TERMS & NAMES

Identify
• Camillo di Cavour
• Giuseppe Garibaldi
• Red Shirts
• Otto von Bismarck
• realpolitik
• kaiser

2. TAKING NOTES

On your own paper, make a time line like the one below. On it, show the development of independent nation-states in Europe.

Congress of
Vienna 1815

1800 1820 1840 1860 1880 1900

3. ANALYZING ISSUES

Look at the quotation from Bismarck's "blood and iron" speech (page 617). How would you say his approach to settling political issues differed from the approach of liberals?

THINK ABOUT
• the goals of liberals
• the meaning of the phrase "blood and iron"
• Bismarck's goals and how he attained them

4. ANALYZING THEMES

Revolution How might Cavour and Garibaldi have criticized each other as contributors to Italian unity?

THINK ABOUT
• the personalities of the two men
• methods used by Cavour and Garibaldi to win Italian unity