

## Chapter 13: The Consolidation of the Large Nation-States, 1859-1871

### 63. Backgrounds: The Idea of the Nation State

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#### A. Introduction:

1. Before 1860, France and Britain were the two most prominent nation states. The main political organizations were small states comprising fragments of a nation and large empires made up of many sorts of peoples and ruled from above by dynasties and bureaucracies.
2. Since 1860-1870, a nation state system has prevailed, with the small and large peoples of the world increasingly thinking of themselves as nations, entitled to sovereignty and independence. Nationalism has united people into larger units and broken large into smaller.
3. A nation-state is: "one in which supreme political authority somehow rests upon and represents the will and feeling of its inhabitants. There must be a people, not merely a swarm of human beings." They have a sense of community, sharing a language, belief in common descent (or racial origin) or a sense of common history and future; a common religion, geographical home, and external menace. In summary, they are a community, committed to a collective destiny.
4. Nineteenth century governments needed to gain support from their subjects to effectively rule. They typically increased political participation and created or extended liberal and representative institutions. Territorially, they unified pre-existing states--causing wars.

#### B. The Crimean War, 1854-56

1. The war was one of a long series of Russo-Turkish wars. Russia took Bessarabia in 1829 and coveted Wallachia and Moldavia (now Romania; see map on p. 625). Ostensibly, the cause was Russia's claim to protect Christians in the Ottoman Empire. But France considered the Empire their sphere of influence--long term trade and political relations, and currently plans for a Suez Canal. Britain also opposed the Russian advance, and Piedmont joined to get a voice in the peace.
2. Britain successfully blockaded Russia, both in the Baltic and Black Sea regions; all fighting was on the Crimean Peninsula. Austria mobilized and forced Russia to withdraw from the Danubian provinces (Romania). A new Russian emperor, Nicholas II, agreed to peace terms after a brutal, indecisive war.
3. Peace of Paris, 1856: Great powers agreed to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, with Russia pushed back and Rumania and Serbia recognized as self-governing principalities within the Ottoman Empire. The Black Sea and Danube River were internationalized. All seemed amicable, but the settlement of Vienna was in trouble; the two great protectors of the status quo, Russia and Austria, were now weak. Change was coming, first in Italy.

### 64. Cavour and the Italian War of 1859: The Unification of Italy

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#### A. Italian Nationalism: the Program of Cavour

1. Italy was composed mainly of status quo powers, with governments remote from the people: Lombardy (Milan) and Venetia (Venice) controlled by Austria; the Papal States, possessions of the Pope; and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, under Bourbon rulers. Only Sardinia (Piedmont) ruled by the House of Savoy was Italian.
2. *Risorgimento*--Italian spirit of nationalistic resurgence--had been given unity as a moral crusade by **Joseph Mazzini**. However, the Pope had been turned against radical romantic republicanism, and the military efforts of Piedmont had failed.
3. The failures of 1848 showed **Count Camillo di Cavour**, Prime Minister of Piedmont, what to do: He made Piedmont a model of progress, efficiency and parliamentary government; he weakened the power of the Church. Following the new "politics of realism," he worked secretly with republicans (whom he disliked). He joined the quest of France's role in Italy. Napoleon was convinced of the need to unify nations, and saw the fight in Italy as a way to win support from French liberals.
4. Cavour tricked Austria into declaring war on Piedmont; the French army rushed to help, winning two great battles. Revolutionary agitation broke out all over Italy--and Napoleon had problems: he didn't really like rev liberals; Prussia was mobilizing on the Rhine; and French Catholics were upset about the threat to the Pope's territories. Thus he made a separate peace with the Austrians, giving only Lombardy to Piedmont. But revolutions kept spreading; Tuscany and other small states threw out their rulers and joining Piedmont. Britain recognized the changes, and Napoleon III acquiesced--after getting Nice and Savoy.

#### B. The Completion of Italian Unity

1. **Giuseppe Garibaldi**, a fiery republican of Piedmont, created his **Red Shirts** for an armed filibustering expedition into southern Italy. Local revolutionists in the Two Sicilies quickly joined in; the combined forces now began a march on Rome. Cavour, fearing the scandal of invading the lands of the Pope, marched a Piedmontese army through the Papal States and linked up with Garibaldi. Radical red republican and monarch Victor Emmanuel rode through the streets; unified Italy was a fact. Unification was finished by adding Venetia and Rome.
2. "So Italy was 'made'....It had been made by the long high-minded apostolate of Mazzini, the audacity of Garibaldi, the cold policy of Cavour, by war and insurrection, by armed violence endorsed by popular vote."

#### C. Persistent Problems after Unification: Nationalistic Italians continued to look to "unredeemed Italy"--irredentism, a policy aimed at the Trentino, Trieste, Nice, Savoy, and Tyrol. Popes refused to reconcile with the new Italy after losing the Papal States; patriots tended to be anti-clerical, and Catholics a bit less than patriotic. The south remained the land of priest, landlord, and impoverished

peasant, spurned by northerners; lawlessness in Sicily and Naples did not disappear with the overthrow of the Bourbons. Few had the right to vote, and parliamentary life was unrealistic and corrupt. The revolutionary movement shifted from republicanism to Marxism, anarchism, and syndicalism.

## 65. Bismarck: The Founding of a German Empire

pp. 551-559

- A. France and Russia had kept Germany divided and weak, but now Germans had become nationalistic--with overtones of national superiority and emphasis on group loyalty as opposed to individual liberty, and a sense of historical destiny. The failure of 1848 brought an exaggerated admiration for *die Macht*, power. After the 1848 revolution the old states were restored: the kingdoms of Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, and Württemberg, along with 30 small states ranging in size down to the free cities of Hamburg and Frankfurt. But within the framework, the *Zollverein* had produced great economic change; coal and iron production surpassed France and the German cities were growing, linked by railroad and telegraph.
- B. Prussia in the 1860s: Bismarck. Prussia had always been the most precarious of the great powers, and after 1815 it had appeared stagnant. The population had grown to 18 million, but the army had stayed the same size. The liberal Parliament opposed the Junkers and refused appropriations to expand the army. Prussia got a new Chancellor in 1862, **Otto von Bismarck**--a Junker intellectual, an obstinate Prussian who distrusted the West, liberalism, and socialism. His watchwords were Duty, Service, Order, God. Pragmatic and opportunistic, he saw unification as the only means to build Prussia. To defeat parliament, he simply ordered the taxes collected, and the obedient Germans paid. Prussia had its new army. When the liberals complained, Bismarck replied: "Not by speeches and majority votes are the great questions of the day decided--that was the great error of 1848 and 1849--but by blood and iron."
- C. Bismarck's Wars: The North German Confederation, 1867
1. Even liberals felt Schleswig and Holstein should be German, and the Danes in 1863 moved to annex Schleswig. The Diet of the German Confederation was outraged and called for war. Bismarck, seeking to enlarge Prussia, disguised his actions by joining with Austria against Denmark. Prussia quickly took Schleswig, and Austria took Holstein. Bismarck knew conflict with Austria would soon arise. Meanwhile he isolated Austria: he won England's non-intervention, got the support of Russia (angry at Austria over the Crimea), and promised Venetia to Italy. France was busy with Mexico. He then proposed that the German Confederation be run by a popular assembly elected by ums--weakening Austria's influence.
  2. Bismarck then picked a quarrel with Austria over Holstein, leading to war between Prussia and both Austria and the states of the German Confederation, the Seven Weeks War. The Prussian army was well trained and armed with the new rapid-fire needle gun, and moved rapidly by the new railroads. The war was over and peace made before the rest of Europe knew what was happening. The result was the North German Confederation, a union of 21 states including Hanover which the Prussians completely dominated. The German states south of the Main River--Austria, Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg--remained independent and disunited. The new state was ruled by the King of Prussia with a Reichsrat for the states and a Reichstag for the people, elected by u.m.s. Bismarck negotiated and gained the support of the Socialists.
- D. The Franco-Prussian War (1870)
- France was upset over foreign policy; Mexico had proved a failure, and the unification of Italy and growing power of Prussia were disturbing. Talk of war was rampant, increasing the fears of the southern Germans. The Spanish succession proved just the situation Bismarck needed. Spain asked Prussia's royal Hohenzollern family to provide a monarch; the offer was refused three times, but Bismarck got Spain to make a fourth offer, which was accepted. The French were upset, and in a conversation at Ems Leopold Hohenzollern agreed to withdraw his name. The French ambassador asked for a promise to never accept the crown, but the king refused. Bismarck took the cable of this very ordinary interchange, compressed the message to make it seem as though both sides were being insulting, and released it to the press. Both sides demanded war; the French were especially provoked by the appearance of the telegram on July 14. Napoleon III, under pressure, declared war. Again, Bismarck had studied the situation well: the British were upset with France, the Italians wanted Rome, and Russia saw a chance to get back into the Black Sea. And again the war was short, with democratic France basically unprepared. The war was over with the Battle of Sedan, 9/2/70. The Parisians (shades of 1791!) fought on, besieged and alone, for another 4 months, before surrendering.
- E. The German Empire, 1871
1. Bismarck dictated peace terms at Versailles while the siege continued. The German Empire was proclaimed, with the king of Prussia as emperor. As France had no government, Bismarck insisted that France elect a constituent assembly by u.m.s. He then demanded reparations of 5 billion gold francs and the cession of Alsace and Lorraine (Alsace had been part of France for 200 years). The French were forced to sign the Treaty of Frankfurt in May of 1871. France was to seek revenge (*Revanche!*) or the next 45 years.
  2. Germany was now the main European state, having outwitted the politicians of Europe (even the Germans). Even the liberals applauded the results and passed a bill forgiving Bismarck for his tax collection policy of the 1860s. Within the new Empire, the local monarchs kept their titles, but real power was Prussian. Each state did keep its own laws, government, and constitution--but the emperor had full legal control over the foreign and military policy. "The German Empire in effect served as a mechanism to magnify the role of Prussia, the Prussian army, and the East-Elbian Prussian aristocracy in world affairs."

## 66. The Dual Monarchy of Austria Hungary

pp. 558-564

Austria survived, dramatically changed. Emperor Francis Joseph allied with the reactionary Catholic hierarchy. He was incapable of greatness, decisiveness, perseverance--and lived in a fairy-tale court. He tried centralization, using German efficiency to build the

economy and abolish serfdom. The Magyars opposed centralization, so the answer was the 1867 *Ausgleich* by which the Dual Monarchy was created: Each nation had its own constitution and parliament, with the right to treat Slavic peoples as they wished; neither would intervene in the affairs of the other. The Empire shared a joint ministry of finance, foreign affairs, and war. Other ethnic minorities remained voiceless, powerless. Hungary lacked democracy and kept serfdom.  
[Be sure to examine the maps in this chapter]

## 67. Liberalization in Tsarist Russia: Alexander II

pp. 564-569

### A. Tsarist Russia after 1856:

1. Alexander II (r. 1855-1881) was not liberal, but he knew major changes were necessary and he looked to Western Europe as a model. Russia was divided between westernizers and slavophiles who looked to Russia's special destiny, its unique institutions.
2. Russia was autocratic, lacking the concept of church-state separation and the feudal concept of reciprocal relations between ruler and ruled. Tsars ruled not by law, but by ukase, police action, and the army; "the Russian empire was a machine superimposed upon its people without organic connection--bureaucracy pure and simple." With the imports of Western technology had come western ideas--liberty and fraternity, individualism. But to the government, ideas from outside the official circles seemed pernicious and were censored.
3. Serfdom continued, with serfs bought and sold, used in any occupation. Owners had a paternalistic responsibility, and in villages the gentry was a kind of personal local government. The law provided no protections. But modernizers saw serfdom as unprofitable and a bad system of labor relations. The muzhik had no incentive, initiative, self respect or pride in workmanship--and he made a very poor soldier.
4. Russia had its intelligentsia, full of westernized ideas and estranged from the government, from the church, and from the common people. This group, "while not very free to think, were more free to think than to do almost anything else." They had a very exaggerated view of their own importance. From this group, which tended to all-embracing philosophies, became revolutionaries and even terrorists--out of frustration at the mammoth immobility of tsardom and serfdom.

### B. The Emancipation Act of 1861 and Other Reforms

1. Alexander eased up on the intelligentsia, allowing more travel, less censorship; revolutionary journals written by Russian expatriates like Alexander Herzen circulated freely. Nicholas I had set up the "Third Section," a secret political police unparalleled for its arbitrary and inquisitorial methods, yet even he tried to help the serfs. Alexander II began a government study that ended in 1861 with the ukase declaring serfdom abolished.
2. The ukase divided the land, with half to the ex-serfs, half to the gentry--but the freed had to pay redemption money to the gentry for their lost land and fees. The aristocracy was much better off, with clear title to half the land and the end of obligations to the serfs. The peasant land was formally owned by the *mir*, the ancient peasant village assembly. It was responsible for redemption payments, could assign and reassign lands and otherwise supervise cultivation as a joint concern. Land could not be sold or mortgaged to anyone beyond the village. Village peasant society was preserved, but at the cost of discouraging the investment of outside capital. Peasants were unequal--some being day laborers and some being substantial owners (*kulaks*).
3. Alexander westernized the legal system, limiting its arbitrariness by providing for public jury trials, a clear sequence of courts, and trained judges. A degree of self-government was allowed through elected provincial and district councils called *zemstvos*. They could deal with education, medical relief, public welfare, food supply, and road maintenance in their localities. Many liberals urged a national Duma--but Alexander, influenced by a Polish rebellion, became more cautious after 1864.

### C. Revolutionism in Russia

1. Revolutionaries were displeased with reform ("opportunist"), and the result was three assassination attempts and a success in 1881. Some intelligentsia adopted nihilism, believing in nothing except science. The peasants wanted land, and revolutionaries developed a mystic conception of the revolutionary role of the masses based on the rebellions of Stephen Razin and Pugachev. Russian socialists like Herzen believed Russ peasant collectivism provided the necessary socialist base.
2. The anarchist **Bakunin** and his disciple **Nechaiev** called for terrorism against all who stood in the way, including liberals. In *Catechism of a Revolutionist* they wrote: "everything which promotes the success of the revolution is moral, everything which hinders it is immoral." From this outlook came the People's Will, a secret terrorist society.
3. Alarmed by this menace, the tsar attempted to gain liberal support by abolishing the Third Section, opening press censorship, and encouraging free discussion of ideas in the *zemstvos*. He was perhaps moving in the direction of a Duma when he was assassinated by the People's Will on March 13, 1881. Alexander III (1881-1894) reverted to terror and repression, but keeping the reform of serfdom, the courts, and the *zemstvos*. "And between the two confining walls of autocracy and revolutionism--equally hard and unyielding--European ideas of law, liberty, and humanity inserted themselves in a tentative way."

## 68. The United States: The American Civil War

pp. 569-574

- ### A. Growth of the United States:
- In the 1830s, Alexis de Tocqueville saw a future of rapid growth and change for the United States and predicted great power for the nation by 1900. In 1860, the US population (31 million) surpassed Britain's and nearly equaled that of France due to a high birth rate and increasing immigration from northern and western Europe. The US lacked minorities in a European sense; newcomers were willing to adopt English and embrace American national attitudes--traditions of republicanism and self-government, of individual liberty, free enterprise, and economic opportunity.

- B. The Estrangement of North and South: The US was divided between the North, with its factories and need for tariffs, and the agricultural South, serving Europe with its cotton and importing needed goods. The South was deeply involved in slavery and the plantation system at the time when it had been abolished in the colonies of Britain and France and in the Latin American republics. The drive west brought the competition into the open, with a fragile peace maintained by the Compromise of 1820 (“Missouri Compromise”) and the Compromise of 1850. Southern nationalism was emerging like that of the Magyars--states’ rights with an aristocratic ethical code, the demand for independence and the freedom to control subject peoples. The Republican party offered a northern program: a west of small farmers, developed railroads, and high tariffs--and the threat of a radical abolitionism; the result was the Civil War. European governments were partial to the South, though most workers were pro-North. France and Great Britain saw advantages in the break-up of the Union. The victory of the North brought the complete rule of central authority over states. The 14th Amendment secured the concept by forbidding any state to “deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law”--a due process determined by the national government. Slavery was abolished, without compensation--an unprecedented seizure of private property.
- C. After the Civil War: Reconstruction, Industrial Growth:  
Radical Republicans wanted the reconstruction of the South, and for a period similar to the most advanced phase of the French Revolution, the national government and army forced liberty and equality on a recalcitrant South under conditions of emergency rule. The program finally ran out of steam and was abandoned in the 1870s, and the Southern whites regained control in a counter-revolution. The war had brought northern expansion--financiers, bankers, builders, manufacturers, protected by the Morrill Tariff. The Union Pacific railroad was incorporated, partly as a war measure in 1861, and the trans-continental railroad was completed in 1869. The Homestead Act made possible the settling of the West, with cheap land and the development of land-grant colleges. The Fourteenth Amendment was seen as protecting property rights rather than human rights, and industry boomed--complete with corruption, graft, speculation, and other minor forms of dishonesty.

## 69. The Dominion of Canada

pp. 574-577

- A. Canada was divided between the French (Quebec, St. Lawrence River valley) and the English (Maritime Provinces and Ontario). The French violently opposed assimilation, and the Quebec Act of 1774 gave toleration to the French language, culture, and religion. In 1791, Britain tried to create two self-governing provinces, Upper and Lower Canada. But the French feared the English minority, and the English in Upper Canada feared the new immigrants. Upper Canada also feared blockage of trade by Lower Canada. After minor fighting in 1837, the Reform Whigs sent the Earl of Durham as governor. The Durham Report stressed the idea of a unified Canada with virtual self-government and a “responsible government.” The idea was accepted, but the French continued to fear increasing English migration.
- B. The result was the British North America Act of 1867, creating the Dominion of Canada as a federal union, with specific powers granted to the provinces. The nation would be ruled by a common parliament with responsible government. Canada thus became the first example of a successful devolution, an idea recommended by Franklin and Burke. It pioneered Dominion status for the rest of the Commonwealth, with Australia (1901), New Zealand (1907), Union of South Africa (1910), and Ireland (1920). It led to the ultimate peaceful settlement of colonialism in Asia and Africa after World War II.

## 70. Japan and the West

pp. 577-582

- A. Background: Two Centuries of Isolation: After a period of feudal war, by 1600 the Tokugawa clan controlled the Shogunate and moved to stop Christianity and other forms of Western penetration, and shut up the emperor in Kyoto, with Yedo (Tokyo) as the Tokugawa center. Japan was sealed off by 1640, with only trade through Dutch merchants set up in Nagasaki. The Tokugawa was centralized power but kept feudalism. The great Daimyo (lords) and samurai were a landed aristocracy, compelled to live much of the year in expensive Tokyo (Louis XIV). The aristocracy became indebted to merchants. Class lines were sharp, with different taxes, clothing, punishments. But artisans and merchants prospered and changed; by 1800, Yedo had 1 million people and a commoner could buy rank. Society was secularized, with Buddhism losing control. Emphasis was on Bushido, with its stress on honor, loyalty. Shinto re-emerged, arousing historical interest and leading to the idea of the shogun as usurper. Western ideas and goods trickled in; many were eager for them.
- B. The Opening of Japan: As Commodore Perry arrived in 1853, there were ready allies to change: entrepreneurial nobles, poor samurai desiring new careers; merchants, scholars; westernizing patriots. Treaties were signed, but they were not between equals: they called for extra-territoriality and western control of Japanese tariffs. The result was a strong xenophobic reaction, but naval bombardments of the lords of Satsuma and Choshu proved Japan’s weakness clearly. These two lords decided on rapid westernizing; they forced the Shogun to resign in 1867. The Meiji Era, a time of rapid change, began with a new emperor in 1868.
- C. The Meiji Era (1868-1912): The Westernization of Japan
1. Reforms: Feudal system was abolished and the legal system reorganized on the basis of equality before the law; criminal law abolished “barbaric” punishments. The military was reformed, with an army based on the Prussian system (with samurai officers) and the navy based on the British. The government established a centralized monetary system, a national postal system, and a national school system. Buddhism was discouraged, and all monastic property was confiscated. A constitution was written, calling for a parliament. In theory the emperor had power, with ministers responsible to him; the emperor never really had power, so the ministers were free to rule according to their conception of the best interests of the state.
  2. Economy: Foreign loans were secured to provide steamships, telegraph system, railroads, and textile machinery. Foreign trade rose rapidly, as did the population (from 33 million in 1872 to 46 million in 1902. “The westernization of Japan still stands as

the most remarkable transformation ever undergone by any people in so short a time....” Japan took the external apparatus of Western civilization to protect their internal substance, their Japanese culture.