CHAPTER 22
The Triumph of the Nation-State, 1848–1900

CHAPTER OUTLINE
I. The Revolutions of 1848
   A. The Tide of Revolution
      1. The tide of revolution swept through nearly every European country; only those on the periphery (Great Britain, Scandinavia, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire) were spared.
      2. The first uprising began in January 1848 in Sicily, where a reactionary ruler agreed to a liberal government and issued a constitution.
      3. In February 1848, Louis-Philippe, France’s “bourgeois king,” was forced to abdicate, although there was a growing divide between radical Paris and the conservative provinces.
      4. The Prussian king issued a constitution for Prussia, while liberal Germans gathered as a constituent assembly in Frankfurt to write a constitution for a unified Germany.
      5. Hungarians fought the Austrians unsuccessfully for independence, but autonomy was eventually granted in 1867.
      6. In Italy, Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi chased the pope out of Rome, establishing freedom of the press and secular schools.
   B. The Restoration of Authority
      1. By fall 1848, the revolutions had been stamped out nearly everywhere, and by the end of 1849, thousands of liberals and radicals were under arrest, in hiding, or in exile.
      2. In France, the June Days demonstrated that liberal governments were willing to use violence against political opponents as they killed 1,500 in an armed workers’ uprising, followed by a massacre of 3,000.
         a) By December 1848, French voters chose Louis Napoleon as president, a position he kept until Emperor Napoleon III established the Second Empire (1852–1870).
      3. The Habsburg Empire dissolved the Slavic Congress and repudiated the constitution agreed to in 1848, and Francis Joseph ruled as an absolute ruler.
      4. German revolutionaries were unable to pursue the *grossdeutsch* (“big German”) solution under Habsburg rule or the *kleindeutsch* (“small German”) solution under Prussia because neither Austria nor Prussia went along.
   C. 1848 As a Watershed Year
      1. Liberalism was the most important political ideology in 1848; the revolutionaries called for constitutions, popular representation, and an end to censorship.
      2. Although the influence of Marx and Engels’s *Communist Manifesto* (1848) and socialism in 1848 was small, moderate liberals were frightened by radical and socialist demands into joining conservatives.
      3. The revolutions of 1848 did not establish nation-states in central Europe, but they helped spread the ideals of nationalism.
      4. After 1848, the political center shifted significantly to the left as few thinking Europeans continued to defend divine-right monarchy; exceptions were the peasantry and the Catholic Church, both bulwarks of conservative, religious forces.
      5. Many of the rejected national demands of 1848 were resurrected later; Italian unification took place in the 1860s, the Hungarian demands to Vienna were granted in
the Compromise of 1867, and the Slavic Congress can be seen as the precursor of the Pan-Slav movement of the 1870s.

II. New Nation-States and Nationalist Tensions

A. The Unification of Italy
1. In Italy, the early liberal nationalist Giuseppe Mazzini reminded Italians of their glorious Roman past and called for national unity, democracy, and equal rights, even for women.
2. Garibaldi and his famous Red Shirts defeated the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.
3. The prime minister of Piedmont, Camille Cavour, used an alliance with France to expel the Austrians from northern Italy and enhanced the power of his king, Victor Emanuel II, who was crowned constitutional king of Italy in 1861 with universal male suffrage.
4. Surrounded by Italian territory that he refused to recognize, Pope Pius IX remained in self-imposed imprisonment in the Vatican.

B. The Unification of Germany
1. The Prussian chancellor Otto “blood and iron” von Bismarck waged three wars (against Denmark in 1864, Austria in 1866, and France in 1870–1871) that created a united Germany led by Prussia’s King William I.
2. During the Franco-Prussian war in 1871, the radical Paris Commune passed legislation granting free education, moderating rents, and support for the working class.
   a) The liberal provisional government had troops storm Paris and crush the Commune, killing more than twenty thousand people, more than were killed during the entire Reign of Terror at the time of the French Revolution.
3. Though successful at unifying Germany through aggressive foreign policy, Bismarck’s two domestic unification campaigns failed: the anti-Catholic Kulturkampf (Culture Struggle) in the 1870s and antisocialist legislation in the 1880s.

C. Nations Seeking States
1. Other states in Europe sought to emulate Italy and Germany.
2. Austria conceded to the Hungarians essentially what they had demanded in 1848. In the Compromise of 1867, Hungarians gained almost complete autonomy, a fact reflected in the country’s new name: Austria-Hungary.
3. Polish socialists supported independence, while National Democrats pursued aggressive, anti-Semitic nationalism.
4. The Ottomans crushed the Bulgarian uprising in 1875, but Russian intervention and the Congress of Berlin (1878) established independent Bulgaria.

D. National Identity in the United States
1. From 1861 to 1865, the United States fought a civil war over states’ rights and slavery, but also over American identity as Southerner or Yankee, rural and agrarian or urban and industrial.
2. After the war, the nation subdued its indigenous peoples; local laws enforced segregation.
4. W. E. B. Du Bois disagreed with Washington, pushing for full social and political equality; he formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909.
5. As a nation of immigrants, American national identity was complex and problematic; millions immigrated from Ireland, Germany, Italy, Russia, and other European countries.

III. The Expanding Role of the State
A. Mass Politics and Nation Building
   1. Nation building was connected with new legislative assemblies and the expansion of political participation after 1848.
   2. Mass politics developed from expanding suffrage and new technology such as cheap and abundant newspapers (and the resulting gains in literacy), railroads, and the telegraph.
   3. Conservative parties gained peasant support by appealing to Christian values and denouncing “godless” urban socialists and Jews; liberal parties supported limits on the employment of children and the length of the working day, and assistance to ill or injured workers; and nationalist politicians took up anti-Semitic slogans.
   4. Working-class political organizations grew steadily, such as the Labour Party in England, the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and in Russia, the violent Socialist Revolutionaries and the Bolshevik and Menshevik factions of the Marxist Social Democrats.

B. Education and the Nation-State
   1. Education helped to reinforce the nation-state as governments took responsibility for universal primary schooling and higher education.
   2. Literacy improved; at midcentury, more than 70 percent of the population in Scandinavia, Germany, Scotland, and the United States was literate, and by 1913, over 90 percent were literate in those countries and in Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Austria, and France.
   3. Mass education aimed to strengthen patriotism and national languages, and focused on practical results rather than moral or religious outcomes.
   4. Education reinforced existing class lines and helped to expand the middle class, leading to increased demands for broader political rights.

C. The Growing Power of the State
   1. Growing state power demanded that citizens fulfill obligations such as paying taxes, serving in the military, and obeying the law.
   2. Citizens, in return, came to expect the state to protect them from enemies and the devastation of sickness, poverty, and old age.
   3. The state had a role to play in the economy, but most state intervention aimed to ensure investors’ profits; the state also sought to ensure decent working conditions.

IV. Nationalism and Its Opponents
   A. Integral Nationalism, Racism, Antisemitism, Zionism
      1. After 1848, conservatives recognized the utility of nationalism as a tool for rallying the masses and so developed the liberal nationalist ideas into exclusionary and aggressive forms, stressing struggle and dominance rather than cooperation.
      2. Integral nationalism took on an increasingly aggressive and narrow definition of the nation, focusing in particular on who did not belong.
      3. Scientific racism developed a biological system of human classification based on a strict hierarchy, with white Europeans at the top.
      4. Antisemitism, a fusion of racism with integral nationalism, held that Jews unfairly monopolized commerce and banking, and were dishonest, corrupting, and responsible for the ills of modern capitalist society.
      5. Zionism was a Jewish nationalism that Theodor Herzl developed in response to the antisemitism he witnessed as a journalist covering the Dreyfus affair in Paris.
   B. Strains in the Multinational Empires
      1. The multinational empires of the Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary, and Russia all faced strains as a wide diversity of groups within them demanded the right to promote their own national and ethnic identity.
a) In the Ottoman Empire, the Greeks, Romanians, Serbs, and Bulgarians gained their independence, and Bosnia-Herzegovina was transferred to Austria.

b) Russia had the predominance of one religion and one language; russification caused resentment among non-Russians (Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, Lithuanians, Germans, pagan Udmurts, and Muslim Tartars), and nationalist movements formed throughout the empire.

c) Austrian concessions to the Czechs, Poles, and Ukrainians emboldened the nationalists.

C. Universalism in the Roman Catholic Church
   1. The Roman Catholic Church continued to emphasize its international, universal role in human affairs.
   2. Pope Pius IX, in his *Syllabus of Errors* (1864), condemned all forms of modernism, including nationalism, socialism, progress, liberalism, and lay education.
   3. His more moderate successor, Leo XIII, in his *De rerum novarum*, argued that Catholics must neither support socialist movements nor exploit others economically.

D. Internationalism in Politics
   1. The Second Socialist International (1889) worked to strengthen ties between socialists of various nationalities in different countries.
   2. The Polish Socialist Party aimed to overthrow the existing political order and establish an independent, socialist Polish republic.
   3. Some who sought to overthrow the political order were anarchists, using education, propaganda, terrorism, and assassination to achieve shared prosperity, diffusion of political power, and the destruction of the powerful centralized state.
   4. Pacifists aimed to prevent war; Baroness Bertha von Suttner persuaded Alfred Nobel to fund the Nobel Peace Prize.