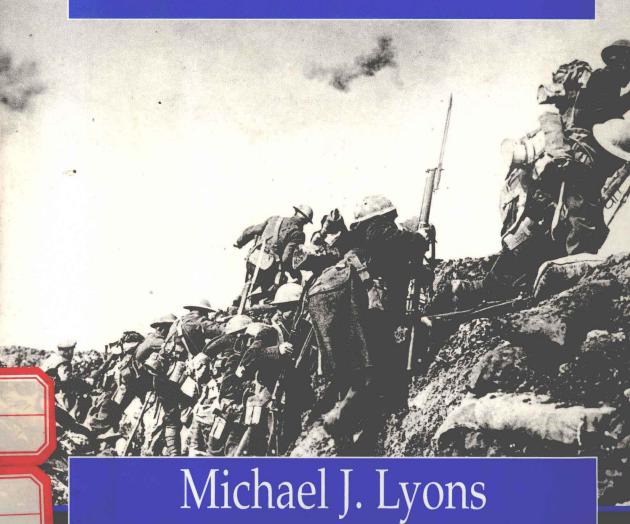
WORLD WAR I A Short History



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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication-Data Lyons, Michael J., (date)

World War I: a short history / Michael J. Lyons
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-0-13-953514-4 (pbk.)
1. World War, 1914-1918. I. Title. II. Title: World War One.
III. Title: World War 1.
D521.L82 1994
940.3--dc20 93-19794
CIP

Acquisitions Editor: Steve Dalphin Editorial/production supervision and electronic page make up: Elizabeth Best

Marketing Manager: Chris Freitag

Copy Editor: James Tully

Cover Designer: Karen Salzbach Electronic maps: Mary Lyons

Production Coordinator: Kelly Behr Editorial Assistant: Caffie Risher



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Printed in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

ISBN 0-13-953514-4

Prentice-Hall International (UK) Limited, London Prentice-Hall of Australia Pty. Limited, Sydney Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., Toronto Prentice-Hall Hispanoamericana, S.A., Mexico Prentice-Hall of India Private Limited, New Delhi Prentice-Hall of Japan, Inc., Tokyo Simon & Schuster Asia Pte. Ltd., Singapore Editora Prentice-Hall do Brasil, Ltda., Rio de Janeiro

PREFACE

Eighty years have passed since Europe stumbled into World War I. Few people realized in the fateful summer of 1914 that this conflict would eclipse all previous wars both in scope and in horror. It initiated the world into the age of modern warfare and revealed the appalling capability of a highly industrialized society to inflict disaster on itself with the aid of a new and terrible technology. The battered generation that survived the four years of slaughter and devastation that followed represented both a somber aftermath and a tragic prelude to an even greater conflict. And, although World War II came to overshadow its predecessor, World War I was the real turning point in the history of the twentieth century. It changed Europe and the world so fundamentally and created such instability that it paved the way for the second conflict and all the new problems that it spawned.

The story of how Europe blundered into the abyss of 1914 and engaged in the ghastly orgy of death and destruction has been told many times before. But, as in the case of World War II, few of the multitude of books in print are suitable for the college classroom. Most general histories are far too long, while the innumerable scholarly monographs on more selective topics are usually intended for an audience of professional historians. In World War II: A Short History, which Prentice Hall first published in 1989, I presented a general history of that conflict in a relatively brief format and in a manner that I hoped would be informative, interesting, and clear to both students and the general reader, while still being useful to the professional historian. Members of all three audiences responded

positively to that effort, encouraging me to undertake a similar treatment of World War I. Again I have sought to produce a narrative that is clear, informative, and readable. The reader will determine whether I have succeeded.

Any general history of World War I must offer an analysis of the factors, both longrange and immediate, that helped plunge Europe and ultimately much of the rest of the world into hostilities. This process is one of the most controversial topics in all of history. My first three chapters focus on the many developments that helped create an atmosphere conducive to the outbreak of war over a period of several decades before 1914. Although these "long-range causes" seem to imply that the conflict was inevitable, the actual descent into violence came as the result of the failure of the European powers to solve the crisis that erupted in the summer of 1914. Chapter 4 attempts to provide a balanced account of the tragic mistakes, moves, and countermoves during that crisis which led directly to the outbreak of war.

The majority of the remaining chapters deal with the conflict itself, including not only strategy and tactics on the various fighting fronts but also the belligerent powers' resort to "total war." By taking this approach, they sought to mobilize all their resources, both material and human, for the awesome task of securing victory. In pursuit of that elusive goal, millions of people lost their lives and millions more were maimed or suffered psychological wounds, which that generation referred to erroneously as "shell shock." Never before, and seldom since, has the world experienced such concentrated carnage, while the drain on the economies and national wealth of the belligerents was also unprecedented. The immense strain of this awful struggle produced many momentous changes and none more far-reaching than the Russian Revolution in 1917 and the

triumph of communism in that country. In that same year the United States entered the war, and its vast financial and economic resources as well as its abundant supply of personnel left no doubt that it had emerged as the leading power in the world.

The final two chapters relate the grim effects of the war, including the peace settlement as well as the political and economic disruption, and in some cases chaos, that developed in the wake of the conflict. Europe and the world would never be the same again.

I must express gratitude to a number of people for their support of this project. My thanks go especially to Steve Dalphin, executive editor of Prentice Hall's College Division, for providing the opportunity to undertake the task. I am also indebted to the readers who found my manuscript worthy of publication. A special acknowledgment goes to A. Harding Ganz of the Ohio State University, Newark Campus, for his wise criticism and many valuable suggestions. My daughter, Mary, a professional artist, performed a most beneficial service by drawing many of the maps that make the narrative more meaningful. Amy Ochoa, our departmental secretary, carried out the yeoman work of preparing the finished version of the manuscript. She always demonstrated exceptional efficiency, speed, and good humor despite my seemingly insatiable appetite for revision.

I also wish to acknowledge the support of my friend, colleague and department chair Larry Peterson as well as Robert Littlefield, who, as acting dean of the College of Humanities and Social Sciences, granted me release time to pursue this enterprise. My friend and colleague, David Danbom extended his encouragement as well as the constant example of his devotion to research and writing. Joan, my charming wife, great friend, and exceptional travel companion, as always was a major source of inspiration. She also remained remarkably tolerant of the stacks of

Preface xiii

notes, books, and general debris that for so long adorned my working area at home. My children, Mike and Nancy as well as Mary, all provided their most welcome support and warm encouragement. Finally, I must express a bit of stubborn pride in the fact that, in an age of computers, I typed all of

my many drafts on a venerable 1949 model Smith Corona portable with a broken x key. As for errors, I have tried with all my might to banish them altogether. I am sure, nevertheless, that some still lurk in the following pages. Of course, I alone am responsible for them.

CONTENTS

PREFACE, xi

1 EUROPE BEFORE 1914: THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC SETTING, 1

An Atmosphere for War, 1
Nationalism and Revolution, 3
German Unification, 4
Growth of Industrialization, 7
The Middle Class and Liberalism, 7
Plight of the Working Class, 9
The Gospel of Marxism, 10
Decline of Liberalism, 11

2 THE GREAT POWERS AND THE GROWTH OF TENSION, 13

Nationalism, 13 Economic Rivalry, 14 Imperialism, 15 Friction Among the Imperialist Nations, Growth of Rival Alliances, 18 Changes in Germany, 20 French-Russian Ties, 21 Britain Seeks Allies, 22 French Initiatives, 23 British Fears of German Naval Power, 24 Britain and France Improve Relations, 25 German Countermeasures, 26 Anglo-French Response Toward Germany, 26 Formation of the Triple Entente, 28 Military Planning, 30 Second Moroccan Crisis, 32 Winston Churchill: First Lord of the Admiralty, 33 Size of Navies Debated, 34 The "Fateful Chain Reaction," 35

3 THE EXPLOSIVE BALKANS, 37

Russian Designs, 37
The Intricacies of Balkan Politics, 38
The Pig War, 39
Russia and Austria-Hungary, 39
Austria Eyes Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 40
Emperor Francis Joseph, 42
German Support of Austria, 43
Negative Effects of Annexation, 43
War Between Italy and Turkey, 44
The Balkan League, 45
The "Sick Man of Europe" Weakens, 45
Attitude of the Other Powers, 47
Fatalism and Hope, 51
Assassination of Francis Ferdinand, 53

4 THE JULY CRISIS AND THE OUTBREAK OF WAR, 56

Austria Reacts to the Assassination, 57 Reaction of the Other Powers, 59 War Is Near, 60 Mobilization Begins, 61 Germany Declares War, 63 Britain Enters the War, 65 Italy Remains Neutral, 65 Reasons for the War, 66

5 GREAT EXPECTATIONS: WAR PLANS AND THE SHORT WAR ILLUSION, 70

The Short War Illusion, 70
A Protracted War Predicted, 71
The Central Powers, 71
The Entente Powers, 72
Advantage of the Central Powers, 72
Strengths and Shortcomings
of the Allies, 73
Lord Kitchener and the BEF, 74
Strategy of the Central Powers, 76
Plan 17, 78
Britain's Role, 81

Russia's Strategy, 82 Austria-Hungary's Strategy, 82 The Failure of Wishful Thinking, 85

6 1914: DEADLOCK ON THE WESTERN FRONT, 86

Schlieffen Plan Launched, 86
The French Offensive, 88
German Advances, 91
Allied Response, 93
French Army Retreats, 94
Allies Continue to Retreat, 96
Allies Plan Counterattack, 97
Battle of the Marne, 98
Aftermath of the Marne Battle, 99
Weakness of the Schlieffen Plan, 100
The "Race to the Sea," 101
The Flanders Offensive, 102
The High Cost of War, 104
Beginnings of Trench Warfare, 104

7 1914: DEADLOCK ON THE EASTERN FRONT, 105

Events in Eastern Europe, 105 The Russian Command, 106 The German Command, 108 Russian Concerns, 109 The Battle of Gumbinnen, 110 Changes in the German High Command, 111 Germans Plan Strategy, 112 Russian Forces Routed, 113 Reasons Behind the German Victory, 114 The War in the South, 115 The Serbian Campaign, 116 Russian Victories Against the Dual Monarchy, 117 Aftermath of the Dual Monarchy's Losses, 120 Russia and Germany Plan New Offensives, 121 Power Struggle in the German Military, 122

8 1915: THE WESTERN FRONT AND GALLIPOLI, 124

Both Sides Plan Strategy, 124
Events of 1915: Trench Warfare, 126
The Second Battle of Ypres: The Horrors of Gas Warfare, 128
The Artois Offensive, 129
The Fatal Flaw in Allied Tactics, 129
Turkey Enters the War, 131
Beginnings of the Gallipoli Campaign, 134
Failure of Allied Naval Power, 137
Use of Land Forces Planned, 138
Political Repercussions of the Gallipoli Defeat, 140
Continuation of the Gallipoli Offensive, 141
Allied Withdrawal, 142

9 1915: STALEMATE IN THE SOUTH, ALLIED DISASTER IN THE EAST, 144

Italy Joins the Allies, 144
The Treaty of London, 145
Shortcomings of the Italian Military, 145
The Italian Strategy, 147
Austria-Hungary and the Galician Front, 148
Germany Acts to Save Austria-Hungary, 149
Russians Caught by Surprise, 151
Fighting in the East Continues, 151
Czar Nicholas Assumes Military Control, 154
Central Powers Eye Serbia, 155
Allied Troops No Help for Serbs, 156

10 1916: THE HELL OF VERDUN AND THE SOMME, 159

Allies Plan Western Strategy, 159

A Dismal Year for the Allies, 158

German Strategy: Starve Britain, "Bleed" France, 160 Verdun Chosen as Target of German Offensive, 161 Battle of Verdun Begins, 163 French Resistance Stiffens, 165 Germans Prepare New Attack, 166 Failure of the German Assault, 167 French Counterattack Planned, 167 The High Cost of Victory, 168 Events Leading Up to the Somme Battle, Somme Offensive Begins, 171 British Suffer Heavy Casualties, 172 Tank Warfare Planned, 174 Stalemate in the West, 175 Change in British Leadership, 176 Heavy Losses, Few Tangible Gains, 176

11 1916: ATTRITION IN THE SOUTH AND EAST, 177

The Political Situation in the East, 177
Austria-Hungary Plans Campaign
Against Italy, 178
Austro-Hungarian Drive Halted, 179
Italians Mount Isonzo Offensive, 180
Political Repercussions in Italy, 180
Origins of the Brusilov Offensive, 181
Russians Revise Their Strategy, 183
Russians Make Lightning Gains, 184
The Tide Shifts, 184
Rumania Enters War on Allied Side, 186
Greece Joins Allies, 187
Problems Plague the Dual Monarchy, 188
The Death of Francis Joseph, 189
Russia Demoralized, 191

12 THE WAR AT SEA AND IN THE AIR, 192

British and German Naval Strength, 193 British Naval Leaders, 195 The German Naval Command, 196 Opening Skirmishes at Sea, 196 viii Contents

Naval Encounters in South American
Waters, 197
First North Sea Battle, 198
Germans Plan Hit-and-Run Raids, 199
The Battle of Jutland, 200
Smaller Ships Begin to Dominate, 203
German Submarine Warfare, 204
Germans Announce Policy of
Unrestricted Warfare at Sea, 204
The Air War, 207
New Aircraft Introduced, 208
Aerial Bombing Launched, 210
The RAF Created, 211
The First Aircraft Carrier, 211

13 WAR AIMS AND TOTAL WAR, 212

Appeals to Patriotism, 212 An Appetite for Territory, 213 French Designs, 213 British Aims, 214 Goals of the Central Powers, 215 Rationalizing the War, 217 The Desire for Peace, The Threat of Revolution, 217 The Concept of Total War, 219 The Power of Propaganda, 219 Attitudes of Troops, 219 Effects of the War in France, 220 Effects of the War on Britain, 222 Conditions in Germany, 224 Political Changes in Germany, 225 Conditions in Italy, 227 Conflicts in the Dual Monarchy, 228 Russia: Disillusionment and Unrest. The "Sinister Presence" of Rasputin, 229

14 THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONS, 231

Origins of the Revolution, 231 The Revolution of 1905, 232 Events Leading to Revolution, 233

Collapse of the Czarist Government, 234 Shortcomings of the Provisional Government, 235 Lenin and Revolution, 236 Lenin Returns to Russia, 237 Failure of the Kerensky Offensive, 238 Counterrevolutionary Movement Formed, 239 Support for Provisional Government Collapses, 239 Leon Trotsky, 240 The Bolshevik Revolution, 240 Beginnings of the Bolshevik Dictatorship, 241 Revival of Secret Police, 242 Lenin Seeks End to War, 242 The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, 242 The Russian Civil War, 243

15 AMERICA ENTERS THE WAR, 245

American Attitudes, 245 Anti-German Propaganda, 246 Effect of the War on American Commerce, 247 Factors Behind America's Entry into the War, 248 German Submarine Warfare, 249 The War's Impact on American Politics, 250 U.S. Breaks Off Diplomatic Relations with Germany, 251 The Zimmermann Telegram, 251 America Enters the European War, 252 Role of the Navy, 253 Building up the Military, 253 Economic Mobilization, 255 The Food Program, 256 Fuel and Transportation, 257 Paying for the War, 258 Mobilizing Public Opinion, 259 Anti-German Propaganda Turns Shrill, 260 The Hunt for Subversives, 260

Contents

America Becomes Major Military Power, 261

16 1917: CRISIS FOR THE ALLIES, 262

Submarine Warfare Resumed, 262 Superiority of the Convoy System, 263 German Naval Strategy: A Failure, 264 The Land War, 265 French General Nivelle's Plan, 265 British Success in the Battle of Arras, 267 The Nivelle Offensive, 267 Mutiny in the French Ranks, 268 Pétain Assumes Command, 269 Burden Shifts to the British, 270 British Plan to Blow Up German-Held Fortress, 270 Lloyd George: Britain's New Prime Minister, 271 The British Plan of Action, 272 Both Sides Sustain Heavy Losses, 274 The Italian Campaign, 275 Italians Routed at Caporetto, 277 Changes in the Italian Government, 278 The Battle of Cambrai, 278 Value of Tank Warfare Recognized, 280

17 THE WAR OUTSIDE EUROPE, 281

The Far East and the Pacific, 281
The Fighting in Africa, 282
South Africa Aids the Allied Cause, 283
The Campaign in Mesopotamia, 284
Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, 287
Lawrence of Arabia, 289
The War in Palestine, 291
The Campaign Against Syria, 292

18 1918: GERMANY'S LAST BID FOR VICTORY, 295

Signs of Unrest, 295 Ludendorff Plans Western Offensive, 296 Germans Rupture British Front, 298 Allies Form a Unified Command, 299 Clemenceau Guides France, 299
German Offensive Loses Momentum, 300
Allied Ranks Become Strained, 303
Royal Navy Attacks U-Boat Base, 303
German Army Presses On, 304
Another Ludendorff Offensive
Planned, 306
Americans Win Another Victory, 307
Flu Epidemic More Lethal Than War, 307
Germans Refuse to Give Up, 307
German Army in Retreat, 310

19 1918: COLLAPSE OF THE CENTRAL POWERS, 311

America's Presence in the War Invaluable, 311 The Amiens Campaign, 312 Ludendorff Offers to Resign, 314 Fighting Continues, 315 General Pershing Plans American Offensive, 316 Allies Plan Joint Campaign, 317 The Argonne Operation, 317 Allies Batter the Hindenburg Line, 319 The Diplomatic War, 322 Wilson's Fourteen Points, 323 Disaster in the Balkans, 323 The Dual Monarchy Dissolves, 326 Allies Continue to Press Germany, 327 Changes Inside Germany, 329 Allies Present Terms, 330 November 11: War Ends in Europe, 330

20 THE POSTWAR SETTLEMENT, 332

Wounds: Psychological and Material, 332
The Paris Peace Conference, 334
The Treaty of Versailles, 335
Changes in the Map of Europe, 336
Germany Loses Its Colonies, 338
German Military Dismantled, 338
The Question of Reparations, 339
League of Nations Established, 340

Wilson and Republicans Clash, 341 New Countries Created in Europe, 341 Turkey Loses Much Territory, 344 Germans Feel Betrayed by West, 344 Other Critics of the Peace Settlement, 345

21 THE TROUBLED AFTERMATH, 348

Unrest at Home, 348 Instability in Germany, 349 The Weimer Republic, 351 Threats from the Right, 352 Fascists Take Control in Italy, 352 Discontent in Austria, 353 Hungary Abandons Democracy, 354 Conflict in Yugoslavia, 355 Ethnic Divisions in Czechoslovakia, 356 Dictatorship in Poland, 358 Communists Extend Their Grip in Russia, 359 Stalin Becomes Soviet Dictator, 361 Upheaval in Turkey, 361 Britain and the Irish Question, 363 Greater Independence Given the Dominions, 364 Unrest in British Colonies, 364

France Seeks Allies, 364
Japan Widens Influence in East Asia, 365
Some Bright Spots Appear, 366
The War's Grim Legacy, 366
The Psychological Toll of the War, 367
Economic Despair and Political
Instability, 368

ADDITIONAL READING, 369

General, 369
The Background for the War, 370
War Plans, 373
The Western Front, 374
The Eastern Front, 376
The Italian Front and Gallipoli, 377
The War Outside Europe, 377
The War on the Sea and in the Air, 378
War Aims and Total War, 379
The Russian Revolutions, 380
The United States and the War, 381
The End of the War and Its Aftermath, 382

INDEX, 385

CHAPTER

1

EUROPE BEFORE 1914: THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC SETTING

In early 1914, the continent of Europe was the focal point of the entire world, a distinction it had enjoyed for centuries. To be sure, the United States had recently become the leading industrial power, but in most forms of human endeavor it still looked to Europe for inspiration. Most of the world's great industrial, military, and naval powers were European states. Much of the remainder of the globe was still subject to European domination in the form of colonies and spheres of influence. Europe's trade was massive and worldwide in scope. Its intellectual and cultural achievements was still the envy of most other countries. All of this would change dramatically as the result of a conflict that broke out on the Continent in the summer of 1914. It proved to be of unprecedented ferocity and lasted more than four years. The generation that suffered through it called it the Great War. We remember it as World War I.

There had never been a war remotely like it. In terms of lives lost, destruction inflicted, and revolutionary impact on the survivors, it was unique. In the following years historians tried to explain the causes of this appalling catastrophe, and the answers proved elusive. Even though the better part of a century has elapsed since the conflict began, the question of who or what was responsible still remains highly controversial.

AN ATMOSPHERE FOR WAR

It is clear that the war began because the leaders of the European Great Powers made a number of crucial decisions during a crisis triggered by the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, on June 28, 1914. But these fateful actions were conditioned to a large extent by other factors that had created an

atmosphere in which war was a distinct possibility, although hardly inevitable. Some of these factors had their origin long before 1914 in the political, economic, and social development of Europe during the nineteenth century.

Among them were the often turbulent relations between the Great Powers and the rise of nationalism in Central Europe. The various European countries had engaged in political and economic rivalry, both on the Continent and in other parts of the world, for centuries. By the mid-eighteenth century five of these nations had emerged as Great Powers—Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. For most of the remainder of that century an almost perfect balance of power prevailed among them. But, during the period of Napoleon Bonaparte's rule in

the early nineteenth century, France completely upset the balance and dominated the Continent for the better part of a decade. Napoleon's excessive ambition eventually led to disaster, however, and the other four Great Powers joined forces to defeat him by 1815. The subsequent peace settlement stripped France of its conquests but refrained from depriving the country of any of its original territory. France kept its position as one of the five Great Powers in the newly restored European equilibrium.

Two of the Great Powers, Austria and Prussia, shared a distinction that set them apart from the others. The Austrians and Prussians were ethnically German, even though both countries included non-Germans within their borders. For centuries Austria



FIGURE 1–1 Napoleon Bonaparte. National Archives

and Prussia had been the two most powerful of the 300 separate German states that comprised the exceedingly loose federation known as the Holy Roman Empire. But Napoleon had sharply reduced the number of German states by merging many of the smaller units with larger ones, and in 1806 he abolished the Holy Roman Empire altogether. Following Napoleon's defeat, the peacemakers at the Congress of Vienna chose not to restore the empire. Instead, they created the German Confederation, consisting of only 39 states, which were almost as loosely linked as those of the defunct empire.

In creating the German Confederation, the peacemakers had spurned the pleas of a nationalist movement that had developed among certain elements of the German states during the period of Napoleonic control. German nationalists urged an end to the centuries-old political fragmentation of Germany by the creation of a united and powerful German nation. But their desires conflicted with those of the conservative statesmen who drafted the peace settlement of 1815. These men feared nationalism as a force that would bring renewed turmoil to the Europe they were trying to stabilize after almost 25 years of war. Their alarm increased as nationalism also took root in Italy. The Italian peninsula, like Germany, had experienced political division for many centuries, and during the period of Napoleon's ascendancy, Italian nationalists had dreamed of a united Italy. The Congress of Vienna shattered their hopes by restoring a dozen separate Italian states and placing two of them-Lombardy and Venetia-under Austrian rule. Austria, Prussia, and Russia also shared a mutual desire to stifle the growth of Polish nationalism. The three Great Powers of Eastern Europe had erased Poland from the map by partitioning its territory among themselves in the late eighteenth century. Each of them had much to lose if a revived Polish state should somehow rise from the grave.

The rulers of Austria found nationalism especially distasteful. The Austrian Empire consisted of a collection of territories in Central Europe inhabited by many different ethnic groups. Over the centuries the House of Hapsburg, the ruling dynasty of Austria, had gradually gained authority over these peoples. But the ruling group, the Austrian Germans, represented a relatively small minority of the total population in this multinational empire. In 1815, the Hapsburgs saw nationalism as a danger to the very existence of their country. While nationalism posed the prospect of unity for Germany, Italy, and Poland, it held the potential to destroy the Austrian Empire, fragmenting it into small states, none of which could remotely approach the status of a great power. Not surprisingly, Austrian leaders remained bitter enemies of nationalism in general. Success for a nationalist movement anywhere in Europe would pose an example for the various ethnic groups within the Austrian Empire. But in 1815 nationalism remained only a potential threat. It had not yet taken root in most of the national groups of the empire. As the years passed, however, the situation changed, and dissatisfaction over Austrian domination increased.

NATIONALISM AND REVOLUTION

Try as they might, the Hapsburgs could not permanently prevent victories for the cause of nationalism. Three waves of revolutions struck various parts of Europe in the 1820s, 1830, and most emphatically in 1848. Some of these uprisings were inspired by nationalism. A Greek revolt against Turkish rule in 1821 led to the creation of an independent Greece, and in 1830 the new state of Belgium gained freedom from the Netherlands. In

1848 revolution erupted in France as well as the Italian and German states, including both Prussia and Austria. Italian nationalists hoped to create a united Italy, while in Germany an assembly of representatives from the various states actually drafted a constitution for a united Germany. Nationalist revolts also broke out among the Czechs and Magyars (Hungarians) within the Austrian Empire. The former sought cultural autonomy and local self-government in the Czech-inhabited region of Bohemia. The latter initially demanded autonomy within the lands constituting the Hapsburgruled Kingdom of Hungary but later fought for outright independence.

All of the revolutions of 1848 caught by surprise the conservative governments of the countries involved. There was a universal tendency for the rulers to panic and either flee into exile or grant concessions. But the victories of the revolutions were short-lived. The rebels fell victim to squabbling among themselves, opening the way to conservative counterrevolutions. By 1849, most of the revolutions had failed, and conservative regimes had regained power. For the time being, there was to be no united Italy or Germany, no autonomous Bohemia or independent Hungary.

But the cause of nationalism did not die. In Italy, it found a new leader in Camillo di Cavour, premier of the northern Italian state of Piedmont-Sardinia. Under his direction, Piedmont-Sardinia gained an alliance with Napoleon III of France in 1858. This pact led to a victorious war with Austria the following year, even though Napoleon deserted his Italian ally after the initial successful battles and made a separate peace. By 1861, a united Italy had emerged, although the northeastern province of Venetia remained under Austrian rule and Rome continued to be governed by the pope, who had the protection of a French

military garrison. The new Italy won recognition as a Great Power, but in view of its limited economic and military resources, it was perhaps only an honorary member of the Great Power club.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Within a decade a united Germany also came into existence, but the new German state did not include Austria. Hapsburg antagonism to nationalism had made certain that if Germany were ever to be unified, it would be done under Prussia's leadership. For many years Prussia deferred to Austria and remained almost as hostile to German nationalism as were the Hapsburgs. But, in 1862, Otto von Bismarck, an exceptionally able leader, became the chief minister in the Prussian government of King William I and soon became the architect of German unity. A conservative Prussian aristocrat and originally not a German nationalist at all, he seemed an unlikely candidate for this role. In fact, his first aim was not to unify Germany but to strengthen Prussian power within the German Confederation.

Although his intentions are not completely clear, it appears that Bismarck actually thought in terms of enticing the Austrians into an agreement which would partition Germany along the Main River, with Prussia dominant in the north and Austria in the south. But when the Hapsburgs, who had long thwarted all attempts at greater German unity, showed no interest in such a settlement, he resorted to armed conflict insteadthe Austro-Prussian War of 1866. Bismarck prepared for the war by skillful diplomatic maneuvering, which discouraged the other Great Powers from supporting Austria and even lured Italy into joining Prussia in the conflict. With the enemy isolated, the Prussian army, led by its brilliant chief of staff, General Helmuth von Moltke, won a decisive victory over Austrian forces in the Battle of Königgrätz (or Sadowa), and Austria agreed to an armistice.

In the ensuing peace settlement, Bismarck took no territory from the Hapsburgs for Prussia but forced Austria to give up its membership in the German Confederation. He then dissolved the Confederation and established a new North German Confederation that was clearly under Prussian domination. Italy received Venetia as its reward for siding with Prussia.

While winning his victory over Austria, Bismarck recognized the growing support of many Germans for a united Germany. He decided to satisfy their desires by merging the remaining south German states with the North German Confederation. But

he was determined that this united Germany would bear the unmistakable imprint of Prussian power and would be headed by the Prussian royal family, the Hohenzollern dynasty.

Bismarck's new ambition brought Prussia into conflict with France. The French looked with growing concern on the rapid increase in Prussia's strength, seeing it as a threat to their own expansionist ambitions as well as a danger to France itself. In July 1870, Bismarck engineered a diplomatic crisis and provoked France into declaring war on Prussia. The Franco-Prussian War resulted in disaster for France as Moltke again led Prussia to victory. His troops outmaneuvered the French, encircled one army, then another, and forced each of them



FIGURE 1-2 Otto von Bismarck, architect of German Unification. National Archives