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# Unification and Its Discontents: The Making of Modern Italy 1815-1871

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## Introduction

This book tells the story of how a patchwork of duchies, kingdoms, and papal territories became the Kingdom of Italy between 1815 and 1871—and why that story remains unsettled. It follows the familiar arc of the Risorgimento while insisting on its complications: the compromises that secured international recognition, the bargains that muted radical hopes, and the regional and class tensions that endured beneath the tricolor. Unification was both a triumph and a provocation; it created a state faster than it forged a nation, and it left behind questions that Italians would debate for generations.

Our approach is political and social in equal measure. We track diplomacy and war—Vienna’s settlement, the revolutions of 1848–1849, the campaigns of 1859 and 1866, the capture of Rome in 1870—alongside the experiences of artisans, peasants, and new urban classes who bore the costs and reaped uneven rewards. Secret societies and salons mattered, but so did draft boards, tax collectors, and railway stations. The Risorgimento unfolded not only in royal cabinets and foreign ministries but also in village squares, parish houses, printing shops, and mountain hideouts.

Key figures stride across these pages—Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi, Victor Emmanuel II, and Pius IX—yet none moves alone. Their choices were constrained by Austrians in Lombardy-Venetia, by French ambitions and anxieties, by British and Russian calculations, and by the stubborn geography of the peninsula itself. Victory in battle could be undercut by defeat in negotiation; a diplomatic breakthrough could unravel in the streets. The reader will see how foreign powers alternately suppressed, enabled, and exploited Italian aspirations, and how Italian leaders leveraged European rivalries to advance national goals.

Unification demanded violence as well as votes. Plebiscites legitimated annexations, but ballots never fully silenced bayonets. The “brigandage” that convulsed the South after 1861 was more than banditry; it was a civil conflict born of uneven taxation, harsh conscription, dislocation, and the collision between local loyalties and a centralized state. The new kingdom’s promise of liberty coexisted with emergency laws and military tribunals, and the language of fraternity met the realities of hunger and migration.

State-building also meant social engineering. Schools, barracks, and bureaucracies set out to “make Italians,” standardizing language and inculcating civic rituals. Railways knit markets and sped armies, but tariffs and public debt redistributed pain and privilege. The church-state conflict—condensed in the “Roman Question”—shaped citizenship, education, and the rhythms of everyday belief. The political map of

unification was drawn with treaties and battles; its social map was traced by teachers' registers, tax rolls, and remittance letters.

This is a history attentive to memory and myth. The Risorgimento supplied parades, monuments, and schoolbook heroes, but it also generated counter-memories: of dispossession in the Mezzogiorno, of disillusioned republicans, of provincial elites wary of Turin or Florence. We examine how these competing narratives justified policies, rallied movements, and framed later crises, from economic depression to emigration.

The chapters that follow proceed roughly chronologically, each pairing events with their social undercurrents. We begin with Restoration politics and the invention of "Italy" as a usable idea, move through conspiracies and revolutions, and trace the pivot from republican idealism to monarchic pragmatism. We then follow the cascade of wars and bargains that culminated in the annexation of Venetia and the seizure of Rome. Along the way, we return repeatedly to the questions that outlasted 1871: Who belonged to the nation? At what cost was unity achieved? And why did the fruits of unification taste so different in Naples and Milan?

By the end, readers will recognize both the grandeur and the grit of the making of modern Italy. They will see how victories on the battlefield and in chancelleries coexisted with unresolved regional inequalities, class tensions, and cultural divides. Unification, we argue, was not a single moment but a process—one that created new possibilities even as it planted the seeds of discontent that would shape Italy's future.

## **CHAPTER ONE: After Napoleon: Restoration Politics and the Italian Idea, 1815-1820**

The Congress of Vienna left the Italian peninsula neat on paper and frayed in life. After the shuffling of flags and titles in 1815, travelers could consult new maps that showed crisp boundaries and familiar names—Lombardy, Venetia, Tuscany, Modena, Parma, Piedmont-Sardinia, the Papal States, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Yet the geography of power had shifted, and not in favor of local autonomy. Austria now governed Lombardy and Venetia directly through a viceroy in Milan; it also “guaranteed” the thrones of minor duchies by placing relatives and clients in them. The Bourbon king returned to Naples and Sicily, reuniting the South under a regime that preferred deference to reform. The House of Savoy reclaimed Piedmont-Sardinia and promised to govern as it had before, with few concessions to constitutionalism. The Papal States were restored in nearly their full medieval breadth, now administered with renewed zeal by newly confident Roman officials.

The Congress restored old rulers but could not restore the pre-1796 world. Ideas and institutions Napoleon had scattered across the peninsula did not evaporate when crowns returned. Codes, prefectures, conscription lists, and the habit of centralized administration lingered. Soldiers and officials who had served in the Napoleonic armies or bureaucracies found themselves unemployed or relegated to secondary posts. A generation had grown up with the notion that merit could outrank birth, that uniform laws might replace a patchwork of privileges, and that “public” institutions—from schools to hospitals—could be organized by the state. These notions did not vanish; they simply went underground, finding expression in private conversation, in Masonic lodges, and in the margins of official life.

Metternich and the conservative architects of Vienna sought not merely stability but an end to the restless energies of the French revolutionary and Napoleonic eras. Their system relied on a balance of powers, regular congresses, and the willingness of monarchs to act as mutual guarantors against revolution. In Italy, this translated into Austrian oversight of the peninsula’s affairs, often exercised through confidential dispatches and discreet pressures rather than open commands. The “Vienna system” aimed at restoring legitimacy, limiting constitutional experiments, and discouraging nationalism. It did not, however, eliminate the conditions that made nationalist ideas attractive: uneven economic development, frustrated ambitions among the educated classes, and the persistent sense that Italian lands were governed less for Italians than for the benefit of distant powers.

In the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Ferdinand IV, now Ferdinand I of the Two Sicilies,

quickly dismantled the concessions he had made under duress. In 1816 he issued a constitution under pressure from the Neapolitan military, then revoked it once his position felt secure. He centralized authority, curtailed local autonomy in Sicily, and reasserted Bourbon control over the bureaucracy. The South's economy had suffered during the Napoleonic wars, and the new regime did little to address structural weaknesses—land tenure, brigandage, tax collection—while relying on repressive measures to maintain order. For many Neapolitans and Sicilians, the restoration meant a return to familiar hierarchies and a narrowing of political possibility, even as trade resumed and the ports filled again with merchant vessels.

Piedmont-Sardinia, restored to the House of Savoy, reestablished a regime that was conservative, militaristic, and suspicious of change. Victor Emmanuel I dissolved the Napoleonic institutions and reinstated the old order of estates, privileges, and religious orthodoxy. The king governed through a council of ministers answerable only to him, and the statutes of 1770 were reinstated as the kingdom's legal foundation. Piedmontese society was ordered, dutiful, and deeply tied to the monarchy and the Church. The region's economy was primarily agricultural, with trade routes oriented toward Genoa and the Mediterranean. Piedmont's elites were cautiously loyal, but beneath the surface, there were murmurs of dissatisfaction, particularly among officers who had served under the Napoleonic banner and now found their experience undervalued.

In Lombardy and Venetia, Austrian rule was efficient and aloof. Milan, with its thriving textile industries and vibrant intellectual life, became the administrative heart of Lombardy-Venetia under the viceroy Archduke Rainer Joseph. The Austrian bureaucracy was methodical: tax collection was regularized, public works projects progressed, and censorship was enforced. Yet the Lombard elite, especially the professional classes, chafed at being governed from Vienna and at the limits placed on local participation. The Venetian economy, long in relative decline, struggled to recapture its former glory. Both regions felt the weight of military conscription and taxation to support Habsburg wars and garrisons. The contrast with Piedmont's conservatism and Naples's Bourbon authoritarianism was subtle but real: Austria offered order and predictability, with little room for local ambition.

Tuscany, under Habsburg rule but with a degree of internal autonomy, was an outlier. Grand Duke Ferdinand III, and later his son Leopold II, presided over a relatively moderate regime that tolerated limited reforms and encouraged cultural patronage. Florence, the cradle of the Renaissance, remained a center of art, literature, and intellectual life, attracting scholars and travelers. The Tuscan administration was less oppressive than in Lombardy or Naples, and the economy—centered on agriculture and light industry—was stable. While political life was tightly controlled, Tuscany fostered a climate of civility where ideas circulated with less friction. This made it a quietly fertile ground for the kinds of discussions that would eventually feed the Risorgimento's intellectual currents.

The Papal States were restored under Pius VII, who returned to Rome in 1814 after Napoleon's defeat. The Papacy's authority was reasserted over a wide territory that included Umbria, the Marches, and parts of the Romagna. The administration, guided by conservative cardinals, aimed to moralize public life and rebuild institutions. Economic conditions were difficult: the states were largely agricultural, with limited industry, and the treasury struggled with debt. The Papal government promoted religious orthodoxy and restricted political associations, but it could not prevent the circulation of ideas that had been aired during the French occupation. Rome's status as a center of Catholic universalism also made it a stage for international diplomacy, where Italy's fate was often decided without the input of Italians.

Across the peninsula, the return of monarchs and popes did not erase the memory of the Napoleonic era. For many, the French interlude had introduced new concepts of citizenship, property rights, and legal equality. Even where these were rolled back, their imprint remained in public records, commercial practices, and military organization. Veterans of Napoleon's armies, many from modest backgrounds, had experienced promotion based on merit and had served in campaigns that spanned Europe. They carried home not only medals but also a sense of possibility. The contrast between their experience and the restored order's emphasis on lineage and privilege created a latent tension that would later burst into open dissent.

The environment in which ideas circulated changed dramatically after 1815. Censorship laws, enforced by papal and royal authorities, placed tight restrictions on publications. Newspapers were limited, and political pamphlets were dangerous. Secret societies—Masonic lodges and more clandestine groups—became vital meeting places for conversation and plotting. They were shadowy but not entirely secret; membership overlapped with professional and social circles. The Carbonari, a loosely organized network that emerged in the early nineteenth century, would later become the most famous of these groups. In the years immediately after Vienna, they were still taking shape, attracting soldiers, lawyers, students, and priests who were discontented with the status quo but unsure of a path forward.

The idea of "Italy" as a cultural and political entity was not born in 1815, but it gained new urgency under the Restoration. Intellectuals used the term to describe a shared heritage—language, history, art—while debating whether it could also signify a political community. Ugo Foscolo, exiled after Napoleon's fall, wrote from abroad about the moral responsibilities of literature and the need for civic engagement. Vincenzo Monti, a poet and translator, wrestled with the relationship between classical ideals and contemporary politics. Giuseppe Parini, whose satirical works had critiqued aristocratic idleness, remained a reference point for those who saw reform as a moral imperative. Their words circulated in salons and classrooms, shaping a generation that would soon turn literary ideals into political programs.

Local identities remained strong, complicating the emergence of a national consciousness. Peasants in Calabria felt loyalty to their village and patron; Milanese merchants worried about trade with Austria; Piedmontese officers identified with the Savoy monarchy; Roman priests served the universal Church first. These attachments were not contradictions but layers of belonging. The notion of a unified Italy would have to negotiate with these identities, not erase them. The Risorgimento's later success in mobilizing broad support would depend on its ability to speak to regional concerns—security in the North, land reform in the Center, order and employment in the South—while also promising something larger and more inclusive.

Class and profession shaped perspectives on the Restoration. Lawyers and notaries, trained in law and accustomed to administrative roles, were often reform-minded but cautious. Students, particularly those in universities like Pavia, Pisa, and Bologna, were more radical, energized by reading forbidden texts and debating the future of their country. Merchants and industrialists in Lombardy and Tuscany were interested in economic liberalization, hoping for lower tariffs and better infrastructure. The clergy ranged from progressive parish priests sympathetic to local needs to high-ranking officials committed to defending papal sovereignty. Each group approached the question of "Italy" differently, and their divergent interests would complicate any unified political project.

Foreign powers played an outsized role in Italian affairs. Austria was the principal actor, with the resources and will to intervene whenever a provincial government looked unstable. France, though diminished after Napoleon, remained a factor in the peninsula, particularly in the courts of Piedmont and Naples. Britain, observing from across the sea, favored the balance of power and free trade, sometimes encouraging moderate reform but wary of destabilizing the region. Russia, under Alexander I, aligned with the conservative bloc and supported the papacy's authority. These powers did not act in concert on every issue, but their collective interest in preventing revolutionary upheaval shaped the environment in which Italian politics developed.

Economic conditions in the years after 1815 were uneven. The Napoleonic wars had disrupted trade, and the return of peace brought relief but not prosperity. In the North, textile manufacturing and commerce recovered more quickly, aided by access to markets and banking networks. In the South, the economy remained largely agrarian, burdened by large estates and limited industrialization. Public finances across the peninsula were strained by war debts and the costs of maintaining armies and bureaucracies. Taxation was a constant grievance, and tax collectors became symbols of distant authority. Economic hardship did not automatically lead to political revolt, but it created fertile ground for dissent, especially when coupled with the frustration of educated elites.

The Catholic Church's role in Italian life was central and complex. It provided moral guidance, education, and social services, but it was also a major landowner and a

political actor. The Restoration strengthened the Church's institutional authority, especially in the Papal States and in regions where bishops collaborated closely with civil authorities. For many Italians, loyalty to the Church and loyalty to the monarchy were inseparable. Yet there were also currents of Catholic reformism, influenced by figures like Alessandro Manzoni, that sought to reconcile faith with civic responsibility and social justice. This tension—between an authoritarian papacy and a more progressive Catholic ethos—would surface repeatedly in the Risorgimento's debates about the relationship between religion and nationhood.

Urban centers—Milan, Turin, Florence, Naples—served as incubators for new ideas. Salons and academies hosted discussions about history, literature, and politics. Reading circles passed along forbidden works by French liberals and German romantics. Printers and booksellers, often working under the threat of censorship, found ways to circulate texts. The atmosphere in these cities was one of cautious curiosity, where a conversation could turn from art to politics in an instant. The urban middle classes, with their education and professional networks, were particularly receptive to the language of reform. Their engagement with ideas would later translate into organized political activity.

Rural areas, by contrast, moved to a different rhythm. Daily life revolved around agriculture, family obligations, and religious festivals. The political projects of urban intellectuals often seemed distant and abstract. Yet rural society was not static. The Napoleonic experience had introduced new administrative practices and exposed some villagers to ideas of equality and citizenship. Land disputes, taxes, and conscription could provoke unrest, especially in regions with a history of resistance to central authority. The gap between urban and rural Italy would become a defining feature of the Risorgimento, shaping both the strategies of unification and the challenges of governance after 1861.

The press, though constrained, played a crucial role in shaping public opinion. Newspapers like the "Gazzetta di Milano" and "Il Monitore Toscano" reported on trade, culture, and official announcements, often avoiding overt political content. Yet even cautious journalism could carry coded messages, and literary journals were a vital outlet for intellectuals. Censorship boards reviewed manuscripts and could ban or alter text, but the determination to write and publish persisted. The periodical press helped create a shared sense of what was happening in different parts of the peninsula, building a mental map of "Italy" that readers could navigate even when travel was restricted.

Education was another site of negotiation. Universities in Pavia, Pisa, and Bologna continued to function, though under tighter supervision. Students studied law, medicine, and the humanities, often encountering classical texts that spoke of republics and citizenship. Teachers who were suspected of liberalism could be dismissed or transferred, but the desire for knowledge could not be easily suppressed.

The classroom became a place where ideas of nationhood could be introduced indirectly, through history, literature, and philosophy. As the years passed, the importance of schools in shaping political consciousness grew, foreshadowing the later state-building efforts of a unified Italy.

Military service offered another path to experience and influence. Many young men from modest backgrounds joined the armies of Piedmont, Austria, or the Two Sicilies. In the Austrian army, they learned discipline and saw the breadth of the empire. In the Bourbon forces, they encountered a hierarchy that favored the aristocracy. In Piedmont, the Savoy military tradition emphasized loyalty and honor. Veterans of these services formed networks that cut across social lines, and some would later play key roles in the revolts and wars that defined the Risorgimento. The army, as both a symbol of authority and a training ground for potential rebels, occupied an ambivalent place in Italian society.

Diplomacy, too, moved in subtle channels. Austrian envoys in Turin and Naples kept close watch on court intrigues. French ambassadors cultivated ties with Bourbon monarchs and Savoy princes. British consuls monitored trade and occasionally advocated for liberal measures, particularly in the context of Mediterranean commerce. These diplomatic interactions shaped the possibilities for Italian actors, opening some doors and closing others. The international context was not static: the Greek War of Independence, unfolding in the early 1820s, would soon demonstrate how regional conflicts could attract the attention of European powers and inspire Italian sympathies.

The question of constitutionalism hovered over the Restoration years. Spain's constitution of 1812, revived during the Liberal Triennium, circulated among Italian intellectuals and served as a reference point. The idea that a monarch could govern within a legal framework, rather than by absolute prerogative, appealed to those who sought reform without revolution. Yet constitutionalism was also associated with instability and foreign influence, making it suspect to conservative elites. In Naples and Piedmont, constitutional experiments had failed or been suppressed, but the memory of them persisted. The debate over constitutions would remain central to the Risorgimento's trajectory, influencing the choices of 1848 and beyond.

Religious orders and confraternities, woven into the social fabric, were also spaces where ideas circulated. Some monks and priests were sympathetic to the poor and aware of the injustices of the tax system. Others were aligned with the highest echelons of the Church and wary of change. The Catholic Church's vast network of institutions provided a counterpoint to the state, offering services and shaping loyalties. The relationship between local clergy and parishioners could be a conduit for dissent or a bulwark against it. In many communities, the priest was the most influential figure, and his stance toward reform could tip the balance between quiet acceptance and open resistance.

In this environment, the notion of "Italy" began to take on a dual meaning. On the one hand, it was a cultural and historical concept—references to Dante, Petrarch, and the Renaissance, invoked by writers to inspire pride and aspiration. On the other hand, it was a political idea, suggesting a possible future where Italian lands would be governed by and for Italians. The first meaning could be expressed openly; the second was more dangerous. Yet the two were linked: the cultural idea provided a vocabulary for political aspirations, and the political idea gave urgency to cultural arguments. This interplay would become a hallmark of the Risorgimento.

The year 1815 did not bring immediate revolt, but it set the stage for a series of confrontations that would unfold over the next decade. The restoration regimes, confident after Vienna, moved to consolidate power. Those who had flirted with reform or revolution retreated, waited, or conspired. The question was not whether change would come, but when, how, and by whom. The answer would emerge from the intersections of local grievances and national ambitions, of personal ambition and collective ideals. The Italian peninsula, with its diversity and divisions, would prove a challenging terrain for any unified project, but the idea of Italy had already taken root.

For the moment, the ruling elites enjoyed a period of relative calm. Trade resumed, festivals were celebrated, and the machinery of government hummed. Yet beneath the surface, networks were forming, texts were circulating, and conversations were turning toward the future. The Restoration was a pause, not a resolution. The years 1815–1820 were a time of preparation, when the languages of loyalty and dissent were being refined, and when the contours of the Risorgimento began to emerge from the shadows of the Napoleonic era.

One of the most telling features of this period was the way in which “loyalty” was performed and understood. In Naples, Bourbon loyalists celebrated the return of the king with public festivities, while in Lombardy, Austrian officials organized ceremonies that emphasized imperial unity. In Piedmont, the Savoy monarchy staged military parades that recalled historic victories and reaffirmed the bond between crown and country. These displays were meant to demonstrate stability and legitimacy, but they also revealed the diversity of political culture across the peninsula. For many Italians, loyalty to local rulers and customs could coexist with curiosity about broader reforms or even aspirations for change.

At the same time, the international press kept Italy in view. British and French newspapers reported on events in the peninsula, often highlighting economic developments or court intrigue. These reports reached Italian readers, offering alternative perspectives on their own affairs. The presence of foreign observers subtly altered the political atmosphere, reminding local authorities that their actions were scrutinized beyond their borders. This sense of being watched—by powers near and far—could encourage moderation or provoke crackdowns, depending on the

circumstances. It was a reminder that Italy's fate was entangled with Europe's, a theme that would recur throughout the Risorgimento.

The generation that came of age in the years after 1815 was shaped by these contradictions. They were taught to revere tradition and yet were curious about the wider world. They lived under regimes that preached order but delivered uneven justice. They inherited a cultural legacy of brilliance and a political landscape of constraint. This produced a distinctive mindset: cautious yet ambitious, respectful of authority yet skeptical of its excesses. It would not be long before this generation began to ask whether the patchwork of states on the map reflected the realities of Italian life—or whether a different arrangement might be possible.

By the end of the decade, the calm of the Restoration was beginning to show cracks. Economic pressures, political repression, and the circulation of new ideas were creating a climate in which dissent could flourish. The years 1815–1820 were a prelude, a time when the stage was set and the actors were finding their roles. The next act would open with conspiracy and revolt, challenging the order that Vienna had so carefully constructed. The idea of Italy, nurtured in salons and whispered in lodges, was about to step into the light of history.

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