



ORIGINAL PAPER

What Can and Cannot Be Treated as Regards Nationality and Identity: The Treaty of Zurich and the Dynamics of Unification Geopolitics

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Abstract

The Unification of Italy is a process that began on 23 March 1848 when King Vittorio Emanuele II, helped the Prime Minister Camillo Benso di Cavour and Giuseppe Garibaldi, initiated its involvement in European politics. The proclamation of Victor Emmanuel II as King of Italy and the establishment of the capital of the Kingdom in Rome were subject to the general enthusiasm in Italy and Romania. Officially, Rome became capital on 1st of July 1871. The Romanians attitude did not remain without effect in Italy, because on April 21, 1879, at a banquet “with a little more pomp than in the past” offered by the mayor of the capital, Prince Ruspoli, during the celebration of the city (2632 years from the foundation of Rome, April 21, 753 BC.), among the heads of the diplomatic missions and ambassadors was a single Charge d’Affaires, that of Romania. The mayor motivated this “exception” by the following words: “in the eyes of the municipality, the representative of the Romania is the one less foreign than other representatives”.

Keywords: *Italy, France, Romania, European geopolitics, diplomacy*

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In modern times, Italy was a conglomeration of small states struggling among themselves, while the Roman-German Empire (later Austria or Habsburg), the Byzantine Empire and Russian Empire will fight for the glory of ancient Rome. Even if Niccolò Machiavelli, Renaissance diplomat, in “The Prince” exposed the need of the unification of Italy by any means, but rivalries between states, foreign intrusions, the Papal States and European states made impossible any attempts to do so (Droz, 1956). In 1743, the Kingdom of Sardinia was united with Piedmont (North-West Italy), forming a modern Italian foundations of the future state, and after the peace of Campo-Formio (1797) (Procacci, 1975: 254), Napoleon Bonaparte will draw the Cisalpine Republic and the Republic of Liguria, Austria recognizing the new geopolitical reality within the Peace Treaty of Lunéville (1801) (Salvatorelli, 1939: 514). After January 23, 1799 the French army commanded by General Jean Antoine Championnet occupied Naples forming the Parthenopean Republic.

The conclusion of the peace treaty of Tolentino (1797) between Napoleon and Pope Pius VI, when the last will waive claims to Avignon and will be exiled, followed by Napoleon granting his son since birth, in 1811, the title of King of Rome. He also offered noble titles and crowns to the Italian states to many of his relatives and marshals, but his work will disappear after the Congress of Vienna (1815) (Cliveti, 2006: 121).

Austrian Chancellor Klemens von Metternich, a pillar of the reactionism that became European policy after the Congress of Vienna, used to say that Italy “was a geographical concept” cynical formula, which actually showed that a divided Italy was liked by the great powers, especially Austria (SANIC, Dimitrie Ghica Fund, file 90/1860, folio 1). The Unification of Italy is a process that began on 23 March 1848 when King Vittorio Emanuele II. Helped the Prime Minister Camillo Benso di Cavour and Giuseppe Garibaldi, he initiated its involvement in European politics.

In 1860, Parma, Tuscany, Romagna and Modena joined the Kingdom of Sardinia, while Nice and Savoy decided by referendum to become part of France. After Giuseppe Garibaldi succeeded in conquering Sicily and South Italy, on March the 17th 1861 was proclaimed the Kingdom of Italy, which was received with great joy by the government in Bucharest that saw in Italy a role model for achieving their political goals (Şerban, 2006a: 173-186). After attending the Crimean War, the emperor of France, Napoleon III will support Italy in battle with Austria, which yielded Lombardy and Venice in 1866. Rome remained the center of the Papal States until 1870, when the French garrison which protected the Pope withdrew to attend the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, enabling Italians to move the capital to the Eternal City from July 1, 1870, perfecting so, the political unity of the Italian State (Şerban, 2006b: 121-127).

At the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century (Duca, 1994: 19), the struggle for Italian unity and the liberation from Austrian rule were still in full swing. After the Crimean War, in which Piedmont participated with an army against Russia to win the sympathy of Great Britain and France, fact that brought them a place in the Peace Congress in Paris in 1856, followed the secret meeting in Plombières from 20 to 21 of July 1858 between the French emperor Napoleon III and the Prime Minister Camillo Benso di Cavour of Piedmont.

The main theme of this meeting was the support that France was to provide for Piedmont in a revolutionary war against Austria. At this secret meeting was established the foundation of the future Franco-Piedmontese alliance and the organization of the Peninsula in case of victory.

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Piedmont had to give Nice and Savoy to France and in exchange for northern Italy on the side of the Apennines, the territories of central Italy, with the exception of Rome and the surrounding area must form the kingdom of Central Italy ruled by a king who would be designated later on; Southern Italy was to preserve its unity and boundaries, but to change the ruling dynasty (Napoleon thought perhaps the son of Joachim Murat was fit). These three Italian states were finally supposed to form a confederation under the presidency of the pope (Procacci, 1975: 342).

The secret Treaty of January 29th, 1859 between France and Piedmont provided only the establishment of the kingdom of Upper Italy under the Savoy monarchy and gave Nice and Savoy to France. These agreements were sanctioned by the marriage of the Princess Clotilde, daughter of Victor Emmanuel, and the Prince Jerome Bonaparte, in January the 30th, 1859 (Șerban, 2006b: 121-127).

Napoleon insisted that Austria must seem the one to begin the assault in order not to alarm other major powers and so isolate it and have it as the only enemy of France and Piedmont in this war. The desire of Napoleon and Cavour materialize in April, on 19th 1859 when Austria issued an ultimatum demanding the unilateral demobilization in Piedmont. Austria, having mobilized a large army in northern Italy, but could not afford the long-term costs, but could not afford its discharge also, while Piedmont still had an army ready for war, decided to send the ultimatum.

This ultimatum had not, however, the expected result as Cavour answered that Piedmont will not submit to this ultimatum, while Victor Emanuel issued a proclamation urging the people of Italy to fight alongside Piedmont for independence of the nation (Stiles, 1998: 44). On April the 29th 1859 the hostilities began and military operations have taken a favorable turn for the Franco-Piedmonts army. Although the war in the beginning was marked by chaos and confusion, Napoleon III needed several days to declare war on Austria, until May the 3th.

In a telegram from Garibaldi in Como, on 5 June 1859, to the Regional Commissioner, Visconti Venosta, the General asked his opinion about the maneuver that he wanted to undertake Bergamo and Lecco after learning that Milan was already occupied: "Commissioner, in complexity of the news, I think our army has already occupied the forefront of Milan at this time; therefore, it is no longer necessary for this brigade to leave for Milan, I think we should move towards Lecco in Bergamo. I ask your opinion on this maneuver" (ACS, Carte Visconti Venosta Found, pacco no. 1, busta 3). Meanwhile, Garibaldi acting on the far left allies rejected Marshal Urban at Varese and San Fermo on 26th and 27th of May 1859, occupying Como, and after Magenta, Bergamo and Brescia. Allies victories had immediately resulted in the fall of governments in Tuscany and Emilia.

In Tuscany, a patriotic hostile demonstration makes the Grand Duke to leave without resistance the Grand Duchy of Florence on 27 April 1859, which led to the establishment of a provisional government under the protectorate of Victor Emanuel II (Salvatorelli, 1939: 594). After the victory of Magenta, Francis V refuged in Mantova while a provisional government proclaims the annexation of Modena to Piedmont, annexation acceptable to Victor Emanuel II, involving ward off a sovereign who sent his troops to help Austria. Soon, Luigi Carlo Farini was appointed governor of Modena (Salvatorelli, 1939: 592-594).

A new document discovered in the Central Archives of Rome reveals interesting correlation between Garibaldi and Italian revolutionary Governor Farini which recognized his outstanding merits, using the exceptionally title of *dictator*, under the old Latin

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heritage. By means of a telegram sent on August 29th 1859 Garibaldi shows his concerns related to the unification of Italy.

He wrote to Luigi Farini, in the Tuscan Gazette dated 27: “Mr. Dictator, The Governor General, on 21st, chose as Lieutenant General Major General Luigi Mezzocapo; well, his credit - here I am ranked third in the troops that you, the Baron Ricasoli and Pepoli called me to command - I'll settle for the third rank in the future, because Garibaldi is satisfied to serve his motherland under any circumstances - but I may, Mr. Dictator to ask if you are aware of these anomalies and whether you have to tolerate them -? Does Central Italy formed a unified political body, or is divided as it was in the past? - If you form a unitary body when circumstances are favorable and permissive, you will have to unite with Sardinian monarchy and you and the President of the Council of Tuscany will have to suppress an act showing symptoms of a sunset, which can become a coup d'état, anyway you can call it, even an act that offends the dignity of the noble army whose soldiers should all be - or Central Italy is a divided political body and then I'm entitled to say that the people have the right to ask why not unite - it will not take long and Italy will hold us accountable for our actions and let it be, so praise the Lord, as long as we can still fix anything. That being said, I have the honor, Garibaldi” (ACS, Carte Visconti Venosta Fund, pacco no. 1, busta 1, Modena 1859, Garibaldi a Farini).

The successes led by the allies were also followed by removing the Duchess of Parma and the proclamation of its annexing to Piedmont. The same fate had Bologna, where on 12 June a demonstration organized by the National Society delegation led the Cardinal Milesi to abandon the city. All these events led the Austrians to leave Piacenza and Romagna (Salvatorelli, 1939: 5945).

After the Franco-Sardinian victories in Montebello and Palestro, followed by Allied victory in Magenta 4 June 1859, one of the most bloodiest encounter, the success of the French army at Magenta opened the gates for Milan, where the two sovereigns entered on June 8th and they were greeted by cheers of joy of the population. One by one, the Italian states, Como, Bergamo, Brescia and Florence were issued from under the Austrians, after the bloody clashes of Solferino, 24 June 1859, won by the French (Salvatorelli, 1939: 595).

The failure of this war within the French public opinion and the Prussian military mobilization that could help the Austrians, and many revolutionary movements, which had the momentum in the center of Italy, led Napoleon to conclude an armistice with Austria.

Thus, Venice was not occupied as the Treaty Plombières planned, on July 11th 1859 Napoleon met the young Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph at Villafranca to decide the terms of a truce, without consulting the representative of Piedmont.

Under the armistice of Villafranca, Lombardy except for the fortress of Mantua, was ceded to France, which in turn gave it to the king of Sardinia; Venice, which remained under Austria, had to be part of a confederation of Italian States, under the chairmanship of the Pope, while the rulers of Tuscany, Modena and Parma had to be restored to their duchies, but does not specify how to apply this last provision, which in fact was not ever been applied. Although Victor Emmanuel II was persuaded to accept the terms of the armistice, Cavour presented angry and full of bitterness, his resignation and the task of forming a new government has been entrusted by the king La Marmora (Procacci, 1975: 343).

On November 10th 1859 was signed in Zurich a peace treaty between France, Austria and Sardinia, confirming the peace armistice of Villafranca, while the central

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problem of Italy remained to be resolved by a later European Congress, which subsequently wasn't been held anymore. The full text of the Treaty of Zurich was published in the Gazzetta Piemontese in its issue of November 23rd 1859 (ACS, Carte Visconti Venosta Fund, pacco no. 1, busta 5, Modena 1859).

Thus, the document include: "a treaty was concluded between us and His Majesty The Emperor of the French and signed by Our Plenipotentiary in Zürich the tenth day of November of the fifty-nine thousand eight hundred years in order to strengthen our alliance and set a definitive agreement resulting from our participation in the last war... His Majesty the King of Sardinia and Her Majesty the Emperor of the French wanting to consolidate their alliance and set a definitive agreement resulting from our participation in the last war, have resolved to spend by the provisions of a treaty of Villafranca Preliminaries for the cession of Lombardy. They appointed for this purpose, as their Plenipotentiary: His Majesty the King of Sardinia, M. François - Louis Chevalier Des Ambrois Nevache, Knight Grand Cordon of The Order of Ss Maurice and Lazarus, Vice Chairman of Its Board State, Senator and Vice President of the Senate of the United etc., and Mr. Alexandre Chevalier Jocteau, Commander of The Order of Ss Maurice and Lazarus and the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, His Minister Resident to the Swiss Confederation.

His Majesty the King of Sardinia M. François Adolphe Baron Bourqueney, Senator of the Empire, Grand Cross of the Order Imperial Legion of Honor and Mr. Gaston Robert Morin, Marquise de Banneville, Officer's Imperial Order of the Legion of Honor who, after exchange at full powers found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles: 1) article 1: his Majesty the Emperor of Austria has given to him and all his descendants and successors, in favor of Her Majesty the Emperor of the French, to his right and title to Lombardy, to except fortresses Peschiera and Mantua and determined by redefining territories which remain in the possession of Her Majesty I. and R. Austrian. Her Majesty the Emperor of the French transferred to His Majesty the King of Sardinia rights and title which are acquired by article 4 of the aforementioned Treaty. T

he following are the means of implementation of this article, the establishment of the exact boundary and who exactly will put into practice these provisions; 2) article 2, his Majesty the King of Sardinia taking possession of the territories ceded to him by His Majesty the Emperor of the France, accept the charges and conditions attached to the sale, such that they are stipulated in articles 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 of the Treaty concluded this day between His Majesty the Emperor of the French and His Majesty the Emperor of Austria. 3) in article 3, there were talks about the financial compensation that the French Government is committed to pay the Government of Austria for territorial cessions by the additional article of the Treaty concluded this day between His Majesty Emperor of the French and His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, the French Government's commitment vis-à-vis the Austrian Government to conduct on behalf of the new Government of Lombardy payment of 40 million guilders (currency agreement) stipulated by article 7 of the aforementioned Treaty, His Majesty the King of Sardinia, in consequence of the obligations that he was accepted by the preceding article, is committed to repay this sum to France as follows: ... as of Sardinian annuity for a value of 100 million francs ... the French Government at the average of the Paris Stock Exchange October 29, 1859.

The interests of these rents accrue to the benefit of France from the date of delivery of the securities to be held one month after the exchange of ratification of this Treaty.

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To get a clearer picture of this war has cost about Sardinia, have to present the article number 4 of this Treaty clarifies that we all financial aspects to mitigate the charges which the French Government's imposed on the during the last war, the Government of His Majesty the King of Sardinia is committed to reimburse the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of the French a sum of 60 million francs, for the payment of an annuity which 5 100 three million will be recorded on the Great Book of the Public Debt of Sardinia.

The securities will be delivered to the French Government, which accepts pair. The interests of these rents accrue to the benefit of France from the date of delivery of the securities to be held one month after the exchange of ratifications (ACS, Carte Visconti Venosta Fund, pacco no. 1, busta 5, Modena 1859).

The article number 5 has just concluded the most important provisions of this Treaty, watching the modality exchange ratifications and where it takes place: "the present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Zurich within 15 days or sooner if possible. In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and affixed the seal at arms" (ACS, Carte Visconti Venosta Fund, pacco no. 1, busta 5, Modena 1859). In the end, "made in Zurich on the tenth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand-eight to one hundred fifty-nine. A week later, the Treaty has been ratified by the Italians in Turin: "... in witness whereof, we signed our hand these letters of ratification and have affixed the Great Seal of Our Weapons. Done at Turin on the seventeenth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand - eight to one hundred fifty-nine" (ACS, Carte Visconti Venosta Fund, pacco no. 1, busta 5, Modena 1859).

The Treaty of Zurich, although initially was rejected by the Prime Minister Cavour who was angry about the armistice of Villafranca because Venice's had not been released by the Austrians how was set in Plombières, this was the first step towards Italy's unification. To paraphrase a French journalist Vincent d'Equville "Prince Metternich could say, in 1815, the Congress of Vienna ... Italy is nothing more than a geographical expression ... now, after the peace of Villafranca, Italy is a confederation of 25 million people who come to show the world what you have shown on the battlefield, that they may be worthy of the regeneration of their country" (SANIC, Dimitrie Ghica Fund, file 90/1860, folio 1).

Piedmont, became through the battles of Giuseppe Garibaldi (Berindei, 1984: 82), Giuseppe Mazzini (Berindei, 1985: 313-323; Delureanu, 2006: 43) and the politics of King Victor Emmanuel II and the prime minister Camillo Benso di Cavour in 1861, the Kingdom of Italy, which had Lombardy, Venice, Trieste, Trento, all occupied by Austria, while the center was controlled by the Papal States, a religious-political entity whose integrity has been defended by the troops of Napoleon III.

Revolutionary actions of Garibaldi (Delureanu, 2007: 81), who tried in vain to occupy Rome in 1864 and 1867, were successful, in 1870, when Napoleon was forced to withdraw its troops from Rome to defend himself against Prussia's attacks. Although King Victor Emmanuel wanted to help Napoléon against Prussia, he was not authorized by Parliament to do so, but in stead the Italian troops entered Rome in 1870, proclaiming it capital of Italian Kingdom.

The proclamation of Victor Emmanuel II, King of Italy and the establishment of the capital of the Kingdom in Rome were subject to the general enthusiasm. The untimely death of Camillo Cavour meant a great loss to the entire nation, the craftsman of the Italian Unification was not able to see his work complete.

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The year 1866 was very important for the unification of Italy. Italy had entered into a secret agreement with Prussia, which offered, in case of victory Venice, in exchange for the military support of the Italians. Napoleon III wanted the same thing in case of an Austrian victory. He signed a secret treaty with Austria, which allowed him to take Venice and give it to the Italians. In 1854 Napoleon III to acquired Venice, left to glimpse the possibility of ensuring free way to Austria in the Principalities Romanians, Wallachia and Moldavia. On the battlefield, Italy was defeated in Custoza (Land battle) and Lissa (Battleship), but the defeat of Austria in Königgrätz and the politics of Napoleon III offered Venice to the Italians (Stiles, 1998: 80-81).

The unification of Italy was now almost complete with the exception of Rome that was since 747 AD the center of the Papacy. Since 1849 the territorial integrity of the Papal State was assured by French troops. Camille Cavour had made an attempt to negotiate with Pope Pius IX in March 1861, but the initiative was interrupted by his death. On November 3rd 1867 in Mentana, Giuseppe Garibaldi failed in his attempt to conquer a Rome guarded by the soldiers of Napoleon III (Proccaci, 1975: 358).

It was after 1870 that King Victor Emmanuel resumed negotiations with the Pope about the position of Rome compared with the new Italian state. Victor Emmanuel with his daughter married to the cousin of Napoleon III did not have the agreement of its Government to help Napoleon III in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, Italy maintaining a position of neutrality (Salvatoreli, 1939: 608).

This determined Napoleon III to retreat his troops from the Papal state (Dumitriu-Snagov, 1989: 15). The defeat of Napoleon III at Sedan and his arrest on 1st of September 1870 left the problem of establishing the capital in Rome at the whim of the Italians.

In September Victor Emmanuel asked the Pope to sign an agreement with the Government of Italy, which offered religious freedom in the exchange of transfer of the patrimonial right. The Pope refusal brought the action of an army of 60,000 Italians. After using guns to make a breach in the city wall, the wall of Aurelian, on September 20th 1870 the army of King Emanuel II defeated the troops of the Pope. The unity of Italy was now fully completed. In October 1870 a plebiscite decided the Rome should be capital of Italy (Salvatoreli, 1939: 608). The stages of the formation of modern Italy were greeted with sympathy by Romanians, trained themselves in the creation of a national and unitary Romanian State.

Also, the establishment of the capital of the Kingdom of Italy in Rome had its effect on the actors of the political scene Romania. On 5/17 February 1871, the Romanian National Representation passed a Congratulatory addresses to the Italian Parliament on the occasion of the decision of the transfer of the capital of Italy in Rome (ASDMAE, fond Moscati VI, III, Rapporti in arrive Fund, busta 1394, Serie politica no. 482). Presented at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania on 26 February 1871, it contained large assessments of the undeniable importance of Romanian- Italian relations: “our government is pleased to take an intermediate collaboration of a noble layer and is thus to vote in the Assembly Romanian, striking evidence of the feeling of deep sympathy between the two nations with the same name (AMAE, Arhiva Istorică Fund, vol. 261, file no. 51 Roma/1871, folio 71).

The response of Italians arrived 18/30 May 1871, thanking the Romanians for their approach denoting a strong sympathy. The Presidency of the Council of Ministers informed Romania on sending the congratulatory address on May 20, 1871.

Also, the President is requested to convey to the Romanian Assembly, the response of Italians. The Presidency of the Council of Ministers confirms the Romanian

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hospitality and sending part of the reply address of the Senate and the Assembly of Deputies of Italy and requests the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to respond to representative of the Government of His Majesty, the King of Italy.

Officially, Rome became capital on 1st of July 1871 (Berindei, 1967: 57). The Romanians attitude did not remain without effect in Italy, because on April 21, 1879, at a banquet “with a little more pomp than in the past” offered by the mayor of the capital, Prince Ruspoli, during the celebration of the city (2632 years from the foundation of Rome, April 21, 753 BC), among the heads of the diplomatic missions and ambassadors was a single Charge d’Affaires, that of Romania (Bossy, 1928: 76). The mayor motivated this “exception” by the following words: “in the eyes of the municipality, the representative of the Romania is the one less foreign than other representatives”.

In conclusion, the European geopolitics was influenced in the 19th century by the foreign policy of Napoleon III who supported the nationalities in achieving their goals, whether those were about unity or independence. That’s why this century remained in history as the *la belle époque* or the *Century of the Nationalities*.

The Italians represented the hart of Europe and at the beginning of the century they were divided in many little states that were busy fighting among them for supremacy. Beside that, many territories from northern Italy were under the rule of Austria, while Rome was the center of Papacy defended by French troops.

Although Napoleon was glad to help the Italians to unite under the rule of Victor Emmanuel II, he didn't agree to leave Rome as capital to the newly formed kingdom. He put some conditions in helping the Italians in order to protect his country in the views of the other powers. He counseled Cavour to provoke the Austrians to declare war on Italy as the only way for the French to intervene in this conflict and help them free their territories. In exchange, he asked for Nice and Savoy to belong to France.

Napoleon was disposed to exchange with Austria the Italian territories with the Romanian Principalities (Bossy, 1938: 23), as Austria was interested in extending its influence in the Balkans also (Bossy, 1934: 53). In the mean time, Napoleon didn't hesitate to help Wallachia and Moldavia to unite under Prince Cuza and to maintain this unity until he was dethroned (Bossy, 1931:34).

With the help from the French army, the Italians succeeded in regaining their ancient territories in 1859, without Venice and Rome. Although King Victor Emmanuel II was crowned king of Italy in March 1861, the Prime Minister Cavour (Iorga, 1930: 193-194) resigned because he didn't agree with the armistice in Villafranca and the Peace Treaty in Zurich.

It was later on, in 1866 that Venice became part of Italy and in 1870 that Rome became the Capital of the Kingdom of Italy, unfortunately the builder of this new state, Cavour didn't survive to see his masterpiece accomplished.

This is how the European geopolitics was shaped in the 19th century, when many states like Italy, Romania, Greece and so on succeeded in achieving their ancient objectives, those of unity and independence.

Romanians supported their brothers from the peninsula as their dreams were alike and they hoped that the path opened by Italy would allow them to fulfill their dreams also. In this period both Italy and Romania supported each other in reshaping the international system in witch they hoped that one day will have something to say and why not, to help reshape it based on principles like national identity, sovereignty, people’s right to determinations etc.

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Both nations had been fortunate to have statesman with a real capacity of understanding the European geopolitics, real nationalists, men of honor and courage that putted the interests of their countries above their owns and succeeded in accomplishing their nations objectives.

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