THE RISE OF NATIONALISM IN EUROPE

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INTRODUCTION -

➢ **19th Century** → Nationalism emerged as a force → brought sweeping changes in the political and mental world of Europe-→ resulted in emergence of nation-state in place of multi-national dynastic empires of Europe.

- **A Nation - state** was one in which the majority of its citizens, and not only its rulers, came to develop a sense of common identity and shared history or descent.

- **Nation -** A nation is the culmination of a long past of endeavours, sacrifice and devotion. A heroic past, great men, glory that is social capital upon which one bases a national idea. Its existence is a daily plebiscite (direct vote to accept or reject proposal)

1. FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE IDEA OF THE NATION

➢ The first clear expression of nationalism came with the French Revolution in 1789-→ Transfer from monarchy to body of French citizens-→ People constitute nation and shape dynasty
- The idea of la patrie (the fatherland) and le citoyen (citizen) emphasized the notion of a united community enjoying equal rights
- New French tricolour flag to replace former royal standard
- Estates General was elected and renamed as National Assembly
- Centralized administrative system with uniform laws for citizens within territory
- Abolish internal custom duties
- Formulate uniform system of weights and measures
- French became a common language and regional dialects were discouraged
- Aim to liberate people of Europe from despotism
- Establishment of Jacobin clubs-French army moved into Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy in 1970s.

➢ **The Civil Code of 1804 (Napoleonic Code) –**
- Did away with privileges based on birth, established equality and secured right to property;
- Abolished feudal system and freed peasants from serfdom;
- In the towns too, guild restrictions were removed and improved transportation.
- Uniform laws, standardised weights and measures, and a common national currency

➢ Initially French armies were welcomed in Brussels, Mainz and Warsaw, Holland and Switzerland as harbinger of liberty but later turned hostiles as there was increased taxation, censorship and forced conscription.

2. MAKING OF NATIONALISM IN EUROPE: IMPORTANT TIMELINES

- ❖ 1797→ Napoleonic Wars begin
- ❖ 1814-1815→ Fall of Napoleon
- ❖ 1821→ Greek struggle for independence
- ❖ 1848→ Revolution in Europe-→ demand for Nation-States by Italians, Germans, Magyars, poles, Czechs
- ❖ 1859-1870→ Unification of Italy
- ❖ 1866-1871→Unification of Germany
- ❖ 1905→Slav nationalism in Habsburg & Ottoman

The Habsburg Empire → (Austria-Hungary and many different regions and people)

- Alpine regions-– Tyrol, Austria and the Sudetenland
- Bohemia-the aristocracy was predominantly German-speaking.
- Italian-speaking provinces of Lombardy and Venetia.
- Hungary, half of the population spoke Magyar while the other half spoke a variety of dialects.
- In Galicia, the aristocracy spoke Polish
- Peasants- Bohemians and Slovenes in Carniola, Croats to the south and Roumans to the east in Transylvania

2.1 The Aristocracy and the New Middle Class

- ➢ Dominant class → Landed aristocracy → united by common way of life, owned estates and town houses, spoke French for diplomacy, connected by marriage ties but was small in number
- ➢ Majority population was peasantry
- ➢ West Europe- Farming by tenants and small owners
- ➢ East & Central Europe- vast estates cultivate by serfs
- ➢ West & central Europe: growth of industrial production, emergence of commercial class
- ➢ 2nd half of 18th century → Beginning of industrialization in England & in 19th Century → in French & German States.

2.2 What did Liberal Nationalism Stand for?

Liberal Nationalism →

- 'Liberalism' derives from the Latin root liber, meaning free
- Liberalism stood for freedom for the individual and equality of all before the law.

In Political sphere →

- It emphasised the concept of government by consent
- The end of autocracy and clerical privileges, a constitution and representative government through parliament
- Universal Suffrage in France -→ initially only property owned man had right to vote. Under Jacobins, right was given to all adult males. Under Napoleon, rights were limited and reduced for women. Later opposition movements began.

Economic sphere-→

- Liberalism stood for the freedom of markets and the abolition of state-imposed restrictions on the movement of goods and capital.

Napoleon's administrative measures-→

- ➢ Confederation of 39 states with own currency, weights, and measures. Merchant had to pass numerous custom barriers and pay custom duties on all.
- ➢ A merchant travelling in 1833 from Hamburg to Nuremberg to sell his goods would have had to pass through 11 customs barriers and pay a customs duty of about 5 per cent at each one of them.
- ➢ Duties were often levied according to the weight or measurement of the goods.
- ➢ **Elle → (Measurement For Cloth)** - In Frankfurt was 54.7 cm of cloth, in Mainz it was 55.1 cm, in Nuremberg it was 65.6 cm, in Freiburg, it was 53.5 cm.
- ➢ 1n 1834 → a custom union or zollverein was formed at the initiative of Prussia and joined by most of the German states. The Union abolished tariff barriers and reduced the number of currencies from more than 30 to 2. Idea is to bind economically, protect external interest and stimulate productivity.

2.3 A New Conservatism after 1815

→ After the defeat of Napoleon in 1815 → European governments driven by a spirit of conservatism.

➤ **Conservatives' belief →**

- Traditional institutions of state and society should be preserved;
- Modernisation could in fact strengthen traditional institutions like the monarchy; A modern army, an efficient bureaucracy,
- A dynamic economy, the abolition of feudalism and serfdom could strengthen the autocratic monarchies of Europe.

➤ In 1815, representatives of the European powers – Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria – who had collectively defeated Napoleon, met at Vienna to draw up Treaty of Vienna of 1815 with the object of undoing most of the changes that had come about in Europe during the Napoleonic wars.

➤ The Bourbon dynasty (deposed during the French Revolution) → was restored to power, and France lost the territories (annexed under Napoleon).

➤ A series of states were set up on the boundaries of France to prevent French expansion in future.

- Kingdom of the Netherlands, which included Belgium, was set up in the north and Genoa was added to Piedmont in the south.
- Prussia was given important new territories on its western frontiers, while Austria was given control of northern Italy.

➤ But the German confederation of 39 states that had been set up by Napoleon was left untouched.

➤ In the east, Russia was given part of Poland while Prussia was given a portion of Saxony → main intention was to restore the monarchies that had been overthrown by Napoleon, and create a new conservative order in Europe.

➤ Conservative regimes set up in 1815 were autocratic. They did not tolerate criticism and dissent, and sought to curb activities that questioned the legitimacy of autocratic governments.

2.4 The Revolutionaries -

➤ Secret Societies sprang up to train revolutionaries and spread ideas, oppose monarchy after Vienna congress and fight for liberty and freedom.

Giuseppe Mazzini:

- Born in Genoa in 1807 & became member of Carbonari secret society.
- Was exiled in 1831 for revolution in Liguria.
- Formed 2 Societies as 'Young Italy' (1831) in Marseilles & 'Young Europe' in Berne (1834).
- Explained God has intended nations to be natural units of mankind. So Italy must be forged with single unified republic.
- Metternich described him as "the most dangerous enemy of our social order.

3. AGE OF REVOLUTIONS: 1830-1848

➤ Revolutionaries → educated middle class elite, professors, school teachers, clerks and commercial middle classes.

➤ France upheaval in 1830 → Bourbon kings restored to power were overthrown by liberal Louis Philippe.

➤ Matternich said → 'When France sneezes, the rest of Europe catches cold'

➤ July revolution → uprising in Brussels → led to Belgium away from UK of Netherlands.

➤ Greek war of Independence → Greece was part of Ottoman Empire since 15th century & struggle began in 1821. Nationalist in Greece got support from Greece living in exile. Lord Byron organized funds and later went to fight in the war, where he died of fever in 1824.

➤ Treaty of Constantinople of 1832 → recognizes Greece as an independent nation.

3.1 The Romantic Imagination and National Feeling

➢ Culture played a crucial role in spreading the idea of the nation → art and poetry, stories and music helped express and shape nationalist feelings.

➢ Romanticism → Criticised the glorification of reason and science and focused instead on emotions, intuition and mystical feelings.

➢ German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) → claimed that true German culture was to be discovered among the common people – das volk.

➢ Through folk songs, folk poetry and folk dances that the true spirit of the nation (volksgeist) was popularised

➢ Language too played an important role in developing nationalist sentiments.

  ● After Poland was partitioned by Great Powers (Russia, Britain & Austria) → the Polish language was forced out of schools and the Russian language was imposed everywhere.

  ● Members of the clergy in Poland → began to use language as a weapon of national resistane. Polish → for church gatherings & seen as a symbol of struggle against Russian dominance.

  ● Karol Kurpinski, for example, celebrated the national struggle through his operas and music, turning folk dances like the polonaise and mazurka into nationalist symbols.

3.2 Hunger, Hardship and Popular Revolt -

➢ 1830s → years of great economic hardship in Europe.

➢ 1st half of 19th century → increase in population in Europe → Population migration to urban areas and increasing slums

➢ Stiff competition from cheap machine made imports

➢ Peasants struggled under burden of feudal dues and obligations where aristocracy was in power.

➢ Rise of food prices and years of bad harvest aggravated the issue

➢ 1848 - widespread food shortage, unemployment in Paris & Louis Phillipe was forced to flee. National assembly proclaimed a republic and granted suffrage to all men above 21 years and guaranteed right to work.

➢ 1845-weavers in Silesia led revolt against contractors who supplied them raw material and gave orders for finished product but drastically reduced payments.

3.3 1848 : Revolution of Liberals -

➢ Brought abdication of monarch and republic based on universal male suffrage

➢ Germany, Italy, Poland and the Austro-Hungarian Empire-men and women of the liberal middle class combined their demands for constitutionalism with national unification-Constitution, freedom of press and freedom of association

➢ In Germany, German National Assembly was formed on 18th May 1848 (831 elected representatives) → drafted a constitution for German nations to be headed by monarchy → Friedrich Wilhelm IV, King of Prussia, rejected it and joined other monarchs to oppose the elected assembly.

➢ Parliament was dominated by middle class who resisted workers' demands. Assembly was disbanded and troops were called in.

➢ Women formed political associations, founded newspapers and took part in political meetings but were denied suffrage rights. In Frankfurt parliament in the Church of St Paul, women were admitted only as observers to stand in the visitors' gallery

➢ Louise Otto-Peters was a political activist who founded a women's journal and subsequently a feminist political association

➢ After 1848 → The autocratic monarchies of Central and Eastern Europe introduced the changes that had already taken place in Western Europe before 1815 → serfdom and bonded labour were abolished both in the Habsburg dominions and in Russia → The Habsburg rulers granted more autonomy to the Hungarians in 1867.

4. MAKING OF GERMANY & ITALY

4.1 Germany – Can the Army be the Architect of a Nation?

- Liberal initiatives to nation-building in Germany was repressed by monarchy and military & supported by the large landowners called → Junkers of Prussia.
- Prussia took leadership for national unification with Otto von Bismarck as the architect.
- 3 wars over 7years with Austria, Denmark and France → ended in Prussia victory and unification.
- In January 1871 → the Prussian King, William I → was proclaimed German Emperor in a ceremony in Hall of Mirrors at Versailles.
- New state emphasized modernization of currency, banking, legal and judicial systems in Germany.

4.2 Italy Unified -

- Italy had scattered dynasties and Habsburg Empire → mid-19th century → it was divided in 7 states of which Sardinia = Piedmont was ruled by Italian princely house.
- North was under Austrian Habsburgs, the centre was ruled by the Pope and the southern regions were under the domination of Bourbon kings of Spain.

- **1830s → Giuseppe Mazzine →**
  - A coherent programme for a Unitary Italian Republic
  - Formed a secret society- Young Italy for the dissemination of his goals.

- Failure of uprisings in 1831 and 1848 → mantle now fell on Sardinia-Piedmont under its ruler King Victor Emmanuel II to unify Italy states for war → in the eyes of ruling elites → Unified Italy gave possibility for economic development and political dominance.
- Chief Minister Cavour → led the movement to unify the regions of Italy was neither a revolutionary nor a democrat. → spoke French much better than Italian. .
- Through a tactful diplomatic alliance with France engineered by Cavour → Sardinia-Piedmont succeeded in defeating the Austrian forces in 1859.
- 1860→ Garibaldi marched to South Italy and Kingdom of Two Sicillies and removed Spanish rulers.
- 1861→ Victor Emmanuel II was proclaimed king of united Italy. Much of Italy was Illiterate and unaware of liberal-nationalist ideology. Supporter of Garibaldi had never heard about Italia and thought "La Talia" was wife of Emmanuel.

- **Garibaldi →**

  - was a sailor Joined Young Italy movement in 1834 with Mazzini.
  - lived in exile till 1848 in South America.
  - In 1860, Garibaldi led the Expedition of the Thousand to south Italy. Volunteers joined and were known as Red Shirts.
  - In 1867, Garibaldi led an army of volunteers to Rome to fight the last obstacle to the unification of Italy, the Papal States where a French garrison was stationed.
- In 1870, French withdrew forces from Rome and Papal States joined to Italy.

4.3 The Strong Case of Britain -

- In Britain → the formation of the nation-state was not the result of a sudden upheaval or revolution, but was the result of a long-drawn-out process.
- There was no British nation prior to the eighteenth century → the primary identities of the people who inhabited the British Isles were ethnic ones → such as English, Welsh, Scot or Irish.

➤ The English parliament seized power from the monarchy in 1688.

➤ The Act of Union (1707) between England and Scotland that resulted in the formation of the 'United Kingdom of Great Britain → England was able to impose its influence on Scotland.

➤ The British parliament was dominated by its English members. Scotland's distinctive culture and political institutions were systematically suppressed.

➤ The Scottish Highlanders were forbidden to speak their Gaelic language or wear their national dress, and large numbers were forcibly driven out of their homeland.

➤ Ireland suffered a similar fate → deeply divided between Catholics and Protestants. The English helped the Protestants of Ireland to establish their dominance over a largely Catholic country.

➤ Catholic revolts led by Wolfe Tone and his United Irishmen (1798) were suppressed → Ireland was forcibly incorporated into the United Kingdom in 1801.

➤ A new 'British nation' was created with a dominant English culture.

➤ The symbols of the New Britain → the British flag (Union Jack), the national anthem (God Save Our Noble King), the English language – were actively promoted.

5. VISUALISING THE NATION -

➤ Nations → then portrayed as female figures → female figure became an allegory of the nation.

➤ During the French Revolution → artists used the female allegory to portray ideas such as Liberty, Justice and the Republic → The attributes of Liberty are the red cap, or the broken chain, while Justice is generally a blindfolded woman carrying a pair of weighing scales.

➤ In France 'Marianne', a popular Christian name → underlined the idea of a people's nation → characteristics were drawn from those of Liberty and the Republic – the red cap, the tricolour, the cockade.

➤ Statues of Marianne were erected in public squares to remind the public of the national symbol of unity and to persuade them to identify with it. Marianne images were marked on coins and stamps.

➤ Germania became the allegory of the German nation → Germania wears a crown of oak leaves, as the German oak stands for heroism.

6. NATIONALISM AND IMPERIALISM -

➤ By the last quarter of the nineteenth century → nationalism no longer retained its idealistic liberal-democratic sentiment of the first half of the century, but became a narrow creed with limited ends.

➤ The most serious source of nationalist tension in Europe after 1871 was the area called the Balkans.

➤ The Balkans → a region of geographical and ethnic variation → modern-day Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Greece, Macedonia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia, Serbia and Montenegro whose inhabitants were broadly known as the Slavs.

➤ A large part of the Balkans was under the control of the Ottoman Empire. The spread of the ideas of romantic nationalism in the Balkans together with the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire made this region very explosive.

➤ The Balkan peoples based their claims for independence or political rights on nationality and used history to prove it.

➤ In Balkan → Intense rivalry among European powers over trade and colonies as well as naval and military

➤ Russia, Germany, England, Austro-Hungary → was keen on countering the hold of other powers over the Balkans → Led to a series of wars in the region → finally the First World War.

➤ Nationalism + imperialism → led Europe to disaster in 1914.

➤ But meanwhile, many countries colonised by the European powers in the nineteenth century opposed imperial domination → The anti-imperial movements developed everywhere → they all struggled to form independent nation-states, and were inspired by a sense of collective national unity, forged in confrontation with Imperialism.

MEANING OF NEW WORDS -

- **Suffrage –** The right to vote
- **Conservatism –** A political philosophy that stressed the importance of tradition, established institutions and customs, and preferred gradual development to quick change
- **Absolutist –** Literally, a government or system of rule that has no restraints on the power exercised. In history, the term refers to a form of monarchical government that was centralised, militarised and repressive
- **Utopian –** A vision of a society that is so ideal that it is unlikely to actually exist
- **Feminist –** Awareness of women's rights and interests based on the belief of the social, economic and political equality of the genders
- **Ideology –** System of ideas reflecting a particular social and political vision
- **Ethnic –** Relates to a common racial, tribal, or cultural origin or background that a community identifies with or claims
- **Allegory –** When an abstract idea (for instance, greed, envy, freedom, liberty) is expressed through a person or a thing. An allegorical story has two meanings, one literal and one symbolic.

Meanings of the symbols -

Attribute	Significance
Broken chains	Being freed
Breastplate with eagle	Symbol of the German empire - Strength
Crown of oak leaves	Heroism
Sword	Readiness of fight
Olive branch around the sword	Willingness to make peace
Black, red and gold tricolour	Flag of the liberal-nationalists in 1848, banned by the Dukes of German states
Rays of the rising sun	Beginning of a new era