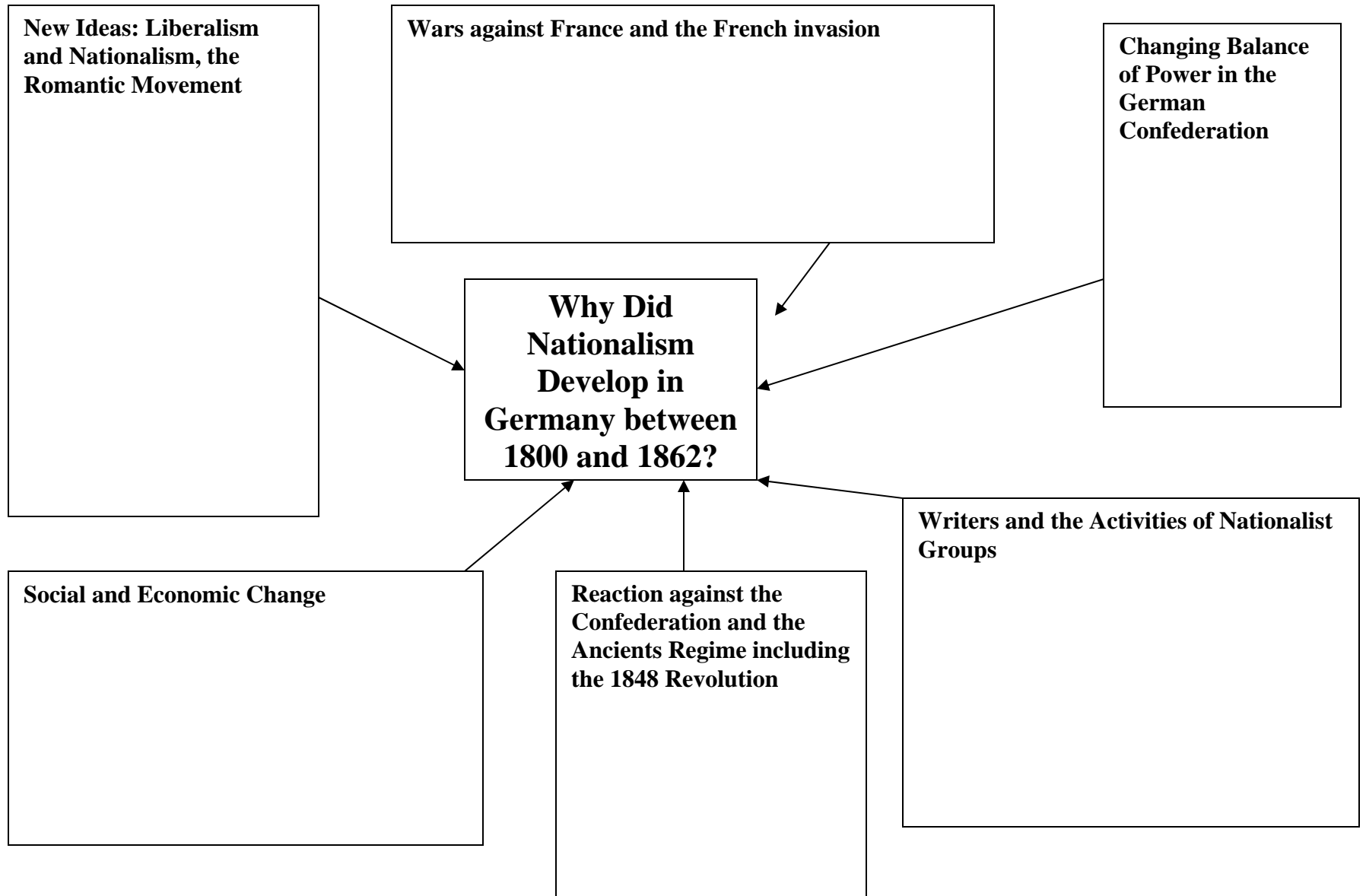


Why Did Nationalism Develop in Germany between 1800 and 1862?



Reasons for the Growth of German Nationalism.

1. Ideological

The spread of nationalist and liberal ideas.

- a. Nationalism is the belief that people of the same language, traditions, history should have their own country and government.
- b. Liberalism is the set of beliefs that emphasised the rights of individuals to have some say concerning the laws by which they are governed. This involved ideas of basic freedoms of speech, of religion, and of citizens being allowed to carry on their lives and businesses without interference from government.

Importance of the American and French revolutions in spreading liberal ideas

Connection between liberalism and nationalism

2. Other ideas – the Romantic Movement

Emotion more important than reason – reaction against the rationalism of the Enlightenment.

Turn for inspiration to landscape and heroic figures from the past.

In Germany this took the form of a revival of interest in German history, folklore and myths especially the idea of an enduring and older German identity that had defied the Romans – all strengthened the appeal of nationalism.

Impact on Germany

In 1800 no Germany - 400 separate states – Holy Roman Empire and Hapsburg lands

Nationalism in reaction to French invasion

Liberalism and nationalism

French rearrangement of Germany into 3 areas showed what was possible.

3. The effects of the 1815 Settlement and the German Confederation.

You can argue that the Constitution of the German Confederation was a cause of the rise of nationalism as it was designed to prevent just that!

38 separate states

Confederation Diet to decide on common defence and foreign policy

Each state sovereign – made its own laws

Balanced the power– Prussia and Austria-Hungary (Hapsburg Empire)

Helped preserve the European balance of power.

4. The Influence of German Nationalists 1815-1862

Three main types:

Liberal Nationalism – an united Germany should have a Liberal constitution that would guarantee the rights of citizens.

Cultural Nationalism – that unity was more important than individual rights and that what mattered was the preservation by the State of German identity and culture.

Economic Nationalism – that unity would remove the trade barriers between states and this would allow economic growth and prosperity.

These ideas were spread by philosophers, historians, poets and dramatists but to that extent they largely influenced the literate middle classes and especially the students.

Jahn and the burschenschaften movement.

Wartburg in 1817

Hamburg in 1832

Young Germany in 1833.

The Rhine Crisis in 1840

5. Economic Factors

Population growth, Industrialisation and Urbanisation

Improved Communications

The Zollverein

6. The influence of the Revolutions of 1848

Trade depression, unemployment and high food prices because of bad harvests led to revolutions throughout Europe. In the German confederation nationalists and liberals saw their chance. Everywhere the rulers of the small states fled. Elections were held to local assemblies and then to a national convention to create an united Germany. This met at Frankfurt but failed to achieve its aims.

The reasons for failure will be discussed later but the very fact that the Assembly was elected reflects a widespread desire for an united Germany.

Failure in 1848 had one positive effect. Many nationalists were convinced that Germany unity would be possible through using the armed forces of Prussia. Thus the German National Association created in 1859 accepted that an united Germany should be centred on Prussia and not Austria.

7. Diplomatic and Strategic Changes in the 1850s

Austria

Russia

France

Factors Opposing an United Germany

1. The Nature of the Constitution of the German Confederation and the European balance of power.
2. The influence of the privileged members of the ruling classes in the German states.
3. Limited appeal of the nationalists
4. The influence of Prince Metternich of Austria and the Carlsbad Decrees.
5. Weaknesses of the Frankfurt Assembly
6. The failure of Prussia after 1850 and the Convention of Olmutz

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Importance of the American and French revolutions in spreading liberal ideas

Spread ideas by their very success

Connection between liberalism and nationalism

If you believed that you had rights then you also could claim that you had a right to be part of a state/governed by people of the same language and culture.

2. Other ideas – the Romantic Movement

Emotion more important than reason – reaction against the rationalism of the Enlightenment. **Goethe, Beethoven**

Turn for inspiration to landscape and heroic figures from the past.

In Germany this took the form of a revival of interest in German history, folklore and myths especially the idea of an enduring and older German identity that had defied the Romans – all strengthened the appeal of nationalism. **Grimm, Arnim and Brentano**

Impact on Germany

In 1800 no Germany - 400 separate states – Holy Roman Empire and Hapsburg lands

Nationalism in reaction to French invasion

The French conscripted men into their armies. The French badly affected German trade by banning trade with Britain. French officials were harsh. German resistance and the war of liberation from 1813 to 1815 inspired German patriots.

Liberalism and nationalism

New laws introduced by the French encouraged those who believed that the old system of aristocratic rule should be abolished.

French rearrangement of Germany into 3 areas showed what was possible. *Simply this meant that tradition was broken and that it was possible to create a German state.*

3. The effects of the 1815 Settlement and the German Confederation.

You can argue that the Constitution of the German Confederation was a cause of the rise of nationalism as it was designed to prevent just that!

39 separate states

Confederation Diet to decide on common defence and foreign policy

Each state sovereign – made its own laws *The Great Powers who created the German Confederation also wanted to stop the spread of liberalism and nationalism. The governments of the new states were all aristocratic, they all sought to preserve the inherited powers and privileges of their class. This type of government is often called the “ancien regime”.*

Balanced the power of Prussia and Austria-Hungary (Hapsburg Empire)
Helped preserve the European balance of power.

The leaders of the Great Powers at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 who created the new Europe tried to create a system that would prevent war and the spread of the new ideas. The German Confederation in the centre of Europe would provide a buffer between France, Russia and Austria Hungary. No one power would be able to expand into that area without the opposition of the others.

Within the Confederation the power of the two strongest states, Prussia and Austria was balanced by the interest of all the others in remaining independent , and by the interests of the Great Powers.

Thus the “balance of power” was expected to work automatically to preserve the Europe of the ancien regime.

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Economic Nationalism – that unity would remove the trade barriers between states and this would allow economic growth and prosperity.

These ideas were spread by philosophers, historians, poets and dramatists but to that extent they largely influenced the literate middle classes and especially the students.

The idea of the national culture as the very symbol of nationhood was taken up by a group of Prussian writers headed by **Fichte**. He took this idea further by arguing that the State should promote national identity – the state as the “sergeant major of Germanism”. He believed in a national education system to promote such values.

This last proposal was taken up by **Jahn** who added a more political outlook by calling for a national army and institutions which would represent the interests of the people. He created gymnastic clubs, some 150 in South Germany by 1818 combining physical exercise with nationalism. (the **burschensfaten**) These were suppressed in 1819 after the murder of **Kotzebue**.

Wartburg in 1817 *A nationalist demonstration of some 500 students involving burning anti nationalist books.*

Hambach in 1832. *A nationalist gathering of some 25,000 students*

Young Germany in 1833. *An unsuccessful rising by students*

The Rhine Crisis in 1840 *Started by the French when they revived their claim to the Rhine as a natural frontier. This led to widespread demonstrations throughout Germany.*

5. Economic Factors

William Carr, a recent historian develops this in 4 ways.

1. Population increase – Europe in 1750, 130 million, in 1800, 187 million and 1900, 401 million. This increase presented traditional rulers with major problems in governing rapidly expanding urban areas, equally the established Churches generally failed to embrace the newcomers. All this undermined political stability.

2. More and more ordinary people were becoming literate. 15% of Germans in 1770, 40% by 1830. As a result publication of books and periodicals doubled in the first half of the 19thC. Ordinary people now had access to a *“kingdom of competing ideologies”* which *“wrestled for their allegiance, a development which might well undermine traditional loyalties to Church and State.”*

3. A communications revolution *“facilitated the dissemination of ideas and the discussion of issues at national level for the first time.”* He quotes a prominent German radical Jacob Venedy in 1835;

“In ten years when all great towns and capital cities are connected by rail, Germany will be another country and the prejudices which have divided the German people so much up to now and which have given our oppressors such easy mastery will cease to exist”.

These factors can be seen to come together he argues when nationalism becomes the key idea that unites the new city dwellers.

“ In the towns ... where dynastic loyalties were crumbling and religious beliefs were fading fast, nationalism, so it is argued, supplied a brand new social cement to hold society together.”

“Many people, especially lower middle class artisans overwhelmed by the social and economic problems of the mid nineteenth century, looked to a new national Reich to redress the grievances which individual rulers had singularly failed to do.”

Carr goes on to demonstrate that some historians have seen the rituals of nationalism, the flag waving and singing, as a substitute for religion. Finally he warns that nationalism could equally be used by rulers to preserve the existing order against the pressures for change that were a consequence of modernisation.

The Zollverein – *a customs union which started in 1818 by which members, led by Prussia reduced customs dues in trade between themselves while maintaining high tariffs on imports from outsiders. By 1836 25 of the 39 states of the Confederation were members. This customs union was popular with businessmen who had bigger more profitable markets. It made the case for an united Germany more convincing. Since it was dominated by Prussia, whose economy benefited it was seen as a threat by Austria.*

6. The influence of the Revolutions of 1848

Trade depression, unemployment and high food prices because of bad harvests led to revolutions throughout Europe. In the German confederation nationalists and liberals saw their chance. Everywhere the

rulers of the small states fled. Elections were held to local assemblies and then to a national convention to create an united Germany. This met at Frankfurt but failed to achieve its aims.

The reasons for failure will be discussed later but the very fact that the Assembly was elected reflects a widespread desire for an united Germany.

Failure in 1848 had one positive effect. Many nationalists were convinced that Germany unity would be possible through using the armed forces of Prussia. Thus the **German National Association** created in **1859** accepted that an united Germany should be centred on Prussia and not Austria.

7. Diplomatic and Strategic Changes in the 1850s

Austria Excluded from the Zollverein Austria's economy grew weaker relative to Prussia. Its diplomatic position weakened as Austria failed to support Russia in the Crimean War, 1853-56, and its army lost in 1859 in the Italian wars of unification when Piedmont was supported by France.

Russia Russia would no longer play a role in balancing Austrian and Prussian power in the Confederation due to Austria's actions in the Crimean war. In addition Russia distrusted Louis Napoleon's policies as the French had supported Britain and Turkey to stop Russia's attempt to seize the Straits.

France The French Emperor, Louis Napoleon needed foreign policy success to maintain his authority at home and was prepared to alter the European balance of power to do so.

Factors Opposing an United Germany

1. The Nature of the Constitution of the German Confederation and the European balance of power.

The description of the Constitution of the Confederation above is enough to show how powerful were the forces to keep Germany divided. Remember that there were two “balance of power” systems; Prussia and Austria within the Confederation and then the balance between the Great Powers.

2. The influence of the privileged members of the ruling classes in the German states. (the “*ancien regime*”)

The aristocrats who ruled the 39 German states had to defend the system to ensure their own survival. Each state had sovereign powers over its laws, taxes and armed forces.

3. Limited appeal of the nationalists

Despite the economic and social changes between 1815 and 1862 Germany remained an area where local loyalties remained important for a mainly rural population. Nationalism appealed to the literate – the middle classes rather than the peasants or the new urban working classes.

4. The influence of Prince Metternich of Austria and the Carlsbad Decrees.

Up until 1848 Metternich’s vigilance against liberalism and nationalism and the draconian Carlsbad decrees effectively suppressed the nationalists.

- *Censorship of the press*
- *Inspectors to keep order in the Universities*
- *The sacking and exile of those who persisted in their activities, all helped slow the growth of nationalism.*

5. Weaknesses of the Frankfurt Assembly (Failure of the 1848 Revolution)

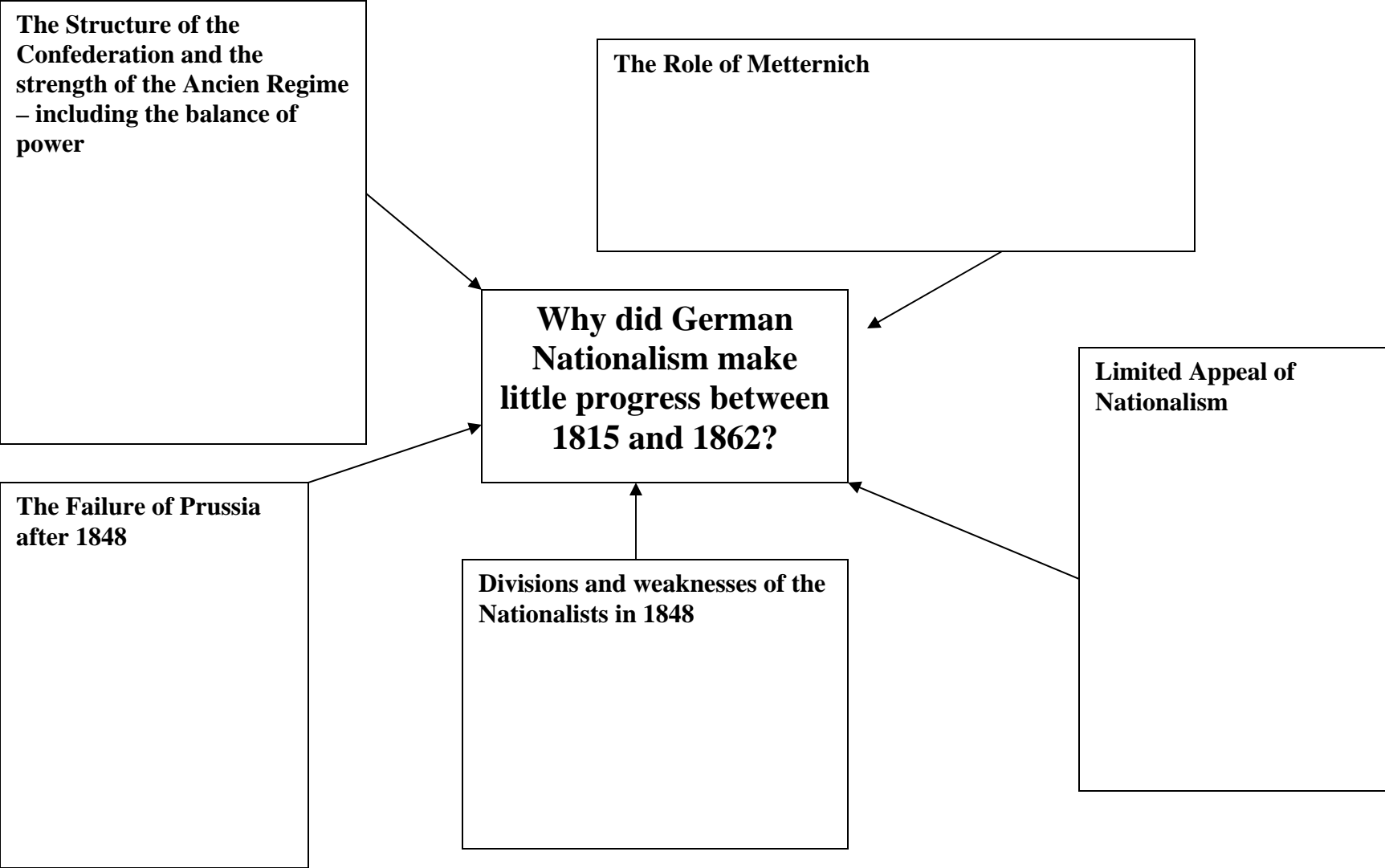
- *The Frankfurt Assembly in 1848 revealed deep divisions among nationalists and liberals.*

- *They could not agree on the size of a new Germany, should it include Austria and the Hapsburg lands and Prussia's Polish possessions?*
- *Should it be governed by a King or be a republic or a mixture of both? The Protestants of the North distrusted the Southern Catholics.*
- *They could not agree on creating an army to defend the revolution.*
- *Finally they failed to satisfy the needs of the starving workers who had helped create the revolution and had to rely on the Prussian army to put down a workers revolt.*

6. The failure of Prussia after 1850 and the Convention of Olmutz

Freidrich Wilhelm, King of Prussia, tried to take advantage of the defeat of the 1848 revolution to increase Prussian power to exclude Austria from the Confederation – the Erfurt Parliament. However Austria was still too strong in 1850 and was able to force Prussia to back down. At Olmutz it was agreed to return to the Constitution of 1815.

Why did German Nationalism make little progress between 1815 and 1862?



How important were social and economic factors in the growth of German nationalism between 1815 and 1862?

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Introduction: Identify the issue and explain how you intend answering the question.</p> | <p>The reasons for the growth of German nationalism in these years are complex. The German states were certainly experiencing important social and economic changes which contributed to the demand for unity. However, nationalism also developed because of other factors, French invasion, a dislike of the system of government under the ancien regime, and the constraints of the Confederation. Moreover the growing strength of nationalist ideas was also the result of the propaganda of German intellectuals. Finally nationalism was also encouraged by those diplomatic changes in the 1850s which showed that the European balance of power which had helped keep Germany divided was collapsing.</p> |
| <p>Now tackle the main issue in the question: industrialisation, urbanisation,</p> | <p>The German states were starting to experience the related processes of industrialisation and urbanisation. The former created a growing class of unemployed artisans whose skills had been replaced by machines. The latter created slums and squalor. The consequent discontent led to demands for political change, for governments that would be more responsive to needs of the poor; some of these demands included a demand for single German government.</p> |
| <p>And a separate para for the Zollverein. Note the conclusion to this argument</p> | <p>In addition the growing middle classes saw the advantages of unity as the customs union or Zollverein led by Prussia had increased their prosperity as trade flourished. Moreover Prussia itself was becoming richer and more able to pay for a large army that might challenge Austria. Finally economic growth meant improved communications and great travel especially by rail; nationalist ideas could spread more easily. Thus in several ways social and economic change helped the rise of German nationalism.</p> |
| <p>Now we start looking at other factors – French invasion, liberalism.</p> | <p>However, the idea of an united Germany had deeper roots. The French conquest, under Napoleon, of the German states had profound consequences. Invasion, occupation by a foreign ruler and a war of liberation, all inspired a stronger sense of German identity. The French had rearranged the small states into 3 large ones demonstrating that change was possible. They had also introduced liberal laws which removed the power and privileges of the nobility. The spread of liberalism helped develop nationalism as it reinforced the idea that people with a common language, tradition and culture had a right to decide they should be part of one state.</p> |

Try using some of William Carr's ideas and facts on "modernisation"

Again there are useful facts from Carr

Again look for more facts

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Role of the intellectuals | After 1815 these ideas did not disappear. Poets, historians and philosophers argued that Germany should be united. Propagandists like Arndt and Jahn spread these ideas to the students in the German universities through the burschenschaften movement and through gatherings such as the Wartburg festival. Admittedly these ideas could only reach a minority, the literate. Yet when in 1840 there was a renewed fear that the French wanted to take the Rhineland there was widespread popular demonstrations of all social classes. |
| The Operation of the Confederation. The events of 1848 Note another concluding sentence. | Not only did the Constitution on the German Confederation keep Germany divided into 38 separate states and preserve the privileges of the ruling classes, but also it created a system that nationalists could actively oppose. The revolutions of 1848 brought together both the social and economic causes - unemployment, failed harvests - and the ideas, to create an assembly at Frankfurt that tried to devise a constitution for an united Germany. They were too divided by religion and politics, and too powerless to succeed. Yet the attempt shows how both factors contributed to development of German nationalism. |
| Diplomatic changes after 1848 | Finally , despite defeat in 1848, the nationalists could see in the 1850s that Europe was beginning to change. The Italian nationalists were successful, in so doing had weakened Austria. The French support for Italian nationalism showed that the European balance of power which had helped keep Germany divided, was changing. Louis Napoleon's ambition meant that he wanted to change the frontiers created in 1815. Prussia too was growing stronger unbalancing the arrangements within the Confederation. Russia, because of Austrian support for Britain and France in the Crimean war, would not support Austria in future. The new German National Association created in 1859 now accepted that unity under Prussia was the most likely prospect. |
| Conclusion | In conclusion , the importance of social and economic factors has been shown but these have to be balanced by understanding that on their own they did not give rise to a changing sense of German identity, and that this was also a product of wars with the French, and the activities of intellectuals who spread and developed the ideas. Finally the operation of the Confederation itself within a changing European balance of power provided nationalists with a clear target and by the 1850s a prospect of success. |

If you manage it a quotation to show you are aware of debate between historians

“The Time when nothing happened.” To what extent was Bismarck correct to see the years between 1815 and 1862 as a period in which there was no progress towards creating an united Germany?

Bismarck may have sought to exaggerate his own later achievements by making this claim, but it does direct the historian towards an important issue, that is, the extent to which even in these years some progress towards the unification of Germany was made. To assess Bismarck's claim it is necessary to examine carefully those features of the period that support it and those which do not.

Certainly the survival of the German Confederation, as created in 1815, until 1866, supports Bismarck's assertion that nothing had changed. The Congress of Vienna had sought to crush the liberalism and nationalism that had spread after the French revolution and its wars by restoring the hereditary rulers of the 38 German states within a Confederation of equals whose Diet could protect the independence of each state. Any attempt to alter this state of affairs would be prevented by the balance of power which played off Austrian against Prussian interests within the confederation and balanced the competing interests of the great powers, especially France and Russia. The stability of this system, within which the Confederation had a vital part to play, would ensure that the ancien regime in Europe would not be challenged by revolutionary demands that might follow from the costs of major wars. Thus unification of the German states was unlikely as long as the Confederation and the interests- that supported it survived. Bismarck clearly appeared to believe that they had.

In addition the stability of the ancien regime in Prussia was buttressed by the role of the junker landowning class which controlled the countryside where 90% of the population still lived. Those who served the State in the army and bureaucracy also identified their interests with those of the State ensuring support for resistance to all forms of change. The situation was similar throughout the Confederation.

The nationalists in these years achieved little. Historians agree that the philosophers such as Fichte, Jahn and Arndt and poets such as Goethe and Schiller influenced only a minority of Germans, the educated middle classes. The activities of the nationalists. were closely watched by the authorities. Nationalist demonstrations at Wartburg and Hambach were ineffective. The murder of Kotzebue a German writer who reported on German affairs to the Russian Tsar, was used by Metternich to scare the German rulers to pass the Carlsbad Decrees which restricted even further the activities of nationalists and other reformers. Thus although much was happening little was being achieved.

Even the dramatic events of 1848/9 can be interpreted to demonstrate the weaknesses of the nationalists. After all, the revolutions in Prussia, Austria and the German states were caused not simply by the aspiration for German unity but also by the example of events in Paris, the industrial and trade depression and bad harvests. Moreover their success in establishing the Frankfurt Assembly proved ephemeral. Its members were divided and took too long to agree on the boundaries of an united Germany and on a form of government so that as worker and peasant demands for the satisfaction of economic grievances became violent they could not deal with them. Lacking armed force they sought help from Prussia at that point when the King felt confident enough to reassert his authority. The King was happy to restore order but not to accept a crown offered by a democratic assembly. The political, religious and regional differences among Germans were too great for the Assembly to be the means for uniting Germany, especially since by 1849 the ancien regime was back in control in

Prussia and the Hapsburg lands. 1848 therefore confirmed that unity could not be achieved by the liberal methods of democracy and the will of the people.

Finally the attempt by Frederick William of Prussia to increase Prussian power by combining the North German states through the Erfurt Parliament aroused the anger of Austria. The threat of war forced the Prussians to abandon their plans and accept at Olmutz the full restoration of the Confederation constitution of 1815. By this interpretation Bismarck would appear to have been correct.

However the period can be seen differently. The nationalists and liberals who so conspicuously failed in 1848 had at least established the idea that German unity was possible. Indeed the creation of a German National Party in 1859 entailed accepting much that had previously divided nationalists; the creation of a Kleinedeutschland under Prussian leadership recognised military and political realities and prepared the way for accepting unity at the price of sacrificing their Liberalism to Prussian authoritarianism. The charge that nationalism had a limited appeal can at least be partially refuted by the widespread, all classes and regions, indignation at French ambitions in the Rhine crisis of 1840. This indicates an increasing sense of German identity.

This sense of identity can also be linked to the social and economic changes that were beginning to transform German society. Population growth, urbanisation and industrialisation all challenged the traditional patterns of society; the authority of the landowners challenged by the land hunger of a growing peasantry, the new relationships within growing cities and the new problems encountered especially by the artisan class whose livelihoods were threatened by factory production. Such discontent led to the questioning of traditional authority. A new national government was one possible solution to these problems.

Moreover the pace of economic change was increasing as the Prussian led Zollverein expanded markets by removing customs dues. Formed in 1835 and including 18 of the states it had expanded to 25 by 1841. The Zollverein was a demonstration of the practical consequences of unity, prosperity and profit for business and so encouraged the spread of nationalist ideas. By 1860 the Zollverein was dominated by Prussian bank notes, coinage and legal code. The growing Prussian economy ensured the supply of iron and steel for the army. The railway system made possible its rapid mobilisation and deployment. The Prussian state also had increased its revenues so as to be able to pay for a bigger and better army - and as Bismarck's wars were to prove this money had been spent wisely.

Finally the European balance of power that had supported the division of Germany was also changing in the 1850s. Austria was weaker having lost some of its Italian provinces in wars for Italian independence. Austria had also offended Russia by failing to support them in the Crimean War. France under Louis Napoleon could also not be relied upon to support the status quo as the Emperor sought foreign policy successes to make up for domestic unpopularity. The balance of power was changing, Prussia in particular was by 1860 stronger than ever before.

In conclusion, there was some truth in Bismarck's dismissal of the years between 1815 and 1862 - the ancien regime and the Confederation had survived, the nationalists had proved too weak. However that view has been shown to be superficial. There were fundamental economic and political changes taking place in those years that were to make possible the later unification of Germany under Prussia - it was a time in which a great deal had happened.

Origins of German Nationalism

William Carr “The Wars of German Unification”

Liberalism and nationalism

Argues strongly that it was the French Revolution “*which moulded the history of Europe in the nineteenth century*”. The ideas which it spread are difficult to define.

Liberalism according to Carr has 3 main tenets.

1. Man was not destined to remain a prisoner of tradition, stifled by the repression of monarchs.
2. Instead all men had equal rights which rulers should respect
3. The purpose of government was to provide a framework of law to allow man to develop their talents to the full.
4. Government should therefore always act in the interests of the people.

It is this last point which is the link with nationalism which Carr defines as “*a system of values and beliefs which lead a group of people to become conscious of belonging together because of characteristics such as a common language, common culture or subjection to the same ruler and which are capable of mobilising a group politically.*”

Carr questions the traditionally accepted ideas of Meinecke to explain the emergence of nationalism in Germany. Meinecke believed that German nationalism developed from a “*marriage between folkish values, the writings of certain poets and philosophers and the material power of Prussia.*” Carr argues that the missing ingredient is “the complex process of modernisation which was changing the structure of Europe”.

Carr develops this in 4 ways.

1. Population increase – Europe in 1750, 130 million, in 1800, 187 million and 1900, 401 million. This increase presented traditional rulers with major problems in governing rapidly expanding urban areas, equally the established Churches generally failed to embrace the newcomers. All this undermined political stability.
2. More and more ordinary people were becoming literate. 15% of Germans in 1770, 40% by 1830. As a result publication of books and periodicals doubled in the first half of the 19thC. Ordinary people now

had access to a “kingdom of competing ideologies” which “wrestled for their allegiance, a development which might well undermine traditional loyalties to Church and State.”

3. A communications revolution “facilitated the dissemination of ideas and the discussion of issues at national level for the first time.” He quotes a prominent German radical Jacob Venedy in 1835; “In ten years when all great towns and capital cities are connected by rail, Germany will be another country and the prejudices which have divided the German people so much up to now and which have given our oppressors such easy mastery will cease to exist”.

These factors can be seen to come together he argues when nationalism becomes the key idea that unites the new city dwellers.

“In the towns ... where dynastic loyalties were crumbling and religious beliefs were fading fast, nationalism, so it is argued, supplied a brand new social cement to hold society together.”

“Many people, especially lower middle class artisans overwhelmed by the social and economic problems of the mid nineteenth century, looked to a new national Reich to redress the grievances which individual rulers had singularly failed to do.”

Carr goes on to demonstrate that some historians have seen the rituals of nationalism, the flag waving and singing, as a substitute for religion. Finally he warns that nationalism could equally be used by rulers to preserve the existing order against the pressures for change that were a consequence of modernisation.

However Carr does not accept that modernisation was the only cause of the development of nationalism in Germany. He points out that nationalist leaders were not always from the new middle class, equally it does not pay to ignore the influence of foreign powers on the development of nationalism. Modernisation helps broaden the historians view of the rise nationalism in Germany not completely replace existing explanations.

Carr adds another element to his discussion of the origins on nationalism – conservatism. He does not define conservatism directly rather he sees it as a reaction to radicalism, the belief by some Liberals in universal male suffrage and the need for violence to achieve it. Conservatives believed that universal male suffrage would lead to a popular tyranny. Thus throughout the nineteenth century conservative interests and moderate liberalism combined to protect elements of the existing social order. Carr argues that nationalism

provided a doctrine that emphasised what people had in common thus reducing the appeal of radicalism and transcend class conflict.

The Impact of the French Revolution

Some accounts of the impact of the French Revolution on Germany are too simplistic. They emphasise 3 partial truths.

1. That German Liberalism was inspired by the events of 1789
2. That the French invasion and rearrangement of the government of Germany showed Germans what could be achieved.
3. That the war of Liberation helped create a new national identity.

These elements are all challenged and modified by Carr. He points out that delight at the abolition of feudalism was short-lived. The reign of terror after the execution of Louis XVI meant that “*order had come to outweigh liberty*”. He argues that conditions east of the Rhine were not particularly receptive to French views of Liberalism. Firstly “*though feudalism was irksome.... it does not seem to have borne down on the German peasant quite so heavily as on the French*”. He attributes this to the strength of paternalism, the fragmentation of German states and society which protected Germans from the worst excesses of absolutism, and the extent to which Germans was not as anti-clerical as the French.

Secondly he argues convincingly that from the second half of the 18thC the German princes had begun to reform to a greater or lesser degree their governments to the extent that by 1789 “*monarchy as an institution ... was stronger than ever before*”. The main reasons for this were reforms partly inspired by the example of Frederick the Great of Prussia – commerce and industry were encouraged, restrictions were removed, censorship reduced, and a degree of religious toleration permitted. All imperfectly accomplished but had contributed to a modest economic prosperity and the growth of a new professional class that helped the great cultural renaissance that in turn made Germany less receptive to French ideas.

In a complex argument Carr demonstrates that German writers reacted against French classicism encouraging a belief in the “*man of independent mind*” who through self discovery by reason and through the emotions could arrive at intellectual self fulfilment. These ideas he argues were taken up by Kant who becomes a key figure in German liberalism. For Kant self fulfilment was always in opposition to the need to live in society. The State

and law therefore existed to ensure the minimum required for a person to achieve his potential – equality before the law, the right to own and acquire property, and the right of the better off to play some part in making the law. However he believed that monarchy should be able to protect the freedoms and property of the middle classes from the masses. This philosophy had a profound influence on the professional classes throughout the 19thC.

Carr then goes on to examine those writers who had the greatest influence. Herder's contribution was to see the nation as an essential part of humanity rather than as a distraction from the idea of a common humanity sought during the enlightenment. One message taken up in particular was that the spirit of the people was expressed in its language which must be preserved. He even hinted at the superiority of the German language.

The idea of the national culture as the very symbol of nationhood was taken up by a group of Prussian writers headed by Fichte. He took this idea further by arguing that the State should promote national identity – the state as the “sergeant major of Germanism”. He believed in a national education system to promote such values. This last proposal was taken up by Jahn who added a more political outlook by calling for a national army and institutions which would represent the interests of the people. He created gymnastic clubs, some 150 in South Germany by 1818 combining physical exercise with nationalism. These were suppressed in 1819 after the murder of Kotzebue.

Finally there were the Romantics, who more stirred by emotion than reason, responded in prose and poetry to the passions of nationalism. They added a further twist to national thinking through their admiration for the organic structured quality they believed to be present in medieval society in contrast to the individualism they saw in the present. The nation State would provide the means of harnessing individual energies to a common cause.

Finally Carr warns that of course the influence of these writers was confined to the literate reading public. However these are the people who eventually play a leading role in political movements.

German Nationalism and the French Occupation.

Certainly in the Rhineland the French occupation was welcomed as a providing the impetus for social and political change. However even there as well as in the rest of Germany the French occupation came to be resented.

Firstly Napoleon's attempt to strangle Britain's trade by an embargo, the Continental System, severely affected the trade of North Germany, particularly in grain, wood and linen. French attempts to prevent smuggling had a disastrous effect on German merchants. All was made worse by tariffs within Europe particularly preventing German exports to France. Secondly there was the effect of conscription – a third of the army that invaded Russia was German. Thirdly there was the heavy taxation to pay for Napoleon's wars. Finally the arrogance of French officials angered Germans.

As the French retreated and the Russians advanced Prussia allied with Russia unleashing a wave of patriotic fervour. Volunteer units were created, towns subscribed massively to the costs. However nationalist historians have exaggerated the spirit of 1813. Firstly it was confined largely to Prussia and Westphalia. The Saxons for example continued to fight for France against Prussia in 1813. Secondly even in Prussia enthusiasm for the war was largely urban, 75% of the population were peasants, but 53% of the volunteers were students and craftsmen.

Finally at the end of the war national enthusiasm however limited was ignored at Vienna where Great Power politics and conservatism meant that the idea of an united Germany was ignored and the Confederation created.

Nationalists and Liberals 1815-1860

Carr makes clear that before about 1840 nationalism and liberalism remained weak. In particular he argues that since Germany remained an agricultural society local interests were paramount. Liberalism and nationalism were minority interests and have received a certain prominence partly because of the over reaction of the princes to the murder of Kotzebue, the Hambach festival and the Young Germany movement in 1833.

It is the Rhineland Crisis in 1840 that evokes the most widespread national feeling especially since the ruler of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm, appeared to lead the resistance to French pretensions and also to promise a degree of liberal reform. After 1840 disappointment at the lack of reform in Prussia did not lead to the collapse of nationalism. Gymnastic and "glee" clubs spread all over Germany. By 1848 there were 300 gymnastic societies all over Germany with 90,000 members, and 1100 glee clubs with 100,000 members. Their festivals and displays were accompanied by nationalist speech making.

Three great national festivals were attended by thousands of Germans. Speeches, songs and flags helped great a national identity for Germans from many different regions. However the movement remained largely middle class.

Modernisation and the communications revolution also helped the growth of national feeling in the 1840s making it easier to organise festivals and circulate newspapers and periodicals. The failed 1848 Revolution marked the politicisation of the middle classes. All over Germany political clubs proliferated to debate constitutional and national issues.

This new political awareness becomes a factor in the struggle between Prussia and Austria for dominance in the Confederation. This was most marked in and after 1859 when the French allied with Piedmont to attack and defeat Austria. The French gain of Savoy and Nice raised fears that the failure of Prussia and Austria to cooperate would mean that France could gain the Rhineland. The result of this was a rise in pro Prussian feeling. Finally Italian unification in 1861 showed the Germans what was possible.

In these circumstances there was a groundswell of opinion in favour of a strong Reich under Prussia and ultimately the creation of the German National Association. Its leaders and members also played key roles in the gymnastic societies and glee clubs whose activities also intensify in the 1860s. Thus by the time Bismarck becomes Minister President of Prussia there is significant and organised middle class support for national unification.

“Between 1815 and 1862 trends in Germany were generally against unification” Do you agree?

Mini plan: Obstacles - confederation, European balance of power, Metternich and Carlsbad, limited appeal of nationalists, divisions in Germany, power of ancien regime

Favour – spread of ideas, support, soc and econ change, lessons of 1848, changes in the 1850s in balance of power

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| Introduction | <i>First sentence – Sum up the theme behind the question – “In these years there were factors which favoured the creation of an united Germany as well as serious obstacles”. Then go on and say how you will tackle the question by discuss one and then the other. However always address the aspect of the topic given in the question first – in this case the obstacles to German unity. You can use a “menu” list in the intro to show your intentions</i> |
| First Obstacle | <i>Design of the confederation</i> |
| Second | <i>Role of the b of p, the Great powers</i> |
| Third | <i>Metternich and rulers suppress nationalism, Carlsbad decrees</i> |
| Fourth | <i>Limited appeal of the nationalists, including the divisions that emerged in 1848</i> |
| Mini conclusion | <i>Thus there were clearly many obstacles in the path of German unity</i> |

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| Factors Favouring Unification: First | <i>However, spread of ideas, influence of France</i> |
| Second | <i>Activities of nationalists, include 1848 despite the failure, lessons of 1848</i> |
| Third | <i>Effects of social and economic change – modernisation</i> |
| Fourth | <i>Changes in the b of p in the 1850s Perhaps the vital argument</i> |
| Conclusion | <i>Address the question directly. Do you disagree? Sum up main arguments in favour of the statement, and then the main arguments against. Then state your view including what you see as the vital evidence in favour of your opinion</i> |

