

Nationalism, Liberalism and Conservative Reactions Study Guide

Terms to Identify

Bolivar, Simon	kleindeutsch
Burschenschaften	liberal
Carlsbad Decrees	Leopold of Saxe-Coburg
Catholic Emancipation Act	Liverpool, Lord
Cato Street Conspiracy	Louis XVIII
Charles Albert of Piedmont	Martin, Jose de San
Charles X	Metternich, Klemens von
Charter	Nationalism
Concert of Europe	Organic Statute
congress system	Palacky, Francis
Congress of Vienna	Peterloo
Constant, Benjamin	Phillipe, Louis
conservatism	Protocol of Troppau
Corn Law	Quadruple Alliance
Final Act	rotten boroughs
Frederick William III	Sand, Karl
George, Kara	Sejm
German Confederation	Six Acts
Great Reform Bill	Spanish Revolution
Greek Revolution	Stein, Baron von
grossdeutsch	Stewart, Robert
Holy Alliance	Talleyrand-Perigord, Charles Maurice de
Independence of Belgium	Toussaint, Francois-Dominique
July Monarchy	
July Revolution	

Nationalism, Liberalism and Conservative Reactions Unit Questions

Who were the principal personalities, and what were the most significant problems of the Congress of Vienna?

What were the results of the Congress, and why were they significant?

How was the map of Europe altered by the Congress of Vienna?

How did nationalism influence the governments of England, Germany and the Austrian Empire ?

How did the Burschenschaften movement force German states to reform?

How did the Great Reform Bill impact the lives of regular Englishmen?

Textbook DQ's

The Political Principles of Nationalism p 325 -326

What qualities of people does Mazzini associate with nationalism?

How and why does Mazzini relate nationalism to divine purposes?

Why does Acton see the principle of nationalism as dangerous to liberty?

Why does Acton see nationalism as a threat to minority groups and to democracy?

How might the connection that Mazzini draws between nationalism and divine will justify the repression of minority rights that Acton feared?

Gymnastics and German Nationalism (Secondary Source) p. 331

What factors turned Jahn to nationalism?

Why did he associate nationalism with physical strength?

An Unsuccessful Military Coup in Russia (image) p. 337

What is the role of the civilian population in this image? In what ways does the presence of civilians make the uprising seem less harmful?

What is the significance of the location of the insurrection?

Is it easy to tell what is happening in this painting? Why or why not?

Outside DQs

Benjamin Constant Discusses Modern Liberty - Outside Primary Reading

According to Constant, what are the ways in which a modern citizen is free of government control and interference?

How does he defend a representative government?

On the basis of this passage, do you believe that Constant was opposed to a democratic government?

Metternich Discusses Sources of Political Unrest - Outside Primary Reading

According to Metternich, what is the difference between people who conspire against things and those who conspire against theories?

Why does he fear the role of universities as a source of revolutionary disturbances?

Why does he consider the press the greatest danger?

How could the Turnverein movement spread easily in the Germanies?

Thomas Babington Macaulay Defends the Great Reform Bill - Outside Primary Reading

Who does Macaulay think should be represented in Parliament?

Why does he oppose universal suffrage?

Why does he regard the Reform Bill as “a measure of conservatism”?

Why would Metternich have seen little or nothing conservative about the measure?

“It is not easy to see how the more extreme forms of nationalism can long survive when men have seen the Earth in its true perspective as a single small globe against the stars.” - Arthur C. Clarke

Benjamin Constance Discusses Modern Liberty - Outside Primary Reading

In 1819, the French liberal theorist Benjamin Constance delivered lectures on the character of ancient and modern liberty. In this passage he emphasizes the close relationship between modern liberty and economic freedom and a free private life. He then ties the desire of a free private life to the need for a representative government. Modern life did not leave people enough tie to make the political commitment that the ancient Greek polis had required. Consequently, modern citizens turned over much of their political concern and activity to representatives. In this discussion, Constance set forth the desire for nineteenth century liberals to maximize private freedom and to minimize areas of life in which the government might interfere. His argument provided the foundation for rejecting direct democracy, which he and other liberals associated with the reign of terror and Napoleon's plebiscites.

First ask yourselves what an Englishman, a Frenchman, and a citizen of the United States of America understand today by the word 'liberty'. For each of them it is

- the right to be subjected only to the laws, and not to be arrested, imprisoned, put to death or maltreated in any way by decision of one or more individuals; I call it happy, despite its excesses, because I'm focussing on its results.
- the right of each person to express his opinion, choose a profession and practise it, dispose of his own property and even to misuse it;
- the right to come and go without permission, and without explaining what one is doing or why;
- the right of each person to associate with other individuals—whether to discuss their interests, or to join in worship, or simply to fill the time in any way that suits his fancy; and
- each person's right to have some influence on the administration of the government—by electing all or some of the officials, or through representations, petitions, or demands that the authorities are more or less obliged to take into consideration

Now compare this liberty with that of the ancients.

The latter consisted in exercising collectively, but directly, several parts of the complete sovereignty; in deliberating, in the public square, over war and peace; in forming alliances with foreign governments; in voting laws, in pronouncing judgments; in examining the accounts, the acts, the stewardship of the magistrates; in calling them to appear in front of the assembled people, in accusing, condemning or absolving them. But if this was what the ancients called liberty, they admitted as compatible with this collective freedom the complete subjection of the individual to the authority of the community. You find among them almost none of the enjoyments which we have just seen form part of the liberty of the moderns. All private actions were submitted to a severe surveillance. No importance was given to individual independence, neither in relation to opinions, nor to labor, nor, above all, to religion.

Hence, Sirs, the need for the representative system. The representative system is nothing but an organization by means of which a nation charges a few individuals to do what it cannot or does not wish to do herself. Poor men look after their own business; rich men hire stewards. This is the history of ancient and modern nations. The representative system is a proxy given to a certain number of men by the mass of the people who wish their interests to be defended and who nevertheless do not have the time to defend them themselves. But, unless they are idiots, rich men who employ stewards keep a close watch on whether these stewards are doing their duty, lest they should prove negligent, corruptible, or incapable; and, in order to judge the management of these proxies, the landowners, if they are prudent, keep themselves well-informed about affairs, the management of which they entrust to them. Similarly, the people who, in order to enjoy the liberty which suits them, resort to the representative system, must exercise an active and

constant surveillance over their representatives, and reserve for themselves, at times which should not be separated by too lengthy intervals, the right to discard them if they betray their trust, and to revoke the powers which they might have abused.

Metternich Discusses Sources of Political Unrest - Outside Primary Reading

In the following letter of June 17, 1819, Austrian Chancellor Clemens Prince von Metternich (1773-1859) responds to a letter written by his personal secretary, Friedrich Gentz, on June 3, 1819. Gentz's letter had reported on efforts to put constitutional limitations on the authoritarian rule of the European monarchies. Metternich decisively rejected these efforts and spoke out in favor of a coordinated effort on the part of European monarchies to strengthen their power.

I am not surprised that the student nonsense is on the decline or has turned against something other than politics. That is in the nature of things. In and of himself, the fraternity boy* is a child, and the fraternity [Burschenschaft] an impractical puppet show.

And I have never – to this you are a witness – talked about students, but have focused my attention entirely on the professors. Now, there can hardly be a more ill-suited conspirator than a professor. One only conspires substantially against things and not sentences. Admittedly, the latter can grow powerful, but this will never be the case when they leave the sphere of theology. Wherever they are political, they have to be backed by deeds, and a deed means overthrowing established institutions. . .

This business is something that scholars and professors do not know how to conduct, and lawyers as a class are better at doing it. I am acquainted with almost no scholar who knows the value of property, whereas the lawyer caste is constantly meddling in the property of others. Besides, professors are almost without exception theoreticians, while there is nothing more practical than lawyers.

That the revolution might therefore be begotten at the universities is something I have never feared, but I am certain that an entire generation of revolutionaries would develop there if no limits were placed on the malady. I hope that the worst symptoms of the university malady will be prevented, and perhaps governments' disciplinary measures will contribute less fully toward this end than the fatigue of the students, the dottiness of the professors, and the different direction that studies will take. . . The greatest and most consequently the most urgent evil is the press.

Thomas Babington Macaulay Defends the Great Reform Bill - Outside Primary Reading

Macaulay was a member of the House of Commons, which passed the Great Reform Bill of 1832. His speeches in support of the bill reflect his views on the need for Parliament to give balanced representation to major elements in the population without embracing democracy. His arguments had wide appeal

Their principle is plain, rational, and consistent. It is this, —to admit the middle class to a large and direct share in the Representation, without any violent shock to the institutions of Our country . . . I hold it to be clearly expedient, that in a country like this, the right of suffrage should depend on a pecuniary qualification. Every argument, Sir, which would induce me to oppose Universal Suffrage, induces me to support the measure which is now before us. I oppose Universal Suffrage, because I think that it would produce a destructive revolution. I support this measure, because I am sure that it is our best security against a revolution. .

I, Sir, do entertain great apprehension for the fate of my country. I do in my conscience believe that unless this measure, or some similar measure, be speedily adopted, great and terrible calamities will befall us. Entertaining this opinion, I think myself bound to state it, not as a threat, but as a reason. I support this measure as a measure of Reform: but I support it still more as a measure of conservation. That we may exclude those whom it is necessary to exclude, we must admit those whom it may be safe to admit. . . All history is full of revolutions, produced by causes similar to those which are now operating in England. A portion of the community which had been of no account, expands and becomes strong. It demands a place in the system, suited, not to its former weakness, but to its present power. If this is granted, all is well. If this is refused, then comes the struggle between the young energy of one class, and the ancient privileges of another. . . Such . . . finally, is the struggle which, the middle classes in England are maintaining against an aristocracy of mere locality