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<1134/c>	the liberal idea of self-determination. Nationalism had been primarily supported by liberals, because the emergence of self-governing nations had seemed to be a final step towards the effective protection of individual rights. Gladstone saw nationalism in this light, and it was the same impulse which led, for example, Menotti Garibaldi, the great hero's son, to try to raise an Italian legion to help Arabi Pasha in Egypt. It was assumed that Europe (outside the Dual Monarchy and Russia) ought to be organized on national lines. From the Treaty of Berlin onwards, the states emerging from the Ottoman Empire were theoretically, though not very successfully, demarcated by nationality. In 1905 Norway separated from Sweden peacefully, a step of great interest to Magyars who considered the Dual Monarchy too constricting a framework. The Magyar example itself much impressed the Irish; in 1904 a Sinn Fein leader published a book on The Resurrection of Hungary. Frustrated national movements like those of the Irish, or south Slavs of the Dual Monarchy, of the Armenians in Turkey or the Poles in Russia, could usually rely upon a reflex of ready sympathy in at least some foreign countries. Sometimes the struggle for political autonomy stimulated a search for cultural identity; the great achievements of the Irish literary revival of the end of the century are its monuments (they are, of course, written in English). Nationalism also produced degenerate offshoots and analogies in various forms of racialism. A literature of white supremacy appeared between 1880 and 1914. The vogue for this owed much to a bastard Darwinism; Latin nations were less taken in by it than were Slavs and Teutons. Perhaps its most coherent exposition was a book called The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century, published in 1899 by Houston Stewart Chamberlain, an Englishman naturalized as a German. Racial doctrine was far more influential in German official thinking than in that of any other country: even the 'White Book' published by the German government to justify its acts of 1914 invoked racialist arguments. In England, Joseph Chamberlain dreamed of an Anglo-Saxon-German alliance and scholarships founded by Cecil Rhodes expressed the same aspiration. The Slav version of this sort of thing was the complicated bundle of phenomena lumped together as panslavism. By 1880 this was more and more a matter of Great Russian chauvinism within the boundaries of the Russian Empire, and tsarist imperialism abroad, but it had great sentimental appeal among Slavs living under non-Slav rulers who were encouraged by it to look to this 'big brother'. Its ideological origins were complex. Darwinism entered into the panslavism of Danilevsky as it did into panteutonism. But panslavism had little practical effect on policy: it was
 <p>Key: Footprint ConEn1 Footprint ConEn2 Footprint ConEn3</p>	<p>a matter of popular mood</p>
	rather than of official ideology. One other form of racialism, a negative one, must be mentioned. Antisemitism was not the creation of the nineteenth century but it revived in intensity about 1880. This was the beginning of a great revival; it followed decades during which the legal position of Jews had, on the whole, steadily improved. In the Treaty of Berlin, for example, almost every Balkan country was

obliged to legislate for their protection. Yet in 1880 a German antisemitic league was founded and an antisemitic meeting was held under Christian Socialist auspices at Berlin. In the following year, the police stood by and did nothing when students rioted against Jews. By 1914, antisemitism was strong and widespread in Germany. Its first political use had been by extreme conservatives against Bismarck; during his struggle against the socialists antisemitism spread to all parties on the Right. It found support in the professional and middle classes, and Treitschke gave it intellectual respectability. The Germans of the Dual Monarchy, too, were particularly susceptible to political antisemitism. This is partially to be explained by the influx to Vienna, the heart of German Austria, of Jewish immigrants from the east. By 1911 two-thirds of the German votes in Austrian elections went to anti-semitic parties. Middle-class people and intellectuals, as in Germany, were greatly attracted; student organizations at the universities were quick to exclude Jews, forbidding their members to take cycling or walking trips with them. (Another of their bans, on duelling with Jews, may seem less deplorable because of its practical results, but it must have been even more humiliating.) Antisemitism also drew support in both countries from working-class people disturbed by the impact of industrialism and large-scale capitalism, and possibly because of the success of big business houses with Jewish names. This helps to explain why such figures as Stöcker, the court chaplain in Berlin, or Karl Lueger, the demagogic Christian Socialist mayor of Vienna, were able to couple antisemitism and social reform in anticipation of the Nazis. The new antisemitism bit less deeply in France, but even there Drumont's best-seller *La France juive* had over a hundred printings in the 1880s, and antisemitic journals proliferated. Ruined Catholic investors blamed Jewish (and Protestant) financiers for the collapse of *L'Union Générale*, a great Catholic bank, in 1882, and Jewish names were prominent in the Panama scandal. The Dreyfus case produced grave excesses, when Frenchmen were urged to 'arroser du sang des Juifs l'arbre de la liberté' and a Papal Nuncio reminded a French diplomat that 'la religion catholique avait en reserve des indulgences spéciales pour ceux qui, lorsque la bonne cause le réclame,