chapter 11

European Revolutions, 1815–1849

The nineteenth century in Europe is often described as a century of peace, with no major wars breaking out between 1815 and 1914. This picture is somewhat distorted; there was a great deal of violence in Europe during this century. However, it was a new kind of war: this was the century of the popular uprising. Where most wars in the past had been fought *between* nations, this century saw a series of revolutions fought *within* nations, in which the people rose up and demanded their independence.

Slowly and gradually, Europeans had been moving toward a more inclusive and egalitarian society. The rise in literacy and education that had begun with the Reformation and continued through the Enlightenment had removed some of the barriers separating the aristocrats from the commoners. Ordinary people had come to believe that they had the same rights as aristocrats—such as the right to some voice in their own government and the right to own property—and they began to rise up in massive numbers and fight for their rights. Examples of constitutional governments in Britain, France, and the United States led to loud calls for written constitutions in many European nations.

By the nineteenth century, ideas of liberty and equality had spread throughout Europe and gone some way toward creating a new force—nationalism. The seeds for the nationalist movement were sown at the Congress of Vienna, when the leaders redrew the map, marking national boundaries without respect for ethnic, linguistic, or cultural divisions in the population. For instance, the people of Italy once again found themselves under the rule of Germans and Austrians.

One wave of revolutions took place in 1830 and another in 1848. These revolutions can be understood as a struggle between the forces of liberalism and conservatism, the two mainstream political movements of the day. Liberalism, which supported representative forms of government, triumphed in the nineteenth century, although several conservative governments were still in power in 1914.

CHAPTER 11 OBJECTIVES

- Name and describe the major political movements of the early to mid-nineteenth century.
- Trace the political history of the great powers of Europe to 1848.
- Discuss the popular uprisings from 1815 to 1848 and describe their results.
- Define the Romantic movement in the arts and name the key figures.

Chapter 11 Time Line

- **1818** Congress of Europe meets
- **1830** Charles X of France abdicates; Louis Philippe becomes king
- **1830–1831** Belgium becomes an independent nation
- **1832** Reform Act
- **1837** Queen Victoria is crowned
- **1848** *Communist Manifesto* published; revolutions in France and other nations
- **1853–1856** Crimean War

Political Parties and Struggles

Politically, the nineteenth century can be defined as the age of "-isms." These were political movements, ways of thinking that crossed national borders. They were not formal political parties but political philosophies that could be found in several European nation-states.

Most influential Europeans espoused one of two political philosophies; today we would call these the "mainstream" political trends of the era. These were conservatism and liberalism—words that, in nineteenth-century Europe, meant something quite different from their contemporary American definitions.

Conservatism

Conservatives can be defined by their distrust of the people. They did not accept Enlightenment ideas about equality; rather, they believed that a strong executive—preferably a hereditary monarch—should run the government, with some participation by the wealthiest citizens, especially the hereditary nobles. The conservatives opposed freedom of the press, believing that the monarch was the best judge of what should and should not be published. Merchants, aristocrats, and clergy, especially high-ranking clergy, were usually conservative.

The conservatives did not want to return to the days of autocracy or despotism along the lines of Louis XIV. Instead, their ideal was an absolute but benevolent monarch, one who used his or her powers for the good of the people and who worked with other monarchs to maintain a balance of power among nations.

Liberalism

The most important difference between nineteenth-century liberals and conservatives was that liberals looked ahead toward an age of representative government, while conservatives looked backward to an age of absolute monarchy.

Liberals disapproved of absolute monarchy because history had shown them that too many monarchs were arbitrary, tyrannical, weak, or incompetent. They were, however, willing to accept a hereditary constitutional monarchy. An ideal liberal government would have a written constitution, perhaps a constitutional monarch, an elected legislative assembly, and separation among the government's branches. This last was important because it would prevent the executive from becoming a tyrant; the legislative and/or judicial branches would step in to protect the people.

The liberals supported individual rights such as the right to private property, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press. They even supported the right to vote, although they believed it should be limited to men who owned property; property owners were generally better-educated and thus, according to the liberal view, deserving of more rights and privileges.

Neither conservatives nor liberals imagined a place in the political system for the lower classes. Although the workers, farmers, and common people comprised the majority of the population of Europe, they lacked what both conservatives and liberals believed to be the main qualifications for participation in government: high social position, wealth, property, and education. Conservatives believed that a benevolent monarch could be trusted to take proper care of the nation's workers because it was his or her duty as the servant of the state; liberals urged the legislative assemblies of Europe to specific action on workers' rights, such as regulation of factories.

Nationalism

Nationalism is similar to patriotism. It refers to the pride a person takes in his or her nation and culture.

During the nineteenth century, the people of Europe began to identify themselves more with their native countries than had ever been the case in the past. Formerly, people had thought of themselves as belonging to a particular family, town, village, or perhaps even a province. Some monarchs, such as Elizabeth I of England, had attracted a high degree of personal popularity. However, since borders constantly shifted in Europe, relatively few people thought of themselves as being citizens of a nation.

With the Enlightenment and the coming of the nineteenth century, a gradual shift in thinking became apparent. Europeans began to think of themselves as Frenchmen, Spaniards, or Britons. Even in places like Italy that were still not unified nations, the people took pride in their common language, their shared history, and their unique national culture. The revolutions of the nineteenth century encouraged nationalism by defining national borders and making them permanent. By 1900, nationalism was deeply rooted all over Europe—at least among the educated classes.

Nationalism was a unifying force in culturally homogeneous nations like France, where the vast majority of the population spoke the same language and worshiped in the same church. However, in a diverse empire like Austria-Hungary, which included a variety of ethnic groups and religions, it could be

explosive. Nationalism could make citizens react adversely to a monarch or leader who was born outside the country's borders. In the twentieth century, it would be one of the forces that led to both world wars. Nationalism is also the main reason for the conflict that continues to exist in the United Kingdom between Ireland and England. (See Part 3.)

Socialism

Socialism is a form of government in which the good of the whole is more important than the rights of the individual. In a socialist state, the government is in charge of major institutions such as education and health care. In a socialist economy, the state owns and controls the businesses and can establish prices. In a capitalist economy, all businesses and industries are privately owned, and the laws of supply and demand set the prices. Socialism was to thrust deep roots into European soil; by the end of the twentieth century, most European nations would have mixed economies, with major elements of socialism as well as capitalism.

One interesting but short-lived form of socialism developed early in the nineteenth century. Utopian Socialism was based on the Greek word *utopia*, meaning "nowhere": a utopia was an ideal society in which there was no conflict, which of course exists nowhere. However, in the nineteenth century, hopeful philosophers believed in the possibility of a real utopia. They envisioned self-sufficient communities in which everything was jointly owned. Followers of Robert Owen in England and Charles Fourier in France founded a number of small utopian communities, but none lasted very long. It seemed that for human beings, private property was desirable and a certain degree of conflict was inevitable.

Marxism

The political philosophy known as Marxism is based on the *Communist Manifesto* (1848), written jointly by Prussians Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. They argued that the history of Europe was the history of the struggle for supremacy between classes. First the aristocrats had ruled, next the monarchs had seized dictatorial powers, and in the nineteenth century the middle class was growing stronger. Finally, wrote Marx and Engels, it would be the turn of the proletariat, or the working class, which would have to use violence to take over society.

In *Das Kapital* (1867–1894), Marx wrote that all goods should be priced according to the amount of work that went into them. The worker who pro-

duced goods, Marx argued, was a far more valuable member of society than the owner, who produced nothing.

Naturally, the wealthy dismissed Marx's arguments as the ravings of a madman. For many centuries, a small percentage of Europeans—the upper class—had possessed and enjoyed most of the money, while the vast majority—the working class—possessed and enjoyed almost none of it. This was the settled order of society and it had always been so. Marx's suggestion that workers should enjoy the profits of their own labor was truly revolutionary.

Marx's ideas angered political thinkers across the spectrum. Conservatives opposed him because he suggested overturning a social order that they wanted to maintain at all costs. Liberals opposed him because he did not believe in the rule of the few or even of the educated; he was much more democratic. Nationalists scorned him because he insisted that one's country of origin counted for nothing; what mattered was whether or not one worked for a living. Capitalists despised him because he insisted that workers, not owners or management, should enjoy the profits and run the industries themselves.

Nation-States in the Nineteenth Century: The Great Powers and the Holy Alliance

In the wake of the French Revolution, the more conservative among the Great Powers were united in their feeling that future popular uprisings should be suppressed. In September 1815, just after the Congress of Vienna, the three most conservative Great Powers—Austria, Prussia, and Russia—formed what became known as the Holy Alliance. Leaders of these three nations agreed to assist one another in stamping out any attempt to threaten what they saw as the peace and stability of the new European map of 1815. As conservative monarchies, they viewed popular rebellions and insurrections as serious threats to political stability. As it turned out, the three nations would frequently have to send troops to put down such rebellions. Their superior military strength led them to success in most cases, but ultimately the tide of history was against them.

Austria

Officially founded in 1804 although it had existed as a monarchy for some time before that (see Chapter 12), the Austrian Empire found itself threatened

by the forces of nationalism. The empire was not culturally homogeneous, but instead was made of several ethnic groups, each of which fought for independence and self-rule in the nineteenth century.

Hungarians and Italians both rebelled against the empire in 1848 and 1849. In each case, the goal was independence from the empire. Austria went so far as to grant Hungary a separate constitution, but then revoked it. When Hungary retaliated by declaring independence, Austria called on its Russian ally for military aid and defeated Hungary in 1849.

The Austrian army forcibly put down the Italian uprising in July of 1848. It also intervened to destroy the newly created Roman Republic, formed when the pope was forced into exile for political reasons. France, which agreed with Austria on the undesirability of Italian unification, marched into Rome and occupied it until 1870. (See Chapter 12.)

Britain

Britain began the nineteenth century much farther along the road toward republicanism than any continental European nation; it already had a constitutional monarchy and a powerful legislative assembly. However, there was plenty of discontent among the working class, as social reforms to date had not improved factory conditions. The Industrial Revolution had certainly provided employment for many, but such employment was little better than industrial serfdom. (See Chapter 10.)

Although Ireland was represented in Parliament, the Catholic Irish (the vast majority of the population) were barred from office by a law that restricted membership in Parliament to Anglicans. During the 1820s, the Tory majority in Parliament passed two major bills repealing religious restrictions on eligibility for office. These bills were by no means popular with the balance of Englishmen, and in the elections of 1830 the Whigs gained the majority. They passed the Reform Act of 1832, which adjusted the number of seats per borough, giving the larger populations in urban boroughs more representatives. The Whigs also passed labor laws that barred women and children from working in the extremely dangerous and unhealthy conditions in Britain's coal mines. The liberals hoped that this would enable children to attend school and women to take care of their families.

England still had laws that restricted suffrage to men who owned a certain amount of property. In the 1830s, only about ninety thousand of England's 6 million adult men could vote. In 1867, the Conservative (formerly Tory)

leadership in Parliament passed a reform bill that extended suffrage to most homeowners and renters. This immediately doubled the number of eligible voters.

In 1849, Prime Minister Robert Peel repealed the Corn Laws, which had maintained high import duties on grain. Benjamin Disraeli, prime minister in 1867 and from 1874 to 1880, saw a number of domestic reforms through Parliament. In 1875, the Public Health Act and the Artisans' Dwelling Act helped urban workers by improving sanitation and providing public housing for those in need.

Late in the nineteenth century, the Whigs and Radicals combined forces and formed the Liberal party. Its leader was William Gladstone, who served as prime minister both before and after Disraeli's second term in office. Gladstone oversaw these numerous important social reforms:

- promotion in the military governed solely by merit, not social rank
- reform of the civil service
- introduction of compulsory free public education
- introduction of the secret ballot
- extension of voting rights to farm workers
- second redistribution of seats in Parliament to make representation proportional

France

Under Louis XVIII, who became king of France in 1814 upon the abdication of Napoleon, France made some progress toward becoming a constitutional monarchy, including the establishment of a legislative assembly similar to the British Parliament or the U.S. Congress. However, there were many political parties in France at this time, and all of them felt that Louis XVIII's moderate policies did not concede enough in the proper direction. Everyone wanted to shift government from its centrist position, but none of the factions could agree. Republicans wanted to abolish the monarchy, while radicals wanted to establish full-blown socialism. On the opposite side, the royalists wanted a return to a seventeenth-century style of absolute monarchy. In other words, one group wanted the legislature to have control; one group wanted the people to have control; and one group wanted the monarch to have control.

In 1824, Charles X succeeded Louis XVIII. Charles was a conservative, with an old-fashioned belief in the monarch's divine right to rule. When the 1828 elections shifted the balance of power in the legislature toward the liberals, Charles tried to come to terms with their very different philosophy of governing. However, he was unable to see himself as the constitutional monarch the liberals wanted him to be. In 1830, Charles dismissed the legislature, established censorship of the press, and revoked voting rights for certain categories of citizens.

The people reacted furiously. With the National Guard on their side, they started firing on the army in the streets of Paris, building barricades from sandbags and any sturdy objects they could find. Nearly nineteen hundred people died during these violent demonstrations. Charles, realizing that his people would never tolerate an absolute monarch, but unwilling to compromise, abdicated. He was the last hereditary monarch to rule France.

The legislature selected Louis Philippe as the new constitutional monarch; he was the great-great-grandson of the Duc d'Orleans, who had served as regent during the early years of the reign of Louis XV (see Chapter 9). Known as the "Citizen King," Louis Philippe ruled as a moderate liberal until 1848. He restored freedom of the press and revoked Charles's restrictions on voting rights.

During the two decades of Louis Philippe's reign, discontent developed among the social and economic classes of the nation. The bourgeoisie prospered under the new regime, but little of the profits reached the pockets of the working class. Socialists and radical republicans seized on this discontent to arouse support for their cause. When they were barred from holding public meetings in 1848, they staged a repeat of the 1830 revolution; the people mounted the barricades in the streets and fired on the army. Once again, the people succeeded in forcing the king to abdicate.

However, the various factions could not agree on what kind of new government to establish. The liberals, radicals, and socialists had much in common but could not compromise on matters where they disagreed. The socialists favored a Marxist system in which the workers would own government-supervised factories and share equally in the profits. The liberals considered this system far too radical but agreed to implement some national workshops as a temporary measure to bring down the high unemployment. The workshops were highly successful with the laborers; more than 120,000 had joined by April, with more

on the waiting list. However, the 1848 elections returned a National Assembly with a moderate-to-conservative majority. These deputies immediately closed the workshops, which resulted in a return to violent protests in the streets of Paris. More than three thousand people died during the June Days of 1848.

In the end, the National Assembly created a constitution for a new French republic. The constitution called for a strong president, a unicameral legislature, and voting rights for all adult men. When elections were held, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte became the first president of the Second Republic of France.

Like his more famous uncle, Louis Napoleon wanted more power than he could have in a republican system of government. In 1851, he forced the legislature to extend his term for another ten years. When a national vote showed that the vast majority of the people approved his actions, he had himself declared Emperor Napoleon III. (The title "Napoleon II" had been given to the son of Napoleon I, although he never ruled.) This was the end of the Second Republic.

Napoleon III ruled as a despot, but in some ways a benevolent one. He suppressed any attempt of the legislature to exercise its powers, and he tolerated no demonstrations or opposition from the people. However, he instituted a number of projects that vastly improved the domestic economy, such as major public-works projects, the construction of a national railroad, and numerous treaties that eased and encouraged trade. From about 1860, his politics grew more liberal and reformist. In 1870 he approved a new constitution; although it called for a hereditary monarchy, it also established a democratic parliament.

Napoleon's downfall, like that of his uncle, came about because of failures in his foreign policy. A failure to check the spread of Prussian power culminated in 1870 in France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. The emperor's reign ended abruptly with the proclamation of the Third French Republic. The new National Assembly negotiated the peace with Prussia, including the surrender of Alsace and Lorraine. This treaty was highly unpopular in France, especially in Paris, where radicals soon declared Paris' independence from France and established a new government of their own, the Paris Commune. The Commune did not last long; it turned out to be no match for the national army and was obliterated at the cost of twenty thousand lives.

By 1875 the National Assembly accepted that it would be impossible to restore the monarchy in any form. The deputies devised a new legislative structure modeled after the U.S. Congress. The lower house was popularly elected,

the upper house chosen by the political parties, and the president elected by members of both houses.

A famous incident occurred in 1894 when the military courts found Captain Alfred Dreyfus guilty of treason. The evidence was weak at best, and the case dragged on for years, with prominent liberals such as novelist Emile Zola speaking out on Dreyfus's behalf. In the end, it was proved that Dreyfus had been convicted on the basis of forged documents. The military courts refused to reverse their verdict; however, the president of France pardoned Dreyfus and a civil court overrode the military verdict. This incident served to unite liberals, socialists, and republicans for some time to come.

Prussia

The prevailing sentiment in Prussia was conservative and anti-nationalist. However, Prussian liberals rebelled against the government, demanding one with greater representation. This time the liberal forces won a victory. In 1848, Frederick William IV was forced to summon a new legislative assembly, the National Parliament of the German Confederation, and agree to a new constitution.

This was a moment of triumph for the liberals, but internal disagreements weakened and divided them. The king soon disbanded the assembly and replaced the constitution with a more conservative version. In Prussia as elsewhere in Europe, the liberals and socialists, who should have been natural allies against the conservatives, could not agree on what they wanted. Their differences prevented German unification at this stage. When the liberals formed a parliament in Frankfurt and asked the king to rule a united Germany as a constitutional monarch, he refused. With no executive, and with parties that were constantly at odds, the parliament broke up in 1849. In a little over twenty years, Germany would become a unified nation for the first time. (See Chapter 13.)

Russia

Although Russian society had a liberal element, autocracy was far too firmly entrenched to give way to any notions of republicanism. Russia did not experience a genuine public uprising until 1905. Although this was put down, it sowed the seeds of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. (See Chapter 16.)

The Minor Nations and States

Events played out in the minor nations and states of Europe in much the same way as in the Great Powers.

Belgium

Belgium had been made a part of the Netherlands in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna and was clearly discontented with this situation. As a nation that was becoming wealthy due to its participation in the Industrial Revolution, Belgium did not want to be a part of a larger empire. In 1830, Belgium rebelled against the Netherlands; with French and British support, it regained its independence in 1831.

Greece

Greece had been under the rule of the Ottoman Empire since 1453. In 1821, the Greeks rebelled against the occupying Turkish forces. With aid from Russia, France, and Britain, the Greeks were able to drive the Turks out and declare independence in 1827. In this one case, the Holy Alliance aided the rebels because the occupying force was Turkish rather than European; European nations had always been willing to unite against invasions from the Ottoman Empire. Although Turkey had one foot in Europe, the Ottoman Empire was Muslim and Europeans had regarded it as a heathen, enemy culture since the days of the Crusades.

There were so many conflicting political factions in Greece that the Greeks agreed they were not ready for self-government; they accepted the proposal of the Great Powers to establish a monarchy. Seventeen-year-old Prince Otto of Bavaria agreed to accept the Greek throne, ruling as Otto I.

Otto I proved an unpopular ruler. First, he was a foreigner, and nationalism was strong in Greece; the people did not welcome a non-Greek ruler. Second, he was politically conservative, unwilling to accept the Greeks' insistence on a written constitution. In 1843, the feelings against Otto finally boiled over in a *coup d'etat*. At this point the king conceded many of his subjects' demands, and government in Greece became more liberal, including parliamentary elections.

Italy

Most of the Italian states had been divided among the Great Powers at the Congress of Vienna. In 1821, there were popular uprisings in Naples and Piedmont; however, troops of the Holy Alliance nations eventually crushed these attempts to establish constitutional government. Further rebellions took place in Parma and Modena in 1831. These also were unsuccessful, as was a rebellion in the Papal States, which was put down by French troops. Austrian troops occupied much of Italy until 1838. Italian unification would take place during the 1860s. (See Chapter 13.)

Poland

In 1830, it was not possible to find a nation called "Poland" on the European political map. Poland had been carved up and divided among Austria, Russia, and Prussia in the late 1700s (see Chapter 6). However, nationalism was strong among the ethnic Poles, and it was only a matter of time before they rose up against their foreign rulers.

Polish rebellion against Czar Nicholas I broke out in the Kingdom of Poland—a region centered around Warsaw—in 1830. The Poles won the first skirmishes and achieved a short-lived independence, which was crushed by the Russian troops in 1831. This was followed by a campaign of "Russification" under the czar, who revoked many Polish rights and privileges in an attempt to replace Polish language and customs with Russian ones. Despite further sporadic uprisings in Krakow, Warsaw, and elsewhere, Poland would not regain its independence until 1918.

Spain

Because Spain had always been the most conservative of all European nations, liberals and socialists had far less support there than elsewhere. The Spanish middle class, far less extensive and powerful than in other nations, did urge reform to the best of its limited ability. In 1820, the army led a rebellion against Ferdinand VII, forcing him to agree to Spain's first written constitution. However, French troops eventually came to the king's aid, suppressing the rebellion and murdering most of the rebels.

Between 1869 and 1874, the Cortés (legislative assembly) attempted to establish a constitutional monarchy and gain acceptance of a liberal constitution. This was achieved in 1875. However, the Spanish idea of a constitu-

tional monarchy was far more conservative than the ideas prevailing in Britain or France. The real power in Spain would long remain where it had always rested—in the hands of the great landowners, the Church, and the army.

The Romantic Movement

The nineteenth century saw the birth of a major movement in literature and the arts. This movement is called Romanticism. Writers, musicians, and artists of the Romantic era celebrated their own individuality in their novels, poetry, symphonies, songs, and paintings.

Romanticism was something of a revolt against the Classical or Neoclassical era that had begun in the late 1700s and lasted through about 1815. This had been an era of rigidly controlled artistic forms, such as the sonata in music.

Where the Classical era concentrated on form, the Romantic era concentrated on content. As an outgrowth of the Enlightenment, Classical music and art celebrated reason; as an outgrowth of nationalism, Romantic music and art celebrated emotion. It was a glorification of the artist as a creative individual, an era in which each artist cast aside fixed rules and consciously placed his or her individual stamp on his or her work.

In literature, Romanticism lasted from about 1830 to 1850. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe of Frankfurt and Jean-Jacques Rousseau of Geneva were early influences on the Romantic writers, who included E. T. A. Hoffmann (Prussia); Alexander Pushkin (Russia); Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Charlotte and Emily Brönte, and Mary Shelley (Britain); and Victor Hugo (France).

In music, the Romantic movement lasted from about 1830 to about 1900. The great Romantic composers are often included under the misleading label "classical music"; in fact, the Classical era in music lasted only from about 1750 to 1820. Classical composers begin and end with Franz Josef Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, and Ludwig van Beethoven; the last is considered a bridge to the Romantic era in music. Major Romantic composers include Franz Schubert of Austria; Robert Schumann, Johannes Brahms, Felix Mendelssohn, and Richard Wagner of Germany; Frédéric Chopin of Poland; Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky of Russia; Hector Berlioz of France; and Giuseppe Verdi of Italy.

QUIZ

1. **_____ would be the most likely group to accept rule by a constitutional monarchy working with an elected legislature.**
   A. Conservatives
   B. Socialists
   C. Liberals
   D. Marxists

2. **The fall of Louis Napoleon, or Napoleon III, came about because of**
   A. the Paris Commune.
   B. the Franco-Prussian War.
   C. the Revolution of 1830.
   D. the Revolution of 1848.

3. **_____ is an important historical figure because he first suggested that the heretofore lowly worker was the most valuable member of society.**
   A. Benjamin Disraeli
   B. William Gladstone
   C. Karl Marx
   D. Alfred Dreyfus

4. **The Holy Alliance aided the rebels in Greece because**
   A. the purpose of the Alliance was to support nationalism.
   B. the Alliance wanted to push the Turks out of Europe.
   C. the members of the Alliance planned to divide Greece among themselves.
   D. the Greeks had always come to the aid of Alliance members.

5. **The political trend in Britain in the nineteenth century is best described as**
   A. conservative.
   B. repressive.
   C. communist.
   D. reformist.

6. **Which best describes the main reason for the political turmoil in France during this period?**
   A. the lack of a written constitution
   B. a series of incompetent monarchs
   C. disagreement among the political factions
   D. defeat in the Franco-Prussian War

7. **_____ rebelled unsuccessfully against the czar in 1830–1831.**
   A. Austria
   B. Greece
   C. Poland
   D. Russia

8. **Reform in Britain during the nineteenth century came about primarily because of the support of which group?**
   A. liberals
   B. conservatives
   C. nationalists
   D. Romantics

9. **The writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels aroused the opposition of all these groups except**
   A. capitalists.
   B. Communists.
   C. liberals.
   D. nationalists.

10. **In which nation-state would nationalism be most likely to cause political and social instability?**
    A. an empire with an ethnically diverse population
    B. a heavily industrialized nation with a large population of workers
    C. a nation-state whose people shared a common cultural and linguistic heritage
    D. a state that practiced religious toleration