19 Introduction

Marguérite Corporaal and Lotte Jensen

Figure 19.1 Eugene Delacroix, "Liberty Leading the People", 1830, oil on canvas, 260 x 325 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Source: Centre Art Historical Documentation, Radboud University.
In 1829 the Italian writer and political activist Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–1872) published a survey of European literatures, in which he reflected upon the distinct nature of national literatures:

If I open the history of the various literatures of different nations, I observe an alternation of glory and decay, of reciprocal influence, of transference from one to another, as well as a continual mutability of taste, now national, now servile, now corrupt. The literature of no country is so entirely original as to have received no intermixture of foreign mutability, either through tradition in its early days, or through conquest at a later date.1 Mazzini’s observations are quite valid. Although nationality became the primary organizing principle of the European landscape and national traditions and pasts were celebrated in culture and literature, there were also many transnational developments in the literary field.2 Similar modes, genres and characters emerged in literature across Europe. While the growing attention for national pasts made writers such as Sir Walter Scott turn to local legends,3 histories and traditions, the genre of the historical novel4 became prominent in various European countries as a transnational5 genre, ranging from Sweden to Spain, and from England to Russia.6 Furthermore, the historical novel was transnational in that writers like Alessandro Manzoni in Italy and Jacob van Lennep in the Netherlands were greatly inspired by the Scottish author’s style and themes. In Van Lennep’s case, this earned him the nickname of the Dutch Walter Scott.

European literatures during the long nineteenth century were also essentially transnational in several other respects. The development of new printing techniques7 which enabled more rapid and cheaper production8 of books, in combination with modern forms of transport which facilitated the dissemination of texts, meant that literary works were read more widely, and even “travelled” across national borders, either in their original language or in translation9. The increasing market of periodicals10 also offered significant new platforms for literature: not only on a national level, through their serialization11 of novels, for example, but also transnationally, as foreign writers and their work would often be discussed. Thus, “Portrait of an Author, Painted by his Publisher”, an article which appeared in Charles Dickens’s journal All the Year Round on 18 June 1859, praises the writings of Honoré de Balzac, an author who most English readers “unaccustomed to study French literature in its native language” would be unfamiliar with,12 and recommends that more novels by French writers should be translated into English.

The long nineteenth century was certainly the age of “travelling” authors. The Danish fairy tale13 writer Hans Christian Andersen and British novelist Charles Dickens would tour across14 and even beyond Europe, in order to meet foreign writers and give public readings. Readers in turn also undertook journeys to visit the homes of their favourite authors and locations they knew from their works, leading to a growing fashionable15 of literary tourism.6 The residence of the German poet Johann Wolfgang Goethe (Goethehaus Frankfurt) attracted admirers from all over Europe. The improved modes of transport which increased authors’ and readers’ opportunities to travel led to a wider impact of texts and notions of literature across national boundaries.

In this introductory chapter to the long nineteenth century, we will focus on these “travelling” aspects of European literatures while, at the same time, emphasizing the role literature played in shaping national cultures. For despite the transnational nature of many cultural trends and developments, literature was also perceived as the ultimate expression of national values and traditions.

Time frame

When we speak of the “long nineteenth century”, we roughly mean the period between 1770 and 1914. From a cultural and literary perspective, 1770 appears to be an unexpected but logical starting date. The 1770s saw the rise of a cult of sensibility, which centralized the expression of (excessive) emotions. Heroines who are prone to fainting and blushing, and heroes sobbing convulsively, are no exception in literature which transmitted this cult, as becomes clear from Henry Mackenzie’s Scottish novel The Man of Feeling (1771), a text which according to its 1886 editor “caught the tone of the French sentiment of the time, has, of course, pleased French critics, and has been translated into French.”7 This trans-European cult of feeling8 can be seen as a response to the Enlightenment9 (see Chapter 13), which was on reason as the primary source of knowledge and authority. Authors put more emphasis on the role which authentic feelings played in everyday experiences. On the other hand, it was precisely enlightened thought that paved the way for more individualistic perceptions of the world and its surroundings. By questioning old dogmatic schemes and attaching more value to people’s own authority, space was created for the individual and his or her emotional life.

This transitional period between the Enlightenment and Romanticism10 is often labelled as “Sturm und Drang”11, referring to a group of German intellectuals and poets who resided in Weimar and placed emotions at the heart of their artistic activities. Authors like Christoph Martin Wieland, Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller cultivated the idea of the poetic genius12 and saw literature as a means of expressing authentic emotions and connecting to primitive natural instincts. Goethe’s epistolary novel13 Die Leiden des jungen Werthers (The Sorrows of Young Werther, 1774) is one of the best known examples of this new cult of feeling. The unrequited love of the passionate protagonist for the married Charlotte eventually leads him to shoot himself. This suicide was perceived as highly shocking at the time: when the novel inspired copies14 of suicide across Europe, it was banned in Denmark and Italy.15 However, the novel had a wide trans-European impact: it was translated into many European languages, including French (1774), Danish (1776), Dutch (1770), English (1779), Russian (1781) and Swedish (1783).16

From a literary perspective the 1770s marked a new era, but the same can be argued from a political perspective. The 1770s, marked by the American War of Independence, the rise of the abolitionist movement in Britain and the growing awareness of civil rights on a global scale, can be viewed as leading up to one of the most influential events in European history: the French Revolution. On 14 July 1789, civilans stormed the Bastille, supported by their democratic motto Liberté, égalité, fraternité. The French King Louis XVI was beheaded and new forms of parliamentary rule were introduced. Eulogised in Eugène Delacroix’s history painting “La Liberté Guidant le Peuple” (Liberty Leading the People, 1830), this was a watershed event, which changed the political landscape of Europe drastically and irreversibly.

The revolt quickly ended in internal bloodshed between rival groups, and resulted in the autocracy of Napoleon Bonaparte. He initially17 supported the ideals of the French Revolution, but gradually started to assume supreme power and crowned himself emperor of the French in 1804. The massive and destructive battles that were fought during the years 1792–1815 had an immense trans-European impact, as Napoleon waged war with England, the Low Countries, Spain, Italy, Sweden, Russia and Austria. The French hegemony became one of the driving forces behind the rise of nationalism in Europe, and deeply
affected the literature of those days. It is by no means coincidental that satirical prints and poems flourished in these days of oppression, in particular in England. One of the major novels of the long nineteenth century, Lev Tolstoy's War and Peace (1869), furthermore demonstrates that this time of upheaval during the Napoleonic wars signified a shared, trans europian past. While primarily set in Moscow and St Petersburg, this novel nevertheless suggests a broader European view by including French soldiers and even Napoleon himself as speaking characters in the narrative. Literature and politics were often intertwined, which makes it difficult to demarcate the boundaries of "the long nineteenth century". This is also the case when trying to determine where the "long nineteenth century" ends. From a cultural point of view, one could consider the rise of Modernism in the 1910s as a starting point of a new era. Author Virginia Woolf saw the first post-impressionist exhibition in London, which opened in December 1910, as an important watershed, observing that "human character changed." From a political perspective, however, there is a clear cut in 1914, when the First World War broke out. This total war was of an unprecedented scale and caused the loss of millions lives. Life before and after would never be the same, a sentiment retrospectively reflected by the famous stanza in T.S. Eliot's "The Hollow Men" (1925): "This is the way the world ends."

Europe

What was nineteenth-century Europe, and which countries were considered to be European? Marking off geographical boundaries is difficult, for European nations had expanded their territories considerably by means of colonial expansion. By the end of the nineteenth century, Great Britain had become the largest colonial empire* in the world. Its rule stretched from large parts in North America and Africa to India and Australia. Although these parts of the British Empire were not part of Europe in a strict continental use of the word, they partook in European culture values in many ways. In 1866, the first transatlantic telegraph cable was completed, which literarily connected Europe and America. It sparked off a vast infrastructure of electrical communication between both continents. Other nations with considerable colonial possessions were France, Spain and the Netherlands.

European emigrants made these parts of the world their new homes, introducing European educational values and cultural traditions overseas. Books, newspapers and illustrated magazines travelled across the globe, informing emigrants about the latest developments in their homeland. Some authors contributed literature to magazines* both in the colonial world and at the imperial centre, in the "motherland". This is the case for Rudyard Kipling, who between 1885 and 1886 wrote short stories* for the British-Indian newspapers The Civil and Military Gazette and The Pioneer, but later also became successful as a writer for London magazines.

This raises the question of where to draw the borders of nineteenth-century Europe. If colonial possessions are to be included, then Europe covers many different parts of the world. If one focuses on Europe itself, then its territory and constellation was under permanent change. During the Napoleonic wars (1792–1815) a process of European integration was incited by Napoleon, who implemented his ideology and centralized system in large parts of his rule. However, the protests against his regime also ignited strong feelings of patriotism and inspired nationalist movements. In 1815, after the defeat of Napoleon at the Battle of Waterloo, the Great Powers (the Russian Empire, the United Kingdom, Prussia and Austria) gathered together to negotiate the future of Europe. Their aim was to ensure the security of Europe by creating a so-called "balance of power" which would prevent nations – in particular France – from once again threatening Europe's stability. The map of Europe was redrawn, creating new national states and confederations, and restoring old monarchies such as France and Spain.

The post-Napoleonic era can be characterized as a period in which nationalist and internationalist interests were often at odds. Nationalism pervaded politics throughout Europe, and also had a cultural component: the press, the arts and literature were filled with patriotic ideology, trying to persuade people to see their nation as the best of all possible worlds. Cultural nationalism became manifest in language emancipation movements across Europe, for instance in Ireland, Hungary, Belgium and Finland. At the same time, transnational bonds were shaped in combating the archenemy of Christian Europe, the Ottoman Turks. Many Europeans joined the Greek War of Independence (1821–1832), during which the Greeks successfully revolted against the Ottoman rulers. Among the volunteers was the famous poet George Gordon Byron, better known as Lord Byron. Before he could partake in the fighting, he fell ill and died; in the eyes of the Greeks, he was perceived as a martyr who had been willing to die for their liberty. In 1853, a new war broke out, but now the Ottoman Turks joined forces with France, Britain and Sardinia in order to defend themselves against the Russians at the Crimean Peninsula. This war brought to an end the "balance of power" created in 1815, and is often considered the first "media war". The press played a prominent role in creating anti-Russian feelings and shaping transnational bonds between their opponents.

Context

Europe during the long nineteenth century was in constant flux due to the forces of war that changed power constellations, the expansion of colonies on other continents and tales of emigration and immigration. Severe economic crises, such as Ireland's Great Famine (1845–1849), as well as oppressive political regimes, such as Tsar Alexander II's pogroms of the Jewish population in the southwestern parts of the Russian Empire (today's Poland and Ukraine), resulted in the relocation of population both within and outside Europe. Many of these emigrants settled in suburbs of European cities, and the growing sense of urban cultural diversity to which they contributed left its traces on literature as well. Thus, George Eliot's Daniel Deronda (1876) contains lively descriptions of the London Jewish scene, as well as references to the Jewish diaspora by the fiery Jewish nationalist in the novel, Mordechai Cohen, who pleads for the creation of a Jewish nation in Israel. Emile Zola portrayed a fictional French Jewish milieu in his last novel Vénér ("Truth", 1903), pointing out the growing antisemitism in society. The novel was clearly inspired by the trial of Jewish Captain Alfred Dreyfus, who was accused of treason in 1894, and whose cause Zola had taken up, as well as his criticism of the growing intolerance towards Jews that he had previously voiced in "Pour les Juifs" ("For the Jews", 1896), an article published in Le Figaro.

The expanding European cities became transnational sites, due to the influx of inhabitants from different nationalities: by 1877, Vienna was inhabited by – among others – Serbians, Croats and Hungarians. Cities were also sites of mobility in that great numbers of unskilled manual workers from the countryside had moved to the city to find alternative labour. Oliver Goldsmith's poem "The Deserted Village" (1770) laments the depopulation of the personal childhood village, showing that the big migration of farmers to the cities has often implicated them in severe destitution and even prostitution. The First Industrial Revolution (1760–1840) and its mechanization of work had not only led to the creation
of a factory system, but had also greatly impacted agricultural life. The rural population's hatred of labour displacing machinery instigated revolt, such as the swing riots in the south of England, during which farmers destroyed threshing machines. At the same time, those looking for employment moved away from their native regions to centres of industrialization and urbanization.

The industrialization and urbanization of Europe in the long nineteenth century triggered tensions which on the one hand led to an idealization of simple country life, and on the other to a fascination with and concern for conditions in the city. Romanticism* (1770–1850), a cultural movement which not only centred on feeling, but also on the past and the sensations that the natural landscape inspired as well as the simple people and their traditions, sparked off an interest in folklore*, local languages and legends*. While Romanticism was therefore enthralled by the region and its past, its engagement with old and local languages and traditions also came to be the foundation for the formation of national identities and nationalist ideologies in, most notably, Germany, Italy, Ireland and Scotland.

The veneration of traditions and the past also informed the visual and decorative arts, which were marked by medievalism*: a fascination with medieval histories and legends as subject matter, medieval sculpture and architecture and artisan traditions that often expressed nationalist sentiments. One such neomedieval movement in England was the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (1848), which sought to reproduce the colour schemes of medieval paintings, and which addressed Arthurian legends as well as medieval pastoral scenes with shepherds. The Pre-Raphaelites in turn were affiliated with William Morris, whose Arts and Crafts movement advocated craftsmanship in response to the celebration of industrial achievement at the 1851 Great Exhibition in London. The German-Austrian Nazarenes were a comparable movement: founded in 1810, these artists moved from Vienna to Rome, with the aim of bringing back sincerity and spirituality in art, seeking inspiration from Italian medieval and early Renaissance artists and reviving fresco painting. The local, picturesque landscape, unsullied by modernization or even human intervention, also became a favourite subject for European artists in the early nineteenth century, such as John Constable in England and Johan Christian Dahl in Norway.

The rural traditions were central to Romantic art, but the countryside and its people were also represented in the early Realist paintings of, for example, the French Barbizon school (1830–1870), which drew inspiration from Constable's work and sought to represent nature and rural life as it really was. Jean-François Millet's "Des Glaneuses" ("The Gleaners", 1857) is an example of a less idyllic and more realistic focus on the toil of agricultural labourers. Realism* as a cultural movement is, however, more often identified with the urban middle classes who had experienced social mobility, and, as a leisure class, engaged with city life at theatres, music halls, bars and the newly introduced department stores, such as Harrods in London (1834), Au Bon Marché in Paris (1838) and the St. Petersburg Passage (1846). Charles Baudelaire's "Le Peintre de la Vie Moderne" ("The Painter of Modern Life"), published in Le Figaro in 1864, represented the well-to-do educated flâneur as a man who is at ease in the urban crowd, the spectator of city life who confidently interprets its scenes and dynamics.

Celebrating modernity, paintings such as Gustave Caillebotte's "Rue Paris; temps de pluie" ("Paris Street on a Rainy Day", 1877), and Edgar Degas' "Place de La Concorde" (1875) give expression to that modern city experience, and Degas' painting, with its suggestion of a snapshot composition, moreover betrays the influence of the new medium of photography. After the development of the daguerreotype in 1839, photography became available commercially. While the illustrated press across Europe did not resort to this new medium until the end of the century, the engravings and lithographs that were used to accompany news items demonstrate the increasing demand for visual documentation of life in its many forms. This focus on realism was also increasingly directed to the underbelly of society, the poor and those living at its margins. Attention for the plight of those living in the slums was especially prominent in journalistic reports, such as Henry Mayhew's London Labour and the London Poor (1851), and in How the Other Half Lives (1890), an impressive account with photographs of the slums in New York City created by Danish immigrant Jacob Riis.

The long nineteenth century is the age of class conflict and reform. Ironically, while the ideals of the French Revolution had been equality and liberty for all, urbanization and industrialization greatly aggravated the conditions of the working classes who were facing long working hours, low payment and bad housing. Legal reform to improve the situation of the working classes was slow, and by the middle of the nineteenth century several movements across Europe, such as the Chartists in Britain and Fourierists in France, propagated socialist ideals. The publication of The Communist Manifesto (1848) by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels at the behest of the Communist League was followed by the March insurrection of workers in Berlin. During this turbulent year of revolutions, France was the centre of a rebellion that ended the constitutional monarchy of Louis-Philippe and established the French Second Republic, and the International Workingmen's Association (IWA), also known as the First International, founded in London in 1864, had its first congress in Geneva in 1866.

The call for equality and independence that inspired the socialist and nationalist movements and revolutions—such as the Hungarian revolt against the Habsburg regime in 1848—also extended to the position of women. Olympe Gouges's Déclaration des droits de la Femme et de la Citoyenne ("Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen", 1791) and Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792) emphasized the necessity for women's education and engagement in public life. Legislation to improve women's position in marriage was enacted in various European countries, and issues such as the plight of working class women and enfranchisement were addressed by various European women's movements such as the suffragettes in France and England and the Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine in Germany.

Literature

The developments that marked European nineteenth-century society also left their traces on the medium of literature. It can be argued that during the long nineteenth century, literary production was characterized by four major trends: a growing fascination with the individual's emotions, the dynamics between tradition and modernity, commercialization and emancipation.

The cult of feeling that emerged in the 1770s (see Chapter 20) inspired a new kind of poetry that focused on the expression of personal emotions. Poets would emphasize emotions, often in connection to an unspoilt natural landscape. As Wordsworth described it in the 1800 preface to Lyric Ballads (1798), poetry should be the "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings . . . recollected in tranquility." In Lamartine's poem "Le Lac" ("The Lake", 1816), Lake Bourget indeed functions as a site which evokes the deeper feelings and thoughts about the flow of time and less. Often the landscapes that trigger the personal feelings are what Immanuel Kant and Edmund Burke would classify as sublime; these are
The cheaper methods of printing, and the fact that literature was published in widely disseminated weeklies and monthlies, contributed to a growing commercialization* of literature during the long nineteenth century. Periodicals such as Charles Dickens's Household Words (1850–59) and Die Gartenlaube ('The Bower', 1853–1944) in Germany were widely read, and the format of serialized fiction in instalments meant that people were encouraged to buy the following issues. As the literature published in such periodicals had to appeal to broad audiences, it meant that genres that were attractive to various classes, such as the novel of sensation (Chapter 4), the detective story and the ghost story, gained popularity. In fact, the long nineteenth century in general can be considered the age of the democratization of literature: the focus on the common people and their folklore in Romanticism also signifies a more inclusive gesture towards potential readers of lower classes, while the eighteenth century had been the age of the middle-class novel.

The middle of the nineteenth century saw a shift towards realism in literature that ran parallel to the one in the visual arts. The origins of literary realism are attributed to French writers Honoré de Balzac and Gustave Flaubert, who aimed for a detailed, almost photographic representation of reality which resulted in lengthy descriptions of clothes and interiors, and elaborate studies of character. Flaubert set out to present an analytical narrative of life, and based his novel Madame Bovary (1857) on a story that made the papers in 1848: the suicide of Delphine Delamare, a provincial doctor's wife and adulteress. As this reveals, realism often walked a thin line between journalism* and fiction, and many authors of so-called journalistic fiction in the United States had careers in journalism: Stephen Crane and Ambrose Bierce are examples in case.12 Realism was not only a trans-European but also a transatlantic movement, and authors of realistic fiction such as Henry James and Edith Wharton lived in Europe for considerable parts of their lives.

As the example of Madame Bovary makes clear, realistic fiction became a mode to explore the conditions of women, and while novels such as Flaubert's examined the effect of restrictions on a woman's life, the so-called New Woman* novel, a genre that became popular during the 1880s and 1890s, focused on the lives of middle-class women who defied gender conventions (see Chapter 24). In addressing the interplay between character and environment, Madame Bovary, which begins with a woman's lifelong longing for romantic passion the novel* provided a vantage point on which to view the society.

Naturalism in literature viewed the human being as determined by genetics as well as its environment, and often looked at the inhabitants of the slums or those who had dwindled into poverty, alcoholism or prostitution. The Goncourt brothers defined naturalism in the preface to Germinal (1869), a novel which centres on a poor country girl who, upon coming to Paris, cannot resist the city's many temptations, has sexual affairs with many men and dies in loneliness. They saw it as a genre which would bring the realism of suffering on the streets, "la souffrance humaine", to readers,12 even if that truth was upsetting or hard to digest. Shifting its attention away from what American author Frank Norris would call "teacup tragedies" to the harsh conditions of the urban poor, naturalism in literature underscored the need for social reform. While these texts played an important role in creating social awareness, a novel like Émile Zola's Germinal (1894–95) suggests the future potential of the labouring classes to escape their fate by joining forces. Even if the miner's strike in the novel is unsuccessful, the narrative expresses the hope that one day there will be a major breakthrough. Nineteenth-century literature became a platform for rhetoric supporting the emancipation of various social groups.
This emancipatory aspect of the novel once again illustrates the transnational nature of European literature in the long nineteenth century. While each nation had its own political, social and moral preoccupations, literatures travelled in a transnational context, transferring genres, modes and trending topics to new national contexts. This rendered an international community of readers, who were connected across borders through the books, poems, magazines and stories they consumed.

Notes
1 Cited in Alex Drace-Francis, European Identity: A Historical Reader (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013), 115.
3 Wikie Collins, “Portrait of an Author, Painted by His Publisher,” All the Year Round (18 June, 1859): 184.
7 Virginia Woolf, Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown (London: L. and V. Woolf, 1924), 2.
8 The Poems of T.S. Eliot, Volume 1: Collected and Uncollected Poems, ed. Christopher Ricks and Jim McCue (London: Faber & Faber, 2015), 84.

Further reading

20 Feeling
Anke Gilleir

Fig. 20.1: Unknown artist, “Die Leiden des Jungen Werther”, print
Source: Centre Art Historical Documentation, Radboud University.