

RISE OF NATIONALISM IN EUROPE

Giuseppe Mazzini: Mazzini dedicated his life for creation of unified and Republican Italy. He was both romantic and liberal. In 1831, Mazzini founded Young Italy, an organization which was intended to awaken Italy and transform Europe into a brotherhood of free peoples. For Mazzini Italy would be unified by a revolution from the people of Italy against Austrian princes. The revolution arose in 1848 but was severely crushed by Austrian forces.

Count Camillo de Cavour: He was a significant figure in the movement towards unification of Italy. He founded the Agrarian Association in 1842 and the newspaper "IL Risorgimento". On becoming the Chief Minister of Piedmont-Sardinia, Cavour launched many reforms to strengthen the economy. For which he reorganized taxes, built steamships, railways and improved agriculture and business affairs of Piedmont-Sardinia. Cavour's immediate aim was to increase territory of Piedmont-Sardinia by driving the Austrians out from North Italy in which he succeeded and became the architect of Italian unification.

Role of Cavour: (1) Cavour tried to end all the privileges of the clergy and introduced various reforms for the promotion of trade and commerce. These reforms include agriculture and infrastructural facilities, i.e. roads and railways.

(2) He supported the adventures and plans of Mazzini and Garibaldi.

(3) By virtue of his tactful diplomatic alliance with France, he could defeat the Austrian forces in 1859. He drove away the Spanish rulers from two Sicilies in South Italy.

The Greek War of Independence: It was an event that mobilized nationalist feelings among the educated elite across Europe. Greece had been part of the Ottoman Empire since the fifteenth century and war of independence amongst the Greeks began in 1821. Poets and artists including West European masses joined that war of independence with their skills and expertise and thus, they could overthrow the Ottoman Empire. Contribution of poets like Lord Byron was praiseworthy. Treaty of Constantinople of 1832 made the Greece an independent nation.

Frankfurt Parliament: To unite Germany and to frame a constitution for the united Germany, a constituent assembly met in Frankfurt on 18 May, 1848. The Frankfurt Assembly proposed the unification of Germany as a constitutional monarchy under the King of Prussia who would become emperor of Germany but he did not wish to accept the crown from the elected representatives of the people. He resorted to repressive measures and even the rights that people had won in the initial stages of the revolution were taken away. Thousands of German revolutionaries had to flee the country and live in exile.

With the failure of the revolution of 1848 to unify Germany, one phase in the struggle for unification came to an end. Now Germany was to be unified not into a democratic country but into a militaristic empire. The leader of this policy was Bismarck who belonged to a Prussian aristocratic family.

The role of women in nationalist struggles: In those parts of Europe such as Germany, Italy, Poland, the Austro-Hungarian Empire—men and women of the liberal middle classes combined their demands for constitutional monarchy with national unification. They took advantage of the growing popular unrest to push their demands for the creation of a nation-state on parliamentary principles a constitution, freedom of the press and freedom of association.

The issue of extending political rights to women was a controversial one within the liberal movement, in which large numbers of women had participated actively over the years. Women had formed their own political associations, founded newspapers and taken part in political meetings and demonstrations. Despite this, they were denied suffrage rights during the election of the Assembly. This fact was evident from Frankfurt

Parliament convened in the Church of St. Paul where women were admitted only as observers to stand in the visitors' gallery.

Steps taken by the French revolutionaries take to create a sense of collective identity among the French

From the very beginning, the French revolutionaries introduced various measures and practices that could create a sense of collective Identity amongst the French people. We can sum-up them as under:

- (i) Propagation of ideas like patrie (the fatherland) and Le Citoye (the citizen).
- (ii) A new French flag (Le. Tricolour flag) was adopted.
- (iii) The Estates General was renamed as National Assembly.
- (iv) New hymn composed, oaths taken and martyrs commemorated in the name of nation.
- (v) French was made a common language of the nation. All slogans and hymns were composed in very language.

Marianne and Germania

These were allegory of nation the same way as Bharat Mata, a female figure is Imagined in India. Marianne was an allegory of France while Germania was an allegory of Germany. It was a mode of visualizing the nation so as to generate extreme sense of respect and reverence in the hearts of the people living in those countries.

Attributes of liberty were red cap or broken chain and justice was a blind folded woman carrying a pair of weighing scales, characteristics of Marianne were drawn from the red cap, the tricolour and the cockade. Statues were made and picture of Marianne printed on postage stamps.

Germania wears a crown of oak leaves because that tree stands for heroism. She holds a sword in her hand.

Process of German Unification

At the beginning of 19th Century, Germany was divided in to 39 states, of which Prussia was the most powerful. The initiative for unification was first taken by the liberals in 1848, when 831 representatives from 39 states formed FRANKFURT ASSEMBLY. The Assembly sought to establish a German Union with a parliament, headed by constitutional monarch. However the more was repressed by the combined forces of monarchy and the military supported by the large land owners (called Junkers) of Prussia.

After the German liberals failed to unite Germany, it was Otto Von Bismarck (Chief Minister of Prussia), who carried the process with the help of Prussian army and Bureaucracy to its completion. Bismarck for the cause unification involved Prussia in three (3) wars, with Denmark in 1864; with Austria in 1866 and with France in 1870. The success of Bismarck in these wars unified Germany and in 1871, Kaiser William I (of Prussia) was proclaimed the King, while as Otto Von Bismarck became the first Chancellor of Germany.

Administrative system of Napoleon

On December 2, 1804 Napoleon Bonaparte declared himself as the emperor of France between 1805 and 1807, he inflicted decisive defeats on Austria, Prussia and Russia and by 1810, Napoleon dominated almost whole of the European continent.

Napoleon was an enlightened despot who incorporated many principles of French Revolution in his legal framework called "Napoleonic Code", which was exported to the regions under French rule. The code (Civil Code, 1804) contained the provisions:

- Napoleon simplified administrative divisions, abolished feudal system and freed peasants from serfdom and many taxes to be paid to landlords (called manorial dues)
- He organized effective civil service by abolishing the privileges of birth and courts of nobles.

- In the towns, guilds (association of merchants and artisans who safeguard their own interests only) were abolished.
- Uniform weights and measures were introduced.
- Common national currency also facilitated the movement of goods from one region to another.

1848 Revolution of the liberals

Liberals were actually the people wishing freedom for their living because the term liberalism derive from the Latin root 'liber' meaning free. The revolution by middle classes in Germany, Italy, Poland against Austro-Hungarian Empire i.e. monarchy was called 1848th revolution of liberals. They wanted to establish constitutional and parliamentary government and national unification. They advocated freedom for the individual and equality of all before the law. These revolutionists were consisted of professionals, businessmen and prosperous artisans.

Ideas supported by the Liberals:

- (i) It is necessary to create a nation state on parliamentary principles.
- (ii) A national assembly akin to constituted in France is to be formed.
- (iii) A constitution is to be drafted.
- (iv) Freedom of Press and freedom of association is necessary.
- (v) Only people owning property are to be given universal suffrage (i.e., right to vote).
- (vi) Conservatism is to be removed.

Contribution of culture to the growth of nationalism in Europe:

1st Example: Romanticism developed a particular form of nationalist sentiment. It included constitution of poetry/poems/hymns and paintings stimulating natural love and affection for the nation. German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder claimed that the German culture was to be discovered among the common people through folk songs, folk poetry and folk dances. For example, Grimm's Fairy Tales.

IIrd Example: The Dream of Worldwide Democratic and Social Republics – A print prepared by Frederic Sorrieu in 1448 that exhibits the people of Europe and America (men and women) of all age and social classes – marching in a long train and offering homage to the Statue of Liberty.

IIIrd Example: The caricature titled as The Club of Thinkers creates public awareness that in monarchical pattern of government, people cannot enjoy freedom of press and expression.

Development of Nation-states in Italy and Germany:

(i) Ideology of liberalism purported to freedom for the individual and equality of all before the law helped in development of nation state. It was supported and advocated by new middle class.

Secret society namely, Young Italy was formed by Giuseppe Mazzini comparing middle class, people there.

Similarly, a large number of political associations from middle class professionals, businessmen and prosperous artisans as members were formed in Germany.

(ii) Hunger, hardship and popular revolt emerged in these countries. Italy was divided into seven states. These were being ruled by dynasties like Habsburgs, Pope and Bourbon dynasty. Only Sardinia-Piedmont was ruled by an Italian princely house. Owing to the autocratic rule, people were suffering. Same was the condition of the people in Germany also. There were conservative forces like that of Junkers (big landlords) who did not want to accept the concept of nation-state.

(iii) Romantic imagination and national feelings also became a major factor for formation of nation-state. Johann Gottfried Herder of German told that true spirit of nation can be inculcated through folk songs, poetry and dances, Caricature of Garibaldi of Italy etc. helped in stimulating nationalistic feelings among masses.

(iv) Wars with diplomatic tricks had developed nation-states. In Germany three wars against Austria, Denmark and France were fought for seven years. Similarly, Cavour established a tactful diplomatic alliance with France and won two Sicilies and Papal States as well.

Nationalism in Britain

(i) In Britain the formation of the nation- state was not the result of a sudden upheaval or revolution. It was the result of a long- drawn-out process. There was no British nation, prior to the eighteenth century.

(ii) The primary identities of the people who inhabited the British Isles were ethnic ones such as English, Welsh, Scot or Irish. All of these ethnic groups had their own cultural and political traditions. But as the English nation steadily grew in wealth, importance and power, it was able to extend its influence over the other nations of the islands.

(iii) The English Parliament, which had seized power from the monarchy in 1688 at the end of a protracted conflict, was the instrument through which a nation-state, with England at its centre, came to be forged.

(iv) The Act of Union (1707) between England and Scotland that resulted in the formation of the 'United Kingdom of Great Britain' meant, in effect, that England was able to impose its influence on Scotland. The British parliament was henceforth dominated by its English members.

(v) The Catholic clans that inhabited the Scottish Highlands suffered terrible repression whenever they attempted to assert their independence.

(vi) The Scottish Highlanders were forbidden to speak their Gaelic language or wear their national dress, and large numbers were forcibly driven out of their homeland.

(vii) Ireland suffered a similar fate. It was a country deeply divided between Catholics and Protestants. The English helped the Protestants of Ireland to impose their dominance over a large Catholic country.

(viii) Catholic revolts against British dominance were brutally suppressed. After a failed revolt led by Wolfe Tone and his United Irishmen (1798), Ireland was forcibly incorporated into the United Kingdom in 1801.

(ix) A new 'British nation' was forged through the propagation of a dominant English culture. The symbols of the New Britain-the British flag (Union Jack), the national anthem (God Save Our Noble King), the English language—were actively promoted and the older nations survived only as subordinate partners in this union.

Reasons for emergence of nationalist tension in the Balkans:

(i) It was a region consisting of multi-nationalities like modern day Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Greece, Macedonia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia, Serbia and Montenegro. Its habitants were called Slavs and its larger part was under control of Ottoman Empire.

(ii) As Christianity was the major religion of these people, the Muslim rulers inflicted atrocities upon them. They therefore, became upset and aggrieved.

(iii) Gradually, during the internal conflicts, the Ottoman Empire was met to disintegration. It was, therefore, a good opportunity for these nationalities and their people to raise their voice of protest to gain their own republics.

(iv) The Romantic literature, i.e. folk songs, tales etc. propagated there from England (UK) and people understood that they were once independent states but subsequently, the foreign powers (i.e. Muslims) had subjugated them. This arose tension in their minds and they started making their own organizations to launch freedom movement.

(v) The Balkan states were fiercely jealous of each-other and each hoped to gain more territory at the expense of the other.

(vi) Other big powers of the world i.e. Russia, Germany, England, Austro-Hungary, etc. were keen on controlling the hold of other powers over the Balkans and each among them was keen to extend its own control over

Italian Unification

In 1815, Italy consisted of several separate states. The north Italy was ruled by Austria, while the Bourbon dynasty ruled in the south and it was Piedmont-Sardinia only to which the Italian rule was confined.

There were 3 important personalities who took part in the process of unification, they were Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi.

Pole of Mazzini: During the 1830s, Mazzini had sought to put together a coherent programme for a unitary Italian Republic. He formed Young Italy in 1831 which was intended to awaken Italy and transform Europe into a brotherhood of free peoples. Mazzini prescribed that an uprising from the lower sections of people against Austria would unify Italy. However the uprising was severely suppressed by the Austrian forces in 1848.

Role of Cavour: Cavour, the Chief Minister of Piedmont-Sardinia was neither a revolutionary nor a democrat. Through a diplomatic alliance with France Piedmont-Sardinia succeeded in defeating Austria in 1859.

Role of Garibaldi: Mazzini is considered as the soul, Cavour, "the brain" whereas Garibaldi "the Sword" of Italian unification. In 1860, Garibaldi organized 1000 red shirted patriots and marched to south to drive the Bourbons out of the Kingdom of two Sicilies.

In 1861, Italy became unified and Victor Emmanuel was declared the King of Unified Italy.

Obstacles in the way of the Italian unification:

There were many obstacles in the way of the unification of Italy in the 19th century. Some of the most important are the following:

(1) Division of Italy into so many States. Italy, which was once the leader of Renaissance, became a very weak and powerless country in the 16th century. So Italy lost its unity and was parceled out into so many states. These states always used to quarrel among themselves and thus they rendered themselves quite weak.

(2) Foreign Rule. Foreign invaders took advantage of Italy's weakness and invaded it over and over again. Especially France and Austria established their rule over a great part of Italy. Napoleon, the French Emperor, had conquered the whole of Italy. Thus the foreign rule was great hurdle in the way of the Italian unification.

(3) Congress of Vienna. After the downfall of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna once again divided Italy into small states. Lombardy and Venetia were handed over to Austria while Parma, Tuscany and Modena were handed over to France. Similarly, many old rulers, who were against the spirit of unity, were restored to their respective thrones. Thus the Congress played a great havoc with the task of Italian unification.

(4) The Pope of Rome. The Pope of Rome was keeping Rome and its adjoining territories under his dominance. He was acting as the head of all the Christian countries of the world as such he was also proving a great hurdle in the way of the Italian unification. He had kept the foreign forces to throw out any attempt of the patriots to snatch Rome from him.

(5) Reactionary Rulers. Even those states which were under the dominance of Italian rulers were not at all cooperative with the nationalists. They were reactionaries and were ever ready in curbing the nationalist feelings. These rulers were, thus, also proving a great hurdle in the way of Italian unification.

The Young Italy:

Giuseppe Mazzini founded in 1832 “Young Italy” in the city of Marseilles in France. It was a new party to take revolutionary works in Italy. The branches of this party were set up all over Italy with 50,000 members dedicated to cause of unification of Italy. Its motto was “God, Peo1e and Italy”.

Nation: According to well-known French philosopher Ernest Renan, ‘A nation is the culmination of a long past of endeavours, sacrifice and devotion. A heroic past, great men, glory, is the social capital upon which one bases a national idea. To have common glories in the past, to have a common will in the present, to have performed great deeds together, to wish to perform still more, these are the essential conditions of being a people. A nation is, therefore, a large-scale solidarity.’

Emergence of feelings of nationalism:

During the nineteenth century, nationalism emerged as a force which brought about sweeping changes in the political and mental world of Europe. The end result of these changes was the emergence of the nation states in place of the multi-national dynastic empires of Europe. The concept and practice of a modern state, in which a centralized power exercised sovereign control over a clearly defined territory, had been developing over a long period of time in Europe. But a nation-state was one in which the majority of its citizens, and not only its rulers, came to develop a sense of common identity and shared history or descent. This commonness did not exist from time immemorial; it was forged through struggles, through the actions of leaders and the common people.

Importance of a nation: A nation never has any real interest in annexing or holding on to a country against its will. The existence of nations is a good thing, a necessity even. Their existence is a guarantee of liberty, which would be lost if the world had only one law and only one master.

Examples: (i) Frederic Sorrieu’s print that reveals his dream of worldwide’ democratic and social republics (France).

(ii) An Anthology of Fairy Tales by Grimm Brothers and their subsequent participation in liberal politics (Germany).

(iii) Confederation of English, Welsh, Scot Irish culture into Great Britain (U.K.).

(iv) Lord Byron’s poetry encouraged Greeks to face and fight boldly against the Turks who had established Ottoman Empire and exiled them to Italy. Thus, the Treaty of Constantinople of 1832 recognized Greece as an independent nation.

Nationalism

The words ‘nation’ and ‘nationality’ are derived from the Latin word ‘Natus’ which means a ‘race’. Devotion, love, and patriotic feelings for one’s own nation is called ‘Nationalism’. It is a feeling of political consciousness and unity among the people of a state.

Rise of Nationalism in Europe

Nationalism provided one of the greatest forces in Europe in the 19th century. The following were responsible for the rise of nationalism in Europe:

(1) Decline of Feudalism: Feudal lords were a great tumbling bloc in the way of the rise of the national feelings among the people. But many causes led to their fall. Many of them died in mutual warfare. The crusades also impoverished the barons. Without the destruction of nobility the cause of nationalism might have been greatly suffered.

(2) Weakness of Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire. In the middle Ages the Church enjoyed and exalted position and commanded a great power. But the Renaissance and Reformation movements led to awakening among the people and weakened the authority of the Pope. Consequently, national churches and national states were established in many countries.

(3) Wars. Sometimes the wars also infused the spirit of nationalism. The Hundred Years War between England and France gave rise to national feeling both in France and England. It roused nationalism among the people of both the countries in the face of a common foe.

(4) Foreign Rule. In certain countries foreign rule played an important part in the growth of nationalism. The foreign rulers suppressed the people under them cruelly and mercilessly. But all this led to reaction and united the people against the foreign rule and infused the spirit of nationalism in them to free themselves from the foreign yoke.

(5) Geographical Factor. Geographical factor also helped a lot in the rise of nationalism. National boundaries of a country surely create the feeling of political consciousness and oneness among the people. For example, England is bounded by sea on all the sides. It facilitated the rise of the feelings of unity and nationalism among the English.

(6) Reaction against Injustice. Reaction against injustice also leads to nationalism. The Vienna Settlement after the Napoleonic Wars tried to suppress the force of revolution and nationalism in Europe. But soon there started a reaction against the arbitrary rule and the people of the subjected countries started national movements for their independence.

(7) Contribution of Great Writers. Many writers, poets, statesmen, politicians and philosophers, etc. also made valuable contribution to the growth of nationalism. Machiavelli had been rightly called the father of modern nationalism. The writings of J. S. Mill, Fichte, Mazzini, Garibaldi etc. went a long way in rousing political consciousness and national spirit among the people.

General characteristics of the nationalist movement in Poland:

(a) Poland in the 17th century was a fairly big state. Her neighbours Russia, Austria and Prussia were very hostile and fought long and bloody wars with her. Consequently, Poland was divided thrice and by 1795, she ceased to be an independent state.

(b) Poland had the institution of elective monarchy and a parliament. All laws had to be passed unanimously. The result (of its partition and some wrong political systems) was that the country remained backward and conservative. Feudalism was the order of the day in Poland. Austria, Russia and Prussia took advantage of her problems and interfered in her internal matters.

(c) According to the Vienna Congress, 1815. Poland was a looser country. According to the principle of rewards and punishments (after the downfall of Napoleon) Poland was divided into three parts each being given to Russia, Prussia (later on Germany) and Austria.

(d) Thus, Poland disappeared as an independent country. The idea of Polish position was not new (it had already taken place thrice 1772, 1793 and 1795).

(e) Czar Nicholas I, who was a terrible autocrat, mercilessly suppressed the patriotic Polish. According to Grant and Temperley, this iron rule ran twenty five years unabated

(f) Alexander-I granted a constitution to Poland but the monarch gave up his liberalism and became an arch reactionary when he came under the reactionary influence of Metternich (of Austria). He died in 1825.

(g) The revolutionaries of Poland (within Russia) started their movement but Nicholas-I mercilessly crushed the Polish when they revolted in 1830. About 45,000 Polish were banished from their home country.

(h) In spite of so partitioned, Polish kept alive their national feelings through music and languages. For example, Karol Kurpinski celebrated the national struggle through his operas and music. He transformed folk dances like the polonaise and mazurka into nationalist symbols. The use of Polish came to be seen as a symbol of the struggle against Russian dominance.

Nationalist movement in Greece.

(a) The people of Greece (Greek) started their war of independence in 1820, against Turkey or Ottoman Empire. The much-awaited opportunity came in 1821 when Ali Pasha, the Turkish Governor of Janina,

quarreled with the Sultan and went to war with him. Prince Hypsilanti was defeated in the battle at Moldavia by the Turks and the movement fizzled out for a short time.

(b) But in the Monas and in the islands of the Egean, the rising assumed formidable proportions. The Greeks began the war with gruesome massacre of the Turks. The evil example thus, set was followed by the Turks by the massacre of Greeks.

(c) The war thus, developed into one of mutual extermination, and was conducted on both sides with the utmost ferocity and bloodcurdling atrocities. For the first six years (1821-28) the powers did not intervene and Greeks were left to their own efforts. Metternich was against giving help to revolutionaries and had to fight alone.

(d) Metternich, with his dread of insurrection against legitimate authority, looked upon the Greeks as rebels who must be left to their fate. He wanted to let this revolt "burn itself out beyond the pale of civilization."

(e) To prevent independent action on the part of Russia, he induced France and Czar Nicholas I to combine with England in forcing an armistice on the Sultan, and compelling him to accept the joint mediation of the allied powers.

(f) Conference was held in London in July, 1827 and a joint note was accordingly dispatched to Turkey to grant autonomy but the Sultan refused to accede to the proposals of armistice and granting autonomy to Greece. Thereupon the allied fleets of France and England completely destroyed the Turkish Fleet at Navasino after a fierce encounter on 20th October, 1827.

(g) This victory encouraged the Greeks and encouraged them to secure their liberation. But apart from this, all the advantages of joint intervention were reaped by Russia alone. Lord Canning was dead and his policy was reversed by Duke of Wellington who now became the British Prime Minister. England was still officially at peace with Turkey.

(h) On her own responsibility, Russia declared war against Turkey in 1828 and forced her to come to terms by the Treaty of Constantinople on 14th September, 1832, Turkey recognised the independence of Greece and granted practical autonomy to the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. To Russia she granted an expansion of territory in Asia, as well as increased commercial and political rights.

(i) By the Convention of London in 1832 the new kingdom of Greece was placed under the joint guarantee of the powers and Prince Otto of Bavaria was selected as its king.

(j) The Treaty of Constantinople was thus, a signal victory of Russian policy.

(k) The Greek afforded the first example of the victory of nationalism against the reactionary policy of the Congress of Vienna and as such it struck a blow to Metternich's system. Secondly, it demonstrated the common interest of the European powers and the practical possibility of a resuscitation of the Christian states.

(l) The help which Turkey had to seek from Mehmet Ali, as well as her defeat at the hands of Russia, exposed her weakness to the world and Turkey began to be called sick man of Europe.

(m) Policy of Russia to annex Balkan States by dismembering Turkey and British policy to preserve, gave rise to certain controversies that resulted subsequently in Balkan wars.

HOME ASSIGNMENT

Multiple Choice Questions:

(i) Who was the King of France at the time of the French Revolution of 1789?

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|---------------|-----------------|
| (a) Louis XIV | (c) Louis XVI |
| (b) Louis XV | (d) Louis XVIII |

(ii) Metternich was the Chancellor of

- | | |
|-------------|-------------|
| (a) France | (c) Denmark |
| (b) Hungary | (d) Austria |

(iii) Napoleon introduced his Civil Code in the year

- (a) 1801 (c) 1803
(b) 1802 (d) 1804
- (iv) Napoleon was finally defeated in the year
(a) 1811 (c) 1814
(b) 1812 (d) 1815
- (v) With which country are the organizations Young Italy and Carbonari associated?
(a) Germany (c) France
(b) Italy (d) Austria-Hungary
- (vi) Which Italian patriot organized a group of soldiers known as 'Red Shirts'?
(a) Garibaldi (c) Mazzini
(b) Cavour (d) Victor Emmanuel II
- (vii) To whom does the credit of unifying Germany go?
(a) Louis Philippe (c) Count Cavour
(b) Mazzini (d) Bismarck
- (viii) Who was proclaimed the emperor of Germany after its unification in 1871?
(a) Victor Emmanuel I (c) Otto Von Bismarck
(b) King William I (d) Prince Matternich

Fill in the Blanks:

- (a) Frederick Sorrieu was a French artist who prepared a series of _____ paintings.
(b) When _____ sneezes whole of Europe catches cold.
(c) Matternich was the Chancellor of _____.
(d) Napoleon Bonaparte met his downfall in 1815 in the battle of _____.
(e) The area called Balkans is commonly known as the _____ empire.