utopian state such as this in which no form of private
ownership would be allowed, produced a work in old
age entitled *Philosophia universalis* (1638) in which he
seconded Sully's plan for achieving peace in Europe.

WILLIAM PENN AND THE EUROPEAN PEACE PLAN

The word 'Europe' became widely incorporated in
political discourse in the latter half of the seventeenth
century, as the states of Europe fought to oppose the
hegemonic strivings of France led by Louis XIV. The
opponents of France, such as the Dutch William of
Orange, regarded themselves as fighting for the
freedom of Europe. The concept of 'Europe' thus
became associated in political discourse more and
more clearly with the balance-of-power policy, religious
tolerance and expanding trade of the sovereign states
(Schmidt, 1966).

   All the plans so far discussed had been produced by
Frenchmen. The next major peace plans in the seven-
teenth century flowed from the pens of English
Quakers. These Quakers were a radical, pacifist group
arising in England in around the 1650s and aiming at
greater political tolerance and political equilibrium.
The idea of a federation of states is a crucial element of
the *Essay toward the Present and Future Peace of Europe*
(1693) by William Penn (1644–1718). Penn was famil-
iar with the idea already put forward by Erasmus of the
destruction wrought by war which no victory could ever
make good as the outcomes of wars were always uncer-
tain. The achievements of Penn and the other Quakers
were to have broader consequences in the New World
than in England. For in 1681 Penn founded the colony
of Pennsylvania where the Quaker Friends tried to
apply their pacifist principles in practice.

   According to the view expounded by Penn in his
Essay, the wars in Europe were not the only problem

of the times; the rulers of Russia and Turkey should therefore be included in the parliament such as he envisaged. His primary objective was, however, to put an end to the constant round of warfare between the European states, and in this respect his plan does not ultimately differ from the ideas put forward by Crucé and Sully. Nor did Penn have any designs for major border adjustments; the preservation of the international status quo would be founded more on a 'European Parliament' with a weighted system of votes. Like his predecessors, Penn argued that the various states should abide by the decisions on international affairs made by the parliament. And the parliament alone would be entitled to resort to force in the case of any disputes. Penn was optimistic about people's sense of justice and did not believe an international 'police force' would be needed once the national armies had been disbanded.

One particularly interesting feature of Penn's plan was that the number of parliamentary representatives to which each state was entitled would be determined by economic and not by political criteria. Each country would be represented in proportion to its revenue, which would be estimated according to its imports and exports, its collection of taxes and national assets. Of the big states, Germany would thus have twelve votes in the parliament, France ten, Italy eight and England six. Although religious reasons also occupied a focal position for Penn the Quaker in the avoidance of war, the realization that peace would have material benefits was by no means one to be overlooked. A citizen of a naval power, England, with growing commercial and capitalist interests, Penn had difficulty condoning the enormous economic losses suffered by the people of Europe through war.

At the end of his *Essay* Penn listed eight benefits to be derived from a European peace alliance. First, it would put an end to the useless bloodshed of

Christians. Second, it would raise the prestige of the Christian faith in the eyes of non-Christians, among whom the constant wars between Christians had, according to Penn, been cause for amazement. Third, the implementation of the peace plan would save both rulers' and citizens' money. Fourth, the towns and villages would be spared the ravages and sufferings of war. Fifth, a state of peace would make travelling and trading easier. Sixth, if Turkey were included in the agreement, it would cease to be a threat on Europe's eastern border. Seventh, it would strengthen the ties of friendship between the ruling families of Europe and thus raise the threshold to further warfare. And finally there was an eighth benefit: the princes and rulers of Europe could from then onwards choose their wives for love instead of for the political advantages a marriage would bring; this would in turn mean happier lives for these rulers (Penn, 1993: 16–20).

JOHN BELLERS' PROPOSAL TO THE RULERS OF EUROPE

William Penn was a Quaker, which partly explains his interest in keeping the peace. The second great European peace proponent in the early-eighteenth century was another Quaker, John Bellers (1654–1725). *Some Reasons for an European State* written in 1710 was dedicated to Queen Anne and addressed to all the rulers of Europe. Bellers' plan for a common European state was again founded on the by now familiar idea of an annual congress to which all states would send representatives. All the rulers and states of Europe would, as it were, thus constitute a single unit. A common European law affecting all states would similarly be passed. The problem with Bellers' plan is, however, a typical one: how to keep

the balance between the sovereignty of the European states and the broader political unit.

Extremely interesting and original in Bellers' plan was the idea of dividing Europe into a hundred cantons or provinces that would each elect a representative to a joint European senate. Each canton would have at least one representative, but for each 1000 inhabitants it would be entitled to an extra representative. The representation of each state in the Europe senate would thus depend on the size of its population. Some see in Bellers' plan the seed of a 'Europe of the Regions' rather than a Europe of nation states.

Being a dedicated Quaker and envoy of the Christian ethic, Bellers also stressed the importance of religion as a factory uniting Europe. He reproached former generations for disrupting the Christian faith and proposed a general Christian meeting to prevent the growing fragmentation of the church. According to him, the Russians are Christians and even the Muslims are people that cannot be pressed into obedience by force. A better alternative would be to extend the peace alliance such as he envisaged to take in these regions, too. Of the two Quakers, Penn made more allowance for the political realities in his more systematic treatise, while Bellers had greater faith in the constructive power of a common faith (Heater, 1992: 59).

L'ABBÉ DE SAINT-PIERRE AND LASTING PEACE IN EUROPE

The *Projet de traité pours rendre la paix perpetuelle en Europe* by the French Abbé de Saint-Pierre appeared in 1713, i.e. at around the end of the Spanish War of Succession and the Peace of Utrecht. The plan put forward by Saint-Pierre was based on recognition of the status quo in Europe and made no allowance for

4 Nationalism, Federalism and the United States of Europe

EDMUND BURKE AND THE EUROPEAN IDEAL

In around 1790, following the outbreak of the French Revolution, the English political thinker Edmund Burke wrote a number of works criticizing the new revolutionary ideals. The new revolutionary Europe was, to him, tantamount to the downfall of Europe. For Burke saw Europe as a body in which communal customs and traditions counted for far more than rational, economic-judicial factors. In his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) and *Thoughts on French Affairs* (1791) he observes that not even the wars between European states had succeeded in destroying the sense of affinity. Even at war, the states of Europe are closer to one another than the peaceful non-European states. The reason for this, says Burke, must be sought in the institutions fundamental to all the nations of Europe: the Christian faith, monarchy rule, Roman law, similar customs and education. As a consequence of these mutual ties and way of life, 'no citizen of Europe could be altogether an exile in any part of it … When a man travelled or resided for health, pleasure, business or necessity, away from his country, he never felt himself quite abroad', as his famous saying goes (quoted in Welsh, 1995: 73).

Europe was for Burke a cultural unit moulded by a common historical heritage. The various states of

Europe were so similar in their customs, morals, laws and social structures that they could in practice be regarded as one big nation. In *Reflections* he defined religion and the gentlemanly spirit as the pillars supporting Europe. This Europe had been travelling towards its present manifestation ever since the downfall of the Roman Empire. In denying all institutional and cultural traditions, the French revolutionaries likewise disputed the very foundations of European policy. In this sense the Revolution should be compared not to the political upheavals of earlier centuries in Europe but to the Reformation, which was the last time in the history of Europe that the fundamentals of policy-making had been placed open to doubt. According to Burke, the reformers of the time had confused politics with religion and set Europe on fire with their peculiar secular religion. In just the same way the vulgar and brutal revolutionaries of his day were destroying the very core of the European concept (Thompson, 1994).

Burke's picture of European unity was, though undoubtedly aristocratic, no mere illusion. From the sixteenth century onwards the educated circles of Europe had with increasing momentum been envisaging Europe as a kind of unit bearing strongly positive value charges. Towards the beginning of the eighteenth century this feeling of belonging together prevailing among the European intellectuals, in the republic of letters, had been growing stronger and stronger. Montesquieu wrote his *Réflexions sur la monarchie universelle en Europe* in 1727, and it was full of references to European unity, joint trading, political tolerance, Gothic origin and the like. Nor did Rousseau, though critical of the means proposed by l'Abbé de Saint-Pierre for achieving lasting peace in Europe, dispute the basic fact that the states of Europe constituted a system united by their religion, laws, customs, literature and trade in a harmony that was the inevitable outcome of belonging together.

By 1700 the term 'Europe' was, especially in the political thinking of the Protestants, in regular use and had almost completely replaced the earlier 'Christendom'. At around this time a sense of belonging to Europe, to a shared continent, can be said to have germinated in at least the educated urban population of Europe. The same cannot, however, be said of the rural population, where literacy was not very widespread and the unit of identification closest at hand was the local living environment rather than an abstract Europe shared by all (Burke, 1980). The Europeanism of the Enlightenment also differed in one crucial respect from the Christian humanism represented by Erasmus in which pan-European values were to a great extent founded on a common religion. The idea of a European civilization developed by Voltaire and other philosophers of the Enlightenment was, by contrast, fundamentally non-Christian, and excessive reliance on the Christian tradition was even regarded as being injurious to the fostering of a pan-Europeanism (Chabod, 1961: 45–7).

NAPOLEON'S EUROPE AND THE LEGACY OF THE REVOLUTION

At around the beginning of the eighteenth century, an interesting tug-of-war was, as regards the European ideal, waged in Europe between the pre-Revolution *ancien régime* and the new Europe envisaged by the revolutionaries. Napoleon, and others too, saw in nationalism the spiritual seed of a new Europeanism. After being defeated at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 and subsequently deposed, Napoleon reported that his aim had been to create a European system, a common European law and supreme court of justice: a single European people. Had he succeeded, this would indeed have been a united state in which the traveller would always have been at home.