

Humane Letters 10: Modern Europe

March 23-27

Time Allotment: 80 minutes per day

Student Name: _____

Teacher Name: _____

A Brief Note

Dear Sophomores,

We very much miss the time we get to spend studying these things together in class. We were so looking forward to discussing nationalism, communism, capitalism, and all the other good stuff you will study in this unit. You now have a special opportunity to grow as an independent learner and we have no doubt this will help you wherever you go in life. This is fascinating stuff! Enjoy getting to study it at your pace in the comfort of your home. Look further into any subject that interests you. If you have any questions or want more resources, please email us. We are still your teachers. Think of sending an email as virtually raising your hand. When you are old and gray, like us, you will look back on these weeks and tell stories about that time the whole world shut down in 2020.

All the best,

Mr. Smith and Miss Linz

Packet Overview

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Monday, March 23	1. Contrast the political outlooks of nineteenth century nationalism and liberalism.	3
Tuesday, March 24	1. Evaluate the ways in which nineteenth century conservatism opposed reform both domestically and internationally.	8
Wednesday, March 25	1. Explain how industrialization in the nineteenth century changed the labor force and the family in Europe.	12
Thursday, March 26	1. Analyze how classical economics justified industrialism and how socialism reacted against industrialism.	16
Friday, March 27	1. Summarize the political causes and effects of the various revolutions that took place in 1848.	22

Additional Directions: This packet is designed to complete without printing out the full packet. Simply type or write your answers on separate sheet. Start a new page for each day. Label each day with your name, “Humane Letters”, and the date. Write the name of the bolded section heading you are working on and put the number next to each answer you write. Please write clearly and in complete sentences. When you submit your packet simply turn in your answers. You do not need to turn in the whole packet. Happy Learning!

Academic Honesty

I certify that I completed this assignment independently in accordance with the GHNO Academy Honor Code.

Student signature:

I certify that my student completed this assignment independently in accordance with the GHNO Academy Honor Code.

Parent signature:

Monday, March 23

History Unit: Nineteenth Century

Lesson 1: The Challenges of Nationalism and Liberalism to European Order 1815-1830

Unit Overview: Nineteenth Century

In our next unit of history, we will study nineteenth century Europe starting from the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. We will discover how several new ideologies were born both from Enlightenment thought and from increasing industrialization that caused serious challenges for European society. Sometimes the nineteenth century is regarded as the century of *isms*. Secular ideologies, as opposed to religious beliefs, took hold both in academic and popular imaginations. These included nationalism, liberalism, conservatism, socialism, and communism. Sometimes there was overlap between these ideologies. Sometimes they violently opposed each other. They would all have profound effects on the way modern people viewed politics, society, religion, and reality itself.

It is important to remember that these ideologies developed against a backdrop of increasing industrialization in Europe. As the industrial revolution spread from Great Britain across the continent, people from all social classes experienced significant change in almost every facet of their life. For industrial workers specifically, unemployment and low standards of living became an ever-present danger. The tensions and fears caused by Europe's rapid industrial transformation would lead to several revolutions across the continent in 1848. People's daily economic concerns were being joined with the new secular ideologies to form powerful movements that shook the foundations of European social and political power.

Finally, the new ideologies, increased wealth, and a strong push for economic efficiency led to significant movements for unification in nations that had long resisted centralization of power. New nation-states were formed that joined economic liberalism, conservative leadership, and nationalistic identities. By the end of the century, Europe had a drastically changed political and ideological makeup that would set the stage for the greatest global conflicts in world history.

Socratic Guiding Question: Keep these questions in mind as you study this lesson!

What defines a nation? What is the relationship between an individual and his government?

Objective: Be able to do this by the end of this lesson.

1. Contrast the political outlooks of nineteenth century nationalism and liberalism.

Introduction to Lesson 1

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars had threatened Europe's political and social institutions with destruction. After the defeat of Napoleon and the restoration of the monarchy in France, leaders from across Europe continued to fear that the political ideals that inspired French republicanism along with a growing sense of national identities would lead to revolutions in their own countries.

The French Revolution championed three ideals: *Liberty*, *Equality*, and *Fraternity*! These ideals did not die with the defeat of Napoleon. The seeds of revolution had been sown. The nineteenth century was in many ways a struggle to define, accomplish, or suppress those ideals. After the Congress of Vienna restored the status quo in Europe in 1815, the ruling classes were confronted with two main ideological enemies: *nationalism* and *liberalism*. Today we will examine the ideologies of nationalism and liberalism and how they threatened the established order in Europe.

Nationalism

One reform movement that threatened the status quo was *nationalism*. Read and annotate this excerpt by Italian nationalist Giuseppe Mazzini where he seeks to define what nationality means and what the goals of nationalism are.

Mazzini Defines Nationality (1835)

The essential characteristics of a nationality are common ideas, common principles and a common purpose. A nation is an association of those who are brought together by language, by given geographical conditions or by the role assigned them by history, who acknowledge the same principles and who march together to the conquest of a single definite goal under the rule of a uniform body of law.

The life of a nation consists in harmonious activity (that is, the employment of all individual capabilities and energies comprised within the association) towards this single goal...

But nationality means even more than this. Nationality also consists in the share of mankind's labors which God assigns to a people. This mission is the task which a people must perform to the end that the Divine Idea shall be realized in this world; it is the work which gives a people its rights as a member of Mankind; it is the baptismal rite which endows a people with its own character and its rank in the brotherhood of nations...

Nationality depends for its very existence upon its sacredness within and beyond its borders.

If nationality is to be inviolable for all, friends and foes alike, it must be regarded inside a country as holy, like a religion, and outside a country as a grave mission. It is necessary too that the ideas arising from within a country grow steadily, as part of the general law of Humanity which is the source of all nationality. It is necessary that these ideas be shown to other lands in their beauty and purity, free from any alien mixture, from any slavish fears, from any skeptical hesitancy, strong and active, embracing in their evolution every aspect and manifestation of the life of the nation. These ideas a necessary component in the order of universal destiny, must retain their originality even as they enter harmoniously into mankind's general progress.

The people must be the basis of nationality; its logically derived and vigorously applied principles its means; the strength of all its strength; the improvement of the life of all and the happiness of the greatest possible number its results; and the accomplishment of the task assigned to it by God its goal. This is what we mean by nationality.

1. What are the specific qualities of a people that Mazzini associates with nationalism? How and why does Mazzini relate nationalism to divine purposes?

Memorize this definition of *nationalism*: A political outlook that sees a nation as composed of people who are joined together by the bonds of a common language, as well as common customs, culture, and history, and because of those bonds, should be administered by the same government

2. Thinking back to last chapter, what was the primary goal of the Congress of Vienna? Was this goal consistent with the goals of nationalism? Why or why not?

There were six areas in Europe where nationalism seriously threatened the status quo:

- Ireland and England
- Prussia and Austria
- Italy and Austria
- Poland and Russia
- Hungarians/Czechs/Slovenes in Austria
- Serbs/Greeks/Albanians/Romanians/Bulgarians in Balkan peninsula

Liberalism

A separate reform movement that threatened the status quo in Europe was *liberalism*. It is important to remember that nineteenth century European liberalism is not the same as 21st century American liberalism. In fact, both American conservatism and American liberalism for the most part accept the tenets of nineteenth century liberalism. Please keep this distinction in mind. Here are some of the basics of European liberalism in the nineteenth century:

I. Political Goals of Liberalism

- A. What were the foundations of liberalism?
 - 1. Enlightenment Philosophy
 - 2. Traditional English Liberties (as found in Magna Carta and Bill of Rights)
 - 3. “Principles of 1789”(as found in Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen)
- B. What were the values of liberalism?
 - 1. Legal Equality (as opposed to equality of condition)
 - 2. Religious toleration
 - 3. Freedom of the press
- C. What was the political framework liberalism sought to achieve?
 - 1. Limit arbitrary power to protect individual and his property
 - 2. Legitimacy of government derived from consent of governed
 - 3. Power primarily held by representative bodies like Parliament
 - 4. Written constitutions as safeguard to liberties

II. Economic Goals of liberalism

- A. Who were the proponents of economic liberalism?
 - 1. Manufacturers in Great Britain
 - 2. Middle class property owners in France
 - 3. Traders in Germany and Italy
- B. Supported the economic ideas of Adam Smith in opposition to mercantilism
 - 1. Wanted to eliminate tariffs and barriers to trade
 - 2. Viewed labor as a commodity to be bought and sold – opposed wage laws and guilds
- C. Believed people should have liberty to use their own talent and property to enrich themselves

1. Write 2-3 sentences summarizing the political and economic goals of nineteenth century liberalism.

Read and annotate this excerpt from Benjamin Constant, a proponent of liberalism in the nineteenth century. Here he seeks to distinguish what he calls “modern liberty” from “ancient liberty.”

Benjamin Constant Discusses Modern Liberty (1819)

[Modern liberty] is, for each individual, the right not to be subjected to anything but the law, not to be arrested, or detained, or put to death, or mistreated in any manner, as a result of the arbitrary will of one or several individuals. It is each man’s right to express his opinions, to choose and exercise his profession, to dispose of his property and even abuse it, to come and go without obtaining permission and without having to give account of either his motives or his itinerary. It is his right to associate with other individuals, either to confer about mutual interests or profess the cult that he and his associates prefer or simply to fill his days and hours in the manner most conforming to his inclinations and fantasies. Finally, it is each man’s right to exert influence on the administration of government, either through the election of some or all of its public functionaries, or through remonstrances, petitions, and demands which authorities are more or less obliged to take into account...

Just as the liberty we now require is distinct from that of the ancients, so this new liberty itself requires an organization different from that suitable for ancient liberty. For the latter, the more time and energy a man consecrated to the exercise of his political rights, the more free he believed himself to be. Given the type of liberty to which we are now susceptible, the more the exercise of our political rights leaves us time for our private interests, the more precious we find our liberty to be. From this...stems the necessity of the representative system. The representative system is nothing else than the organization through which a nation unloads on several individuals what it cannot and will not do for itself. Poor men handle their own affairs; rich men hire managers. This is the story of ancient and modern nations. The representative system is the power of attorney given to certain men by the mass of the people who want their interests defended but who nevertheless do not always have the time to defend those interests themselves.

2. What are the specific ways in which a modern citizen should be free from government control?

3. What is Constant's defense of representative government?

Closing: Check your understanding of the lesson by answering the following question in 5-7 sentences.

1. Contrast the political outlooks of nineteenth century nationalism and liberalism.

Tuesday, March 24

History Unit: Nineteenth Century

Lesson 2: The Conservative Order 1815-1830

Socratic Guiding Question: Keep this question in mind as you study!

What is the proper relationship between individual liberty and political stability?

Objective: Be able to do this by the end of this lesson.

1. Evaluate the ways in which nineteenth century conservatism opposed reform both domestically and internationally.

Introduction to Lesson 2

Yesterday, we learned about the two main ideological threats to the established order in Europe between 1815 and 1830. Today, we will learn about the ideology that formed in reaction to these threats. This ideology is often referred to as *conservatism* and it represented a remarkable alliance formed between Europe's traditional institutions of power: the monarchy, the landed aristocracy and established churches. Historically, these institutions had fought amongst themselves. However, confronted with the radicalism of the French Revolution, they came to fear popular movements of change more than each other. By working to protect their interests and preserve the status quo both domestically and internationally, this alliance buried virtually all pushes for reform in Europe for fifteen years after the Congress of Vienna. However, by 1830 they would be unable to quietly push these movements aside. Different countries took different approaches in their confrontations with reform movements. Their approaches would have serious long-term effects on the ruling classes in each country.

The Conservative Domestic Order

First we will examine how European governments preserved the established political and social orders *domestically*. When we talk about domestic order we mean how the governments enforced the status quo in their individual nations.

Read "The Conservative Governments; The Domestic Political Order" on pp. 711-716 of your textbook (attached). Then answer the questions below.

1. How did European governments respond to liberalism and nationalism between 1815 and 1830? Give two specific examples.

The Conservative International Order

Now we will see how European governments preserved the established order *internationally*. When we talk about international order we mean how governments preserved the status quo in their relationships with other countries.

After the Congress of Vienna, the major powers of Europe (Great Britain, Austria, Russia, France) set up regular and informal meetings to discuss their relationships with one another and to find peaceful resolutions to disputes. This system of informal meetings to preserve international order became known as the *Concert of Europe* or the *Congress System*. Just as all the musicians in an orchestra work together and play their part to create harmony, the Concert of Europe sought to preserve peace by creating dialogue. This approach to foreign affairs was a major change from the past. In the centuries before, European countries had quickly engaged in wars with each other to advance their own interests. The powers of Europe saw the growing danger of liberalism and nationalism. They hoped they could preserve their own power by avoiding war with each other.

The Congress System, besides preserving international peace, also sought to crush revolutions by threatening international interference. If a revolution broke out in one country, other countries often threatened to interfere to bring peace. The governments of Europe feared that instability in one country would lead to revolution in other nations. From 1815 to 1830, governments were largely successful at ending international revolutions, or at least using them to preserve the balance of power. Here are some of the revolutions that broke out in this time period:

I. The Spanish Revolution (1820)

- A. The king of Spain was returned to the throne after the fall of Napoleon.
- B. In 1820 a group of military leaders rebelled and forced the king to submit to a constitution.
- C. Austria pushed France to use military intervention to suppress the revolution and restore the monarchies powers in 1823.
- D. Once France defeated the revolution, it withdrew and did not seek territorial gain.

II. The Greek Revolution (1821)

- A. The Greeks launched revolution to achieve independence from Ottoman Empire
- B. European liberals celebrated the revolution because they thought as Ancient Greece as the birthplace of political freedom.
- C. European powers were conflicted between protecting commercial interests and ensuring stability, while sympathizing with Greeks.
- D. Britain decided that an independent Greece would benefit them economically and would not disrupt the balance of power in Europe, so European nations joined the cause for Greek independence.
- E. Greece was declared an independent kingdom in 1830.

III. Serbian Independence

- A. After years of guerilla war, Serbians won limited independence from Ottoman Empire in 1830.
- B. Many Serbs lived in Austrian territory which led to international tensions.
- C. Minority Muslims in Serbian territory led to domestic tensions.
- D. Russia became the international protector of Serbia.

1. Why would European powers support the revolutions in Greece and Serbia but not in Spain?

There was one area in which the powers of Europe were not able to preserve the status quo between 1815 and 1830. That was in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Latin America (Mexico and South America). Portugal had taken the lead in overseas exploration in the fifteenth century. Since Columbus' first voyage in 1492, Spain had enjoyed a massive empire in the Americas. However, by 1830 that empire disappeared. There were three main reasons for the collapse of the Portuguese and Spanish empires in the Americas. First, both Portugal and Spain had been decreasing in power and influence in Europe for centuries. Secondly, the United States of America was increasingly asserting her growing influence in the Americas. Finally, Great Britain actively sought to dismantle the Spanish empire so it could open new markets for British manufacturers.

By 1821, ultraroyalist military officials had led a successful and very violent independence movement in Mexico to protect the social status quo against the liberal revolution in Spain. By 1820, General Jose de San Martin had achieved independence for the southern portion of South America and for Peru. By 1821, General Simon Bolivar had achieved independence for Venezuela, Columbia, and Bolivia. The violent revolutions in these former Spanish colonies led to political instability, social confusion, and economic vulnerability in Mexico and South America. By 1822, Brazil alone had peacefully secured independence from Portugal and ensured the stability and prosperity of their country.

The Conservative Order Threatened (1830)

By 1830, The liberal and nationalistic reform movements were growing in Europe. They could not be ignored. Each country faced these reform movements differently. Read "The Conservative Order Shaken in Europe" on pages 724-731 of your textbook (attached). Then summarize the response of these three countries to the calls for reform in 1830.

1. How did Russia respond to the Decemberist Revolt of 1825? What was the result?

2. How did France respond to the July Revolution of 1830? What was the result?

3. How did Great Britain respond to calls for reform in the 1830s? What was the result?

Closing: Check your understanding of the lesson by answering the following question in 5-7 sentences.

1. Which country had the best response to reform movements? Why was their response best? Be sure to contrast the county you choose with two other countries and explain why their response was better.

Wednesday, March 25

History Unit: Nineteenth Century

Lesson 3: Industrialization and Societal Change

Socratic Guiding Question: Keep this question in mind as you study this lesson!

Economic advancement sometimes threatens the stability and health of traditional social structures, such as the family. How should societies balance these two?

Objective: Be able to do this by the end of this lesson.

1. Explain how industrialization in the nineteenth century changed the labor force and the family in Europe.

Introduction to Lesson 3

Great Britain began its “industrial revolution” in the textile industry in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Technological innovations made it easier and cheaper for British manufacturers to produce large amounts of textiles that they could sell all over the world. Technological advancement and reduction in barriers to trade brought wealth to manufacturers that they reinvested in building factories that further increased their wealth and provided cheaper goods for consumption. The profit that factories brought caused them to spread into other areas of the economy. This process of mechanization and mass production of consumer goods is known as *industrialization*. The transformation of society and the economy that resulted from this process during the nineteenth century is known as the *Industrial Revolution*. So far, we have learned about the ideological and political challenges to the established order that occurred between 1815 and 1830. Today, we will learn about the economic changes that swept across Europe between 1830 and 1850 and the far-reaching societal transformation that these changes caused.

1. Define industrialization: _____

Industrial Migration

As mentioned in the introduction to this lesson, the Industrial Revolution began in Great Britain in the latter part of the 1700s. Britain’s leadership in this revolution was the result of three main factors:

1. Adequate capital (Britain had plenty of machines, tools, labor, and money.)
2. Social mobility (The political and social structure allowed people to gain wealth and influence through education and hard work.)
3. Foreign and domestic demand for goods (Britain had low barriers to trade and plenty of markets to sell its goods in)

But by 1830, the mechanization of production in factories had spread to other parts of the European continent, such as France, Belgium, and Germany. Over the next twenty years, these nations would all undergo the process of industrialization. However, for the remainder of the nineteenth century Britain would remain the leader.

Industrialization caused the migration to cities, which had been happening for centuries, to grow exponentially. By 1850, 50% of the population of England and Wales lived in cities, and 25% of the population of France and Germany lived in cities. The agricultural revolution of the eighteenth century had caused many peasant farmers to lose their land due to increased efficiency. These displaced farmers

moved to cities to find jobs in new factories. The population shift towards cities is one major effect of the industrial revolution

The growth in cities, along with population growth in Europe, led to several challenges. The infrastructures of cities (housing, sewers, roads, water, food supplies) were not built for the vast number of people moving to urban centers. Uncleanliness, disease, and crime became serious problems that reform movements tried to address.

One change was the creation of professional police departments in cities. In order to promote order and discourage crime, governments began to pay trained police forces to enforce the law in the cities. Before the nineteenth century, police forces, as we know them did not exist. In many ways, they were necessitated by the migration to cities caused by the Industrial Revolution.

The increase in crime and the creation of police forces, led to an increase in the number of prisoners. As a result, another reform movement was prison reform. Before the nineteenth century, the goal of prisons was simply to remove criminals from society and to punish them. By the 1840s, however, imprisonment began to be viewed as a vehicle for rehabilitation and changing the character of criminals. While this led to better sanitization and less crowding in prisons, it also led to some unhealthy practices that experts at the time thought would rehabilitate criminals. One of these unhealthy practices was increased isolation. Many prisoners spent most if not all their time in a single cell. Some hoped this would force criminals to think about their actions and change their ways. However, extreme isolation led to mental collapse.

Finally, one important aspect of increased migration were railways. Railways were both a result of and a contributing factor in industrialization. Increased consumption of goods led to the need for more efficient transportation. Increased manufacturing and technological innovation made trains cheaper to build and operate. Railways helped factories to grow and expand because they made the transportation of goods cheaper and quicker, which increased profits. Railways also made it easier for people to move to cities or to commute to factories. The Industrial Revolution caused more railways to be built all over Europe, and as they were built, they increased industrialization.

1. What were three reasons why Britain led the way in the Industrial Revolution?

2. Why did more people move to European cities during the Industrial Revolution?

3. What were two reforms that resulted from the increase in the urban population?

Changes in the Labor Force

Not only did changes in the population and management of cities happen. Industrialization caused major shifts in the composition and experience of the labor force – the people who produced goods. In fact, many of the assumptions we have today about work arise from the transformation that the Industrial Revolution brought about in labor.

Read “The Labor Force” on pages 745-750 in your textbook (attached). Then answer the questions below.

1. Define proletarianization: _____

2. Why did many workers choose to work under conditions that were less than ideal?

3. While industrialization led to serious challenges for many workers, some laborers prospered as a result. Who were some of the workers who initially benefitted from industrialization?

4. How did some artisans and guilds try to respond to increased competition of industrialized labor? Were their efforts successful?

Changes in the Family

The transformation of labor that resulted from industrialization also dramatically changed the lives of families. Again, many of our assumptions but family life and education result from the Industrial Revolution.

Before industrialization, the main unit of production was the family itself. In the eighteenth century, goods were produced under what is sometimes called the “domestic system.” That means families would work in the home to produce goods they would sell. Families owned their own tools and even machines. Parents would train their children in the skills they needed. Goods were produced at home by families.

However, as factories grew and produced cheaper goods, family production was unable to compete. Men were forced to leave the home to work in factories. As time went on, machines required less skill to operate, so women and even children were able to produce goods with little training. Since women and

children would often accept lower wages and could perform the work as well as anyone else, they often took jobs away from fathers who required higher wages to support families. While some very skilled men were able to find better higher paying jobs and send their children to school, low skilled men were forced to take low paying jobs and send their wives and children to work as well to support the family.

This led to serious concerns about child labor. In the early nineteenth century, a typical workday was twelve hours. For the sake of comparison, a typical workday today is eight hours. Our school day seven and a half hours. Children were being forced to work twelve hours days and received no education. Often these children operated dangerous machinery or worked in dirty and dangerous mines.

As a result, the English Factory Act of 1833 implemented limits on child labor. Children under nine were prohibited from working Children ages nine to thirteen were only allowed to work nine hours a day, and in addition they had to receive two hours of education paid for by the factory owners.

Fathers and mother, however, had to work a full twelve hour day. This meant families were unable to be together, and children were often left unsupervised and received little discipline. So in 1847, Parliament limited the workday for all adults to ten hours.

Before the Industrial Revolution, a family's economic life was inextricably tied to its home life. Children were raised by, taught, and disciplined by their parents who worked at home. By 1850, families were increasingly split up, and multiple members of families were forced to support their families

However, remember that some families benefitted from industrialism. Men who had good skills were able to receive higher paying jobs and could send their children to school, whereas before they would have been forced to work at home. In the long run, industrialization brought increased prosperity that allowed many families to experience higher living standards and governments to invest in widespread education. As all things in history, industrialization both helped and hurt many people in the short term. Its long term consequences continue to be discussed and debated.

Closing: Check your understanding of the lesson by answering the following question in 5-7 sentences.

1. What was the primary change that took place in Industrial Revolution? How did this change affect the labor force and families in the nineteenth century?

Thursday, March 26

History Unit: Nineteenth Century

Lesson 4: Ideologies of the Industrial Revolution

Socratic Guiding Question: Keep this question in mind as you study the lesson!

How should society define happiness for the individuals who are members of it? What is the relationship of material prosperity to the health of a society?

Objective: Be able to do this by the end of the lesson.

1. Analyze how classical economics justified industrialism and how socialism reacted against industrialism.

Lesson 4 Introduction

You've already learned about the ideologies of nationalism and liberalism which threatened the established order between 1815 and 1830. These ideologies continued to flourish after the revolutions of 1830. However, as industrialization expanded across Europe between 1830 and 1850, economic questions became central to the political problems nations were facing. Liberalism became more focused on classical economics in order to justify the economic and societal changes of industrialism. But the challenges that these changes brought to the working class gave birth to the most serious enemy of industrialism: socialism.

Classical Economics

Classical economics has its origin in the Enlightenment thought of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776). The proponents of this school of economics emphasized rationality, efficiency, and utility when it came to economic policies. They were often closely allied with the political liberals we discussed in Lesson 1. They thought that while government had many important duties when it came to the protection a nation, when it came to economic enterprise and labor, individuals should be left largely free to compete in the marketplace with minimal government interference.

Increasingly, proponents of this school of thought emphasized the *utility* of economic freedom. The most influential utilitarian philosopher of the nineteenth century was Jeremy Bentham. He argued that the best thing for a society to do was to seek to bring about the greatest good for the greatest number of people. Economics provided rational arguments for why free markets with limited government regulation would bring about greater prosperity and higher living standards for most people in the long run. Therefore, governments should enact laws that spurred free trade and free enterprise.

As a result of this reasoning, Britain enacted significant legislation that was in line with classical economics. First in 1834, the House of Commons passed the Poor Law that established workhouses where people could receive government aid. By requiring the poor to labor in government workhouses, Britain made government assistance extremely unattractive. They thought this would incentivize poor people to work harder and pursue prosperity through their own efforts in the market.

Britain also repealed the Corn Laws, which opened up the marketplace for grain imported from other countries. By removing tariffs on imported grain, the grains supply in Britain increased, the cost of food decreased, and hunger was alleviated in Great Britain. One of the main reasons for repealing the Corn Laws was, in fact, the Irish famine. As the classical economists had said, removing the government barrier to free trade did in fact decrease the price of food and saved the lives of the poor.

1. Think back to Locke's argument concerning liberty and property. What were the foundations of an individual's political liberty and his freedom to dispose of his property as he thought best? How is this different from Bentham's argument from utility? Which is the stronger argument? Why?

This image shows a blank sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

Now we turn to *socialism*. Again, be careful not to make assumptions based on modern political discussions. We often use these terms in very different ways than they were used in history. Socialism in the nineteenth century can only be understood in light of industrialization and the changes it brought about for the working class. There were many forms of socialism and they did not all agree with each other. What they all share are a criticism of the ability of industrial capitalism to produce and distribute goods in a fair way.

- 17

community; some utopian socialists, like Robert Owen, embraced the industrialized economy as a means of prosperity that could be directed towards the good of the whole society; sought to institute reforms under existing governments

2. Anarchism – not really socialism, but in the mid-1800s they were all lumped together as political radicals; thought that governments perpetuated the injustice of industrial capitalism, and that both together had to be destroyed; some advocated violence, some were peaceful

3. Marxism – the most successful form of socialism that triumphed over the other forms by the end of the nineteenth century, based on the writings of Karl Marx, who, together with Friederich Engels, wrote *The Communist Manifesto* in 1848; placed the plight of the working class in a larger historical narrative of oppression; argued that reform was impossible, only an inevitable revolution would bring real change

Read and annotate this excerpt of Marx's *The Communist Manifesto*.

The Communist Manifesto (1848)

PREAMBLE

A spectre is haunting Europe — the spectre of communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: Pope and Tsar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies.

Where is the party in opposition that has not been decried as communistic by its opponents in power? Where is the opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of communism, against the more advanced opposition parties, as well as against its reactionary adversaries?

Two things result from this fact:

- I. Communism is already acknowledged by all European powers to be itself a power.
- II. It is high time that Communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the Spectre of Communism with a manifesto of the party itself.

To this end, Communists of various nationalities have assembled in London and sketched the following manifesto, to be published in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish and Danish languages.

FROM CHAPTER 1: BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIANS

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinct feature: it has simplified class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other — Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

From the serfs of the Middle Ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burgesses the first elements of the bourgeoisie were developed.

The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonisation of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.

The feudal system of industry, in which industrial production was monopolised by closed guilds, now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its place. The guild-masters were pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle class; division of labour between the different corporate guilds vanished in the face of division of labour in each single workshop.

Meantime the markets kept ever growing, the demand ever rising. Even manufacturer no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionised industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry; the place of the industrial middle class by industrial millionaires, the leaders of the whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeois.

Modern industry has established the world market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages. We see, therefore, how the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange.

Each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class. An oppressed class under the sway of the feudal nobility, an armed and self-governing association in the medieval commune(4): here independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany); there taxable “third estate” of the monarchy (as in France); afterwards, in the period of manufacturing proper, serving either the semi-feudal or the absolute monarchy as a counterpoise against the nobility, and, in fact, cornerstone of the great monarchies in general, the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie....

FROM CHAPTER 2: PROLETARIANS AND COMMUNISTS

In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to the other working-class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole....

Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labor of others by means of such appropriations.

It has been objected that upon the abolition of private property, all work will cease, and universal laziness will overtake us.

According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work, acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything do not work. The whole of this objection is but another expression of the tautology: that there can no longer be any wage-labor when there is no longer any capital....

We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degree, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionizing the mode of production.

These measures will, of course, be different in different countries.

Nevertheless, in most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable.

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all rights of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste-lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to work. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of all the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the populace over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, &c, &c.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

Closing: Answer the following question in 5-7 sentences.

1. Summarize Marx's critique of capitalist society in the beginning of *The Communist Manifesto*. How does Marx situate the plight of the proletariat into a larger historical narrative? What does the inevitable victory of the proletariat mean for society as a whole?

Friday, March 27

History Unit: Nineteenth Century

Lesson 5: Revolutions of 1848

Socratic Guiding Question: Keep this question in mind as you study this lesson!

Which is a more powerful inspiration for political change – ideology or material hardships?

Objective: Be able to do this by the end of the lesson.

1. Summarize the political causes and effects of the various revolutions that took place in Europe in 1848.

Read “1848: Year of Revolutions” on pages 764-775 of your textbook. (attached). Fill out the chart below with the causes and outcomes of each revolution. Be thorough in your answers.

Nation	Causes	Outcomes
France		
Habsburg Territories (Austria)		
Italy		
Germany		

Conservative Governments: The Domestic Political Order

Despite the challenges of liberalism and nationalism, the domestic political order established by the restored conservative institutions of Europe, particularly in Great Britain and eastern Europe, showed remarkable staying power. Not until World War I did their power and pervasive influence come to an end.

Conservative Outlooks

The major pillars of nineteenth-century conservatism were legitimate monarchies, landed aristocracies, and established churches. The institutions themselves were ancient, but the self-conscious alliance of throne, land, and altar was new. Throughout the eighteenth century, these groups had engaged in frequent conflict. Only the upheavals of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era transformed them into natural, if sometimes reluctant, allies. In that regard, conservatism as an articulated outlook and set of cooperating institutions was as new a feature on the political landscape as nationalism and liberalism.

The more theoretical political and religious ideas of the conservative classes were associated with thinkers such as Edmund Burke (see Chapter 19) and Friedrich Hegel (see Chapter 20). Conservatives shared other, less formal attitudes forged by the revolutionary experience. The execution of Louis XVI at the hands of a radical democratic government convinced most monarchs that they could trust only aristocratic governments or governments of aristocrats in alliance with the wealthiest middle-class and professional people. The European aristocracies believed that their property and influence would rarely be safe under any form of genuinely representative government. All conservatives spurned the idea of a written constitution unless they were permitted to promulgate the document themselves. Even then, some could not be reconciled to the concept.

The churches were equally apprehensive of popular movements, except their own revivals. The ecclesiastical leaders throughout the Continent regarded themselves as entrusted with the educational task of supporting the social and political status quo. They also feared and hated most of the ideas associated with the Enlightenment, because those rational concepts and reformist writings enshrined the critical spirit and undermined revealed religion.

Conservative aristocrats retained their former arrogance, but not their former privileges or their old

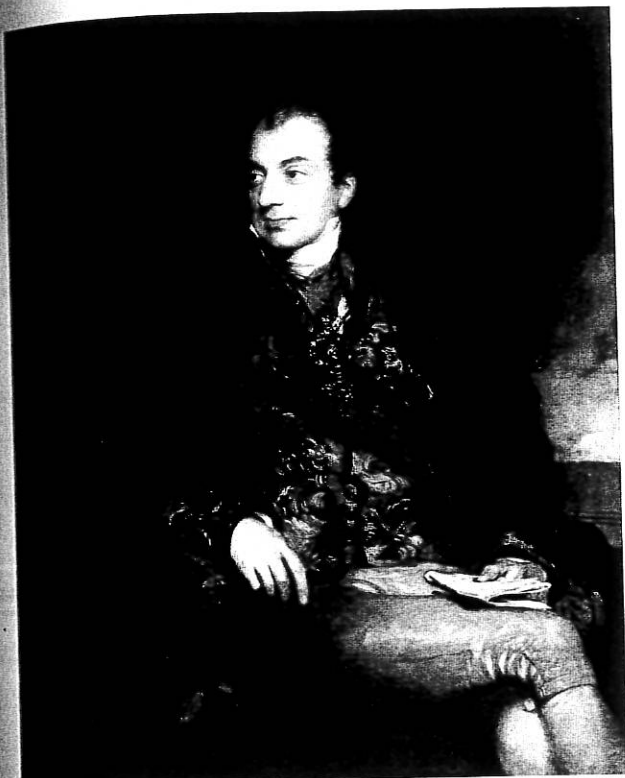
confidence. They saw themselves as surrounded by enemies and as standing permanently on the defensive against the forces of liberalism, nationalism, and popular sovereignty. They knew they could be toppled by political groups that hated them. They understood that revolution in one country could spill over into another.

All of the nations of Europe in the years immediately after 1815 confronted problems arising directly from their entering an era of peace after a quarter-century of armed conflict. The war effort, with its loss of life and property and its necessity of organizing people and resources, had distracted attention from other problems. The wartime footing had allowed all the belligerent governments to exercise firm control over their populations. War had fueled economies and had furnished vast areas of employment in armies, navies, military industries, and expanded agricultural activities. The onset of peace meant that citizens could raise new political demands and that there must be a major economic adjustment to peacetime economies. Soldiers and sailors came home and required nonmilitary employment. The vast demand of the military effort on other industries subsided and caused unemployment. The young were no longer growing up in a climate of war and could turn their minds to other issues. For all of these reasons, the conservative statesmen who led every major government in 1815 confronted new pressures that would cause various degrees of domestic unrest and that would lead them to use differing degrees of repressive action.

Liberalism and Nationalism Resisted in Austria and the Germanies

The early-nineteenth-century statesman who more than any other epitomized conservatism was the Austrian prince Metternich (1773–1859). This devoted servant of the Habsburg emperor had been, along with Britain's Viscount Castlereagh (1769–1822), the chief architect of the Vienna settlement. It was he who seemed to exercise chief control over the forces of the European reaction.

DYNASTIC INTEGRITY OF THE HABSBURG EMPIRE
The Austrian government could make no serious compromises with the new political forces in Europe. To no other country were the programs of liberalism and nationalism potentially more dangerous. Germans and Hungarians, as well as Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, and other ethnic groups, peopled the Habsburg domains. Through puppet governments Austria also dominated the Italian peninsula.



Prince Klemens von Metternich (1773–1859) epitomized nineteenth-century conservatism. Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), *Clemens Lothar Wenzel, Prince Metternich (1773–1859)* OM 905 WC 206. The Royal Collection © 2000 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

So far as Metternich and other Austrian officials were concerned, the recognition of the political rights and aspirations of any of the various national groups would mean the probable dissolution of the empire. If Austria permitted representative government, Metternich feared that the national groups would fight their battles internally at the probable cost of Austrian international influence.

Pursuit of dynastic integrity required Austrian domination of the newly formed German Confederation to prevent the formation of a German national state that might absorb the heart of the empire and exclude the other realms governed by the Habsburgs. The Congress of Vienna had created the German Confederation to replace the defunct Holy Roman Empire. It consisted of thirty-nine states under Austrian leadership. Each state remained more or less autonomous, but Austria was determined to prevent any movement toward constitutionalism in as many of them as possible. (See "Metternich Rejects Constitutionalism.")

DEFEAT OF PRUSSIAN REFORM An important victory for this holding policy came in Prussia in the years immediately after the Congress of Vienna. In 1815 Frederick William III (r. 1797–1840), caught up in

the exhilaration that followed the War of Liberation, as Germans called the last part of their conflict with Napoleon, had promised some mode of constitutional government. After stalling on keeping his pledge, he formally reneged on it in 1817. Instead, he created a new Council of State, which, although it improved administrative efficiency, was not constitutionally based.

In 1819, the king moved further from reform. After a major disagreement over the organization of the army, his chief reform-minded ministers resigned, to be replaced with hardened conservatives. On their advice, in 1823 Frederick William III established eight provincial estates, or diets. These bodies were dominated by the Junkers and exercised only an advisory function. The old bonds linking monarchy, army, and landholders in Prussia had been reestablished. The members of this alliance would oppose the threats posed by the aspirations of German nationalists to the conservative social and political order.

STUDENT NATIONALISM AND THE CARLSBAD DECREES

Three southern German states—Baden, Bavaria, and Württemberg—had received constitutions after 1815 as their monarchs tried to secure wider political support. None of these constitutions, however, recognized popular sovereignty, and all defined political rights as the gift of the monarch. In the minds and hearts of many young Germans, however, nationalist and liberal expectations fostered by the defeat of the French armies remained alive.

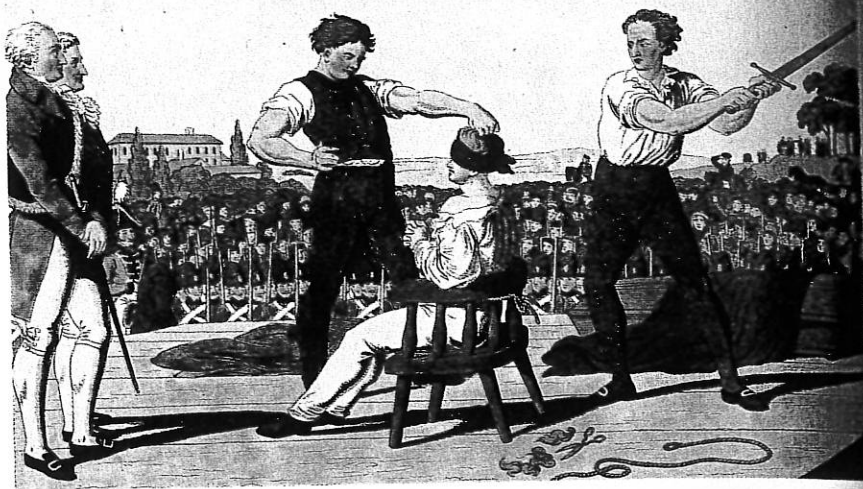
The most important of these groups was composed of university students who had grown up during the days of the reforms of Stein and Hardenberg and the initial circulation of the writings of early German nationalists. Many of them or their friends had fought Napoleon. When they went to the universities, they continued to dream of a united Germany. They formed *Burschenschaften*, or student associations. Like student groups today, these clubs served numerous social functions, one of which was to sever old provincial loyalties and replace them with loyalty to the concept of a united German state. It should also be noted that these clubs were often anti-Semitic.

In 1817 in Jena, one such student club organized a large celebration for the fourth anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig and the tercentenary of Luther's Ninety-five Theses. There were bonfires, songs, and processions as more than 500 people gathered for the festivities. The event made German rulers uneasy, for it was known that some republicans were involved with the student clubs.

Two years later, in March 1819, a young man named Karl Sand (d. 1820), a *Burschenschaft* member, assassinated the conservative dramatist August

In May, 1820, Karl Sand, a German student and a member of a Burschenschaft, was executed for his murder of the conservative playwright August von Kotzebue the previous year. In the eyes of many young German nationalists, Sand was a political martyr.

Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz



von Kotzebue (1761–1819). Sand, who was tried, condemned, and publicly executed, became a martyr in the eyes of some nationalists. Although the assassin had acted alone, Metternich decided to use the incident to suppress the student clubs and other potential institutions of liberalism.

In July 1819, Metternich persuaded representatives of the major German states to issue the Carlsbad Decrees, which dissolved the *Burschenschaften*. The decrees also provided for university inspectors and press censors. The next year the German Confederation promulgated the Final Act, which limited the subjects that might be discussed in the constitutional chambers of Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden. The measure also asserted the right of the monarchs to resist demands of constitutionalists. For many years thereafter, the secret police of the various German states harassed potential dissidents. In the opinion of the princes, these included almost anyone who sought even moderate social or political change.

Postwar Repression in Great Britain

The years 1819 and 1820 marked a high tide for conservative influence and repression in western as well as eastern Europe. After 1815, Great Britain experienced two years of poor harvests. At the same time, discharged sailors and soldiers and out-of-work industrial workers swelled the ranks of the unemployed.

LORD LIVERPOOL'S MINISTRY AND POPULAR UNREST The Tory ministry of Lord Liverpool (1770–1828) was unprepared for these problems of postwar dislocation. Instead, it sought to protect the interests of the landed

and other wealthy classes. In 1815, Parliament passed a Corn Law to maintain high prices for domestically produced grain through import duties on foreign grain. The next year, Parliament abolished the income tax paid by the wealthy and replaced it with excise or sales taxes on consumer goods paid by both the wealthy and the poor. These laws continued a legislative trend that marked the abandonment by the British ruling class of its traditional role of paternalistic protector of the poor. In 1799 Parliament had passed the Combination Acts, outlawing workers' organizations or unions. During the war, wage protection had been removed. And many in the taxpaying classes called for the abolition of the Poor Law that provided public relief for the destitute and unemployed.

In light of these policies and the postwar economic downturn, it is hardly surprising that the lower social orders began to doubt the wisdom of their rulers and to call for a reform of the political system. Mass meetings calling for the reform of Parliament were held. Reform clubs were organized. Radical newspapers, such as William Cobbett's *Political Registrar*, demanded political change. In the hungry, restive agricultural and industrial workers, the government could see only images of continental *sans-culottes* crowds ready to hang aristocrats from the nearest lamppost. Government ministers regarded radical leaders, such as Cobbett (1763–1835), Major John Cartwright (1740–1824), and Henry "Orator" Hunt (1773–1835), as demagogues who were seducing the people away from allegiance to their natural leaders.

The government's answer to the discontent was repression. In December 1816, an unruly mass meeting took place at Spa Fields near London. This dis-

turbance provided Parliament an excuse to pass the Coercion Act of March 1817. These measures temporarily suspended habeas corpus and extended existing laws against seditious gatherings.

"PETERLOO" AND THE SIX ACTS This initial repression, in combination with improved harvests, brought calm for a time to the political landscape. By 1819, however, the people were restive again. In the industrial north, many well-organized mass meetings were held to demand the reform of Parliament. The radical reform campaign culminated on August 16, 1819, with a meeting in Manchester at Saint Peter's Fields. Royal troops and the local militia were on hand to ensure order. As the speeches were about to begin, a local magistrate ordered the militia to move into the audience. The result was panic and death. At least eleven people in the crowd were killed; scores were injured. The event became known as the "Peterloo Massacre," a phrase that drew a contemptuous comparison with the victory at Waterloo.

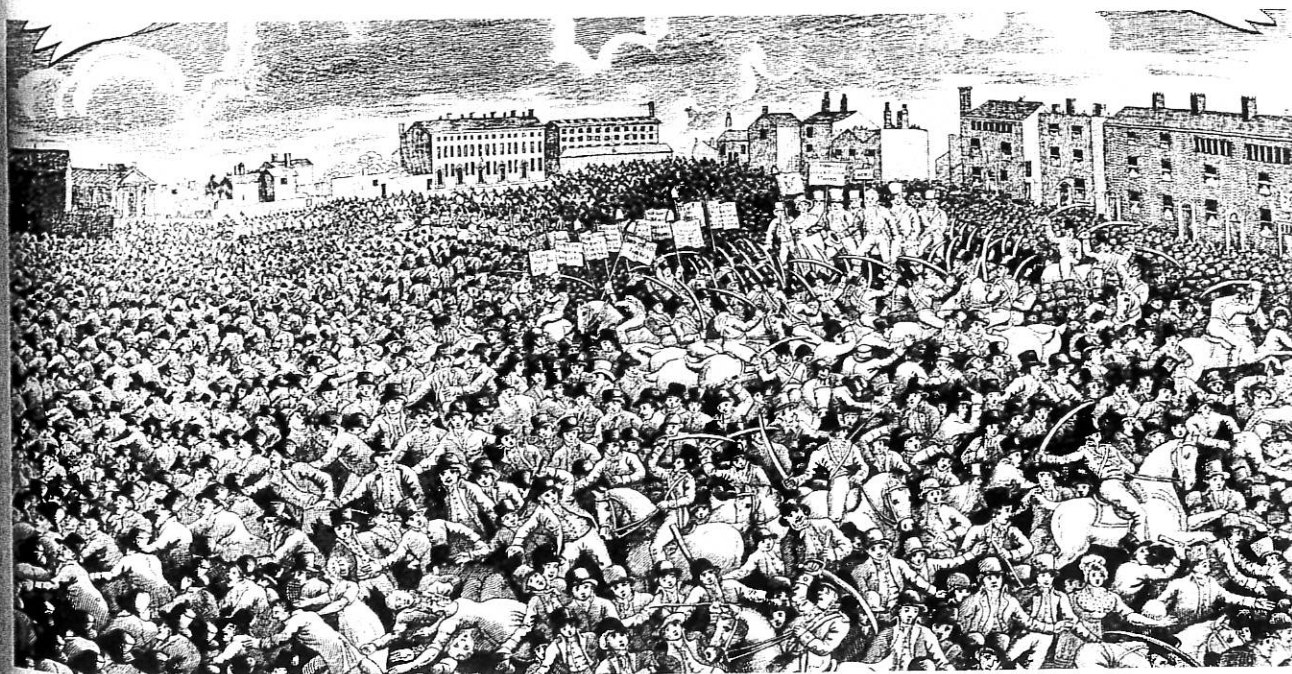
Peterloo had been the act of the local Manchester officials, whom the Liverpool ministry felt it must support. The cabinet also decided to act once and for all to end these troubles. Most of the radical leaders were arrested and taken out of circulation. In December 1819, a few months after the German Carlsbad Decrees, Parliament passed a series of laws called the *Six Acts*, which (1) forbade large unau-

thorized, public meetings, (2) raised the fines for seditious libel, (3) speeded up the trials of political agitators, (4) increased newspaper taxes, (5) prohibited the training of armed groups, and (6) allowed local officials to search homes in certain disturbed counties. In effect, the Six Acts attempted to remove the instruments of agitation from the hands of radical leaders and to provide the authorities with new powers.

Two months after the passage of the Six Acts, the Cato Street Conspiracy was unearthed. Under the guidance of a possibly demented figure named Thistlewood, a group of extreme radicals had plotted to blow up the entire British cabinet. The plot was foiled. The leaders were arrested and tried, and four of them were executed. Although little more than a half-baked plot, the conspiracy helped further to discredit the movement for parliamentary reform.

Bourbon Restoration in France

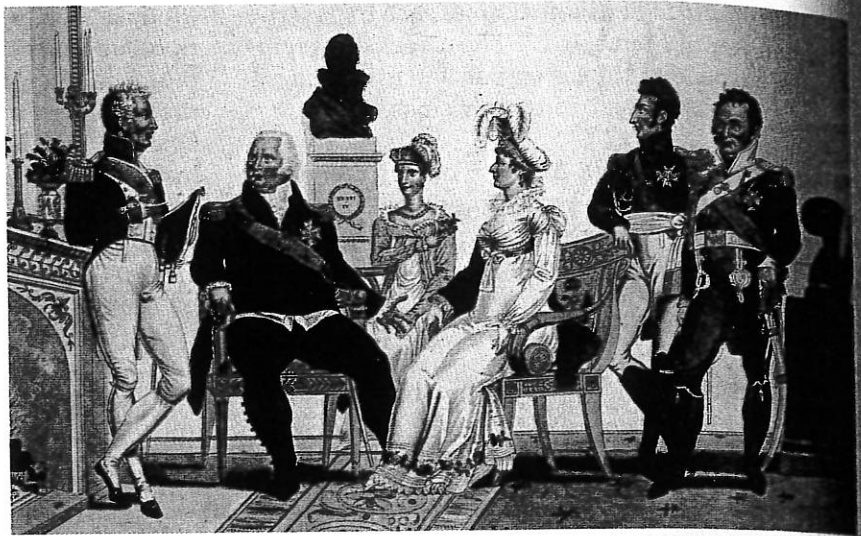
The abdication of Napoleon in 1814 opened the way for a restoration of Bourbon rule in the homeland of the great revolution. The new king was the former count of Provence and a brother of Louis XVI. The son of the executed monarch had died in prison. Royalists had regarded the dead boy as Louis XVII, and so his uncle became Louis XVIII (r. 1814–1824). This fat, awkward man had become a political realist during his more than twenty years of exile. He understood that he could not govern if he attempted to



In August, 1819, local troops dispersed a political rally in Manchester, killing a number of the participants. The event became known as the "Peterloo Massacre." Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

The French Bourbons were restored to the throne in 1815 but would rule only until 1830. This picture shows Louis XVIII, seated, second from left, and his brother, the Count of Artois, who would become Charles X, standing on the left. Notice the bust of Henry IV in the background, placed there to associate the restored rulers with their popular late-sixteenth-early-seventeenth-century forebear.

Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz



turn back the clock. France had undergone too many irreversible changes. Consequently, Louis XVIII agreed to become a constitutional monarch, but under a constitution of his own making.

THE CHARTER The constitution of the French restoration was the Charter. It provided for a hereditary monarchy and a bicameral legislature. The monarch appointed the upper house; the lower house, the Chamber of Deputies, was elected according to a very narrow franchise with a high property qualification. The Charter guaranteed most of the rights enumerated by the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen. There was to be religious toleration, but Roman Catholicism was designated as the official religion of the nation. Most important for thousands of French people at all social levels who had profited from the revolution, the Charter promised not to challenge the property rights of the current owners of land that had been confiscated from aristocrats and the church. With this provision, Louis XVIII hoped to reconcile to his regime those who had benefitted from the revolution.

ULTRAROYALISM This moderate spirit did not penetrate deeply into the ranks of royalist supporters whose families had suffered at the hands of the revolution. Rallying around the count of Artois (1757–1836), those people who were more royalist than the monarch now demanded their revenge. In the months after Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo, royalists in the south and west carried out a White Terror against former revolutionaries and supporters of the deposed emperor. The king could do little or nothing to halt this bloodbath. Similar extreme royalist sentiment could be found in the Chamber of Deputies. The ultraroyalist majority

elected in 1816 proved so dangerously reactionary that the king soon dissolved the chamber. The majority returned by the second election was more moderate. Several years of political give-and-take followed with the king making mild accommodations to liberals.

In February 1820, however, the duke of Berri, son of Artois and heir to the throne after his father, was murdered by a lone assassin. The ultraroyalists persuaded Louis XVIII that the murder was the result of his ministers' cooperation with liberal politicians, and the king responded with repressive measures. Electoral laws were revised to give wealthy electors two votes. Press censorship was imposed, and people suspected of dangerous political activity were made subject to easy arrest. By 1821, the government placed secondary education under the control of the Roman Catholic bishops.

All these actions revealed the basic contradiction of the French restoration. By the early 1820s, the veneer of constitutionalism had worn away. Liberals were being driven out of politics and into a near-illegal status.

The Conservative International Order

At the Congress of Vienna, the major powers—Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain—had agreed to consult with each other from time to time on matters affecting Europe as a whole. Such consultation was one of the new departures in international relations achieved by the Congress. The vehicle for this consultation was a series of postwar congresses, or conferences. Later, as differences arose among the powers, the consultations became

The Conservative Order Shaken in Europe

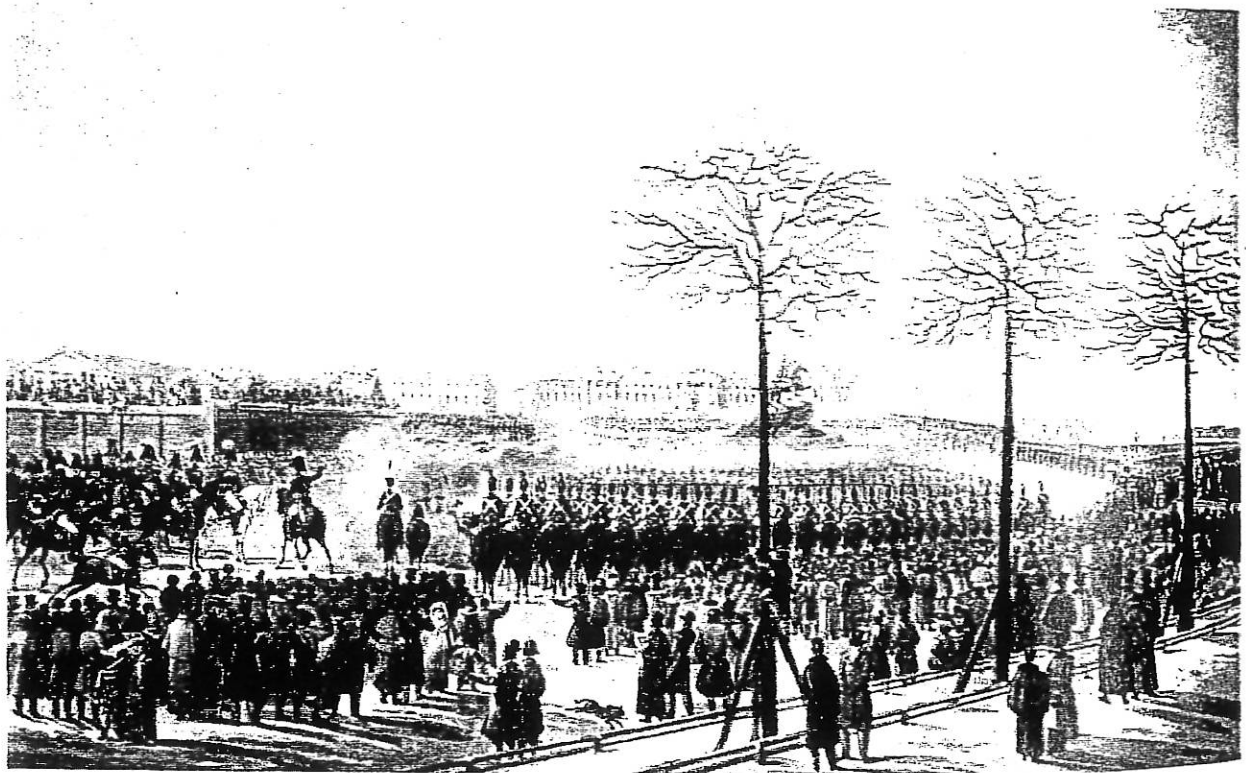
During the first half of the 1820s, the institutions of the restored conservative order had in general successfully resisted the forces of liberalism. The two exceptions to this success, the Greek Revolution and the Latin American wars of independence, both occurred on the periphery of the European world. Beginning in the middle of the 1820s, however, the conservative governments of Russia, France, and Great Britain faced new stirrings of political discontent. (See Map 21-2.) In Russia the result was suppression, in France revolution, and in Britain, accommodation.

Russia: The Decembrist Revolt of 1825

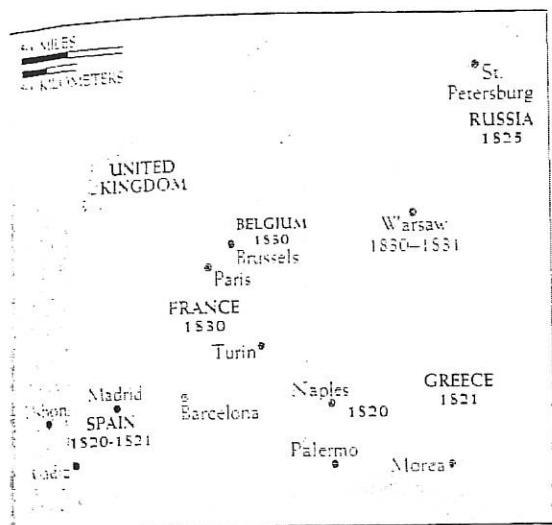
Tsar Alexander I had come to the Russian throne in 1801 after a palace coup against his father, Tsar Paul (r. 1796-1801). After a brief flirtation with Enlightenment ideas, Alexander turned permanently away from reform. Both at home and abroad, he took the lead in suppressing liberalism and nationalism.

There would be no significant challenge to tsarist autocracy until his death.

UNREST IN THE ARMY As Russian forces drove Napoleon's army across Europe and then occupied defeated France, many Russian officers were exposed to the ideas of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment. Some of them, realizing how economically backward and politically stifled their own nation remained, developed reformist sympathies. Unable to express themselves openly because of Alexander's repressive policies, they formed secret societies. One of these, the Southern Society, was led by an officer named Pestel. It advocated representative government and the abolition of serfdom. Pestel himself even favored limited independence for Poland and democracy. Another secret society, the Northern Society, was more moderate. It favored constitutional monarchy and the abolition of serfdom, but wanted protection for the interests of the aristocracy. Both societies were very small and often in conflict with each other. They agreed only that Russia's government must change. Sometime during 1825, they apparently decided to carry out a coup d'état in 1826.



When the Moscow regiment refused to swear allegiance to Nicholas, he ordered the cavalry and artillery to attack them. Although a total failure, the Decembrist Revolt came to symbolize the yearnings of all Russian liberals in the nineteenth century for a constitutional government. The Insurrection of the Decembrists at Senate Square, St. Petersburg on 26th December, 1825 (w/c on paper) by Russian School (19th century). Private Collection, Bridgeman Art Library, London; Novosti



Map 21-1 CENTERS OF REVOLUTION, 1820–1831 *The conservative order imposed by the great powers in post-Napoleonic Europe was challenged by various uprisings and revolutions, beginning in 1820–1821 in Spain, Naples, and Greece and spreading to Russia, Poland, France, and Belgium later in the decade.*

DYNASTIC CRISIS In late November 1825, Tsar Alexander I died unexpectedly. His death created two crises. The first was dynastic. Alexander had no direct heir. His brother Constantine, the next in line to the throne and at the time the commander of Russian forces in occupied Poland, had married a woman who was not of royal blood. He had thus excluded himself from the throne and was more than willing to renounce any claim to it. Through a series of secret instructions made public only after his death, Alexander had named his younger brother, Nicholas (r. 1825–1855), as the new tsar.

Once Alexander was dead, the legality of these instructions became uncertain. Constantine acknowledged Nicholas as tsar, and Nicholas acknowledged Constantine. This family muddle continued for about three weeks, during which, to the astonishment of all Europe, Russia actually had no ruler. Then, during the early days of December, the army command reported to Nicholas the existence of a conspiracy among certain officers. Able to wait no longer for the working out of legal niceties, Nicholas had himself declared tsar, much to the delight of the by-now-exasperated Constantine.

The second crisis then proceeded to unfold. Several junior officers had indeed plotted to rally the troops under their command to the cause of reform. On December 26, 1825, the army was to take the oath of allegiance to Nicholas, who was less popular than Constantine and who was regarded as more conservative. Nearly all regiments took the oath. But the Moscow regiment, whose chief officers, surprisingly,

were not secret society members, marched into the Senate Square in Saint Petersburg and refused to swear allegiance. Instead, they called for a constitution and the installation of Constantine as tsar. Attempts to settle the situation peacefully failed. Late in the afternoon, Nicholas ordered the cavalry and the artillery to attack the insurgents. More than sixty people were killed. Early in 1826, Nicholas himself presided over the commission that investigated the Decembrist Revolt and the secret army societies. Five of the plotters were executed and more than 100 others were exiled to Siberia.

Although the Decembrist Revolt failed completely, it was the first rebellion in modern Russian history whose instigators had had specific political goals. They wanted constitutional government and the abolition of serfdom. As the century passed, the Decembrists, in their political martyrdom, came to symbolize the yearnings of all the never very numerous Russian liberals.

THE AUTOCRACY OF NICHOLAS I Although Nicholas was neither an ignorant nor a bigoted reactionary, he came to symbolize the most extreme form of nineteenth-century autocracy. He knew that economic growth and social improvement in Russia required reform, but he was quite simply afraid of change. In 1842 he told his State Council, "There is no doubt that serfdom, in its present form, is a flagrant evil which everyone realizes, yet to attempt to remedy it now would be, of course, an evil more disastrous."⁴ To remove serfdom would necessarily, in his view, have undermined the nobles' support of the tsar. So Nicholas turned his back on this and practically all other reforms. Literary and political censorship and a widespread system of secret police flourished throughout his reign. There was little attempt to forge even an efficient and honest administration. The only significant reform of his rule was a codification of Russian law, published in 1833.

OFFICIAL NATIONALITY In place of reform, Nicholas and his closest advisers embraced a program called Official Nationality. Presiding over this program was Count S. S. Uvarov, minister of education from 1833 to 1849. Its slogan, published repeatedly in government documents, newspapers, journals, and schoolbooks, was "Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationalism." The Russian Orthodox faith was to provide the basis for morality, education, and intellectual life. The church, which, since the days of Peter the Great, had been an arm of the secular government, controlled the schools and universities. Young Russians were taught to accept their place in life and to spurn social mobility.

⁴Quoted in Michael T. Florinsky, *Russia: A History and an Interpretation*, Vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan, 1953), p. 755.

The program of autocracy championed the unrestrained power of the tsar as the only authority that could hold the vast expanse of Russia and its peoples together. Political writers stressed that only under the autocracy of Peter the Great, Catherine the Great, and Alexander I had Russia prospered and exerted a major influence on world affairs.

Through the glorification of Russian nationality, Russians were urged to see their religion, language, and customs as a source of perennial wisdom that separated them from the moral corruption and political turmoil of the West. One result of this program was to leave serious Russian intellectuals profoundly alienated from the tsarist government.

REVOLT AND REPRESSION IN POLAND Nicholas I was also extremely conservative in foreign affairs, as became apparent in Poland in the 1830s. That nation, which had been partitioned in the late eighteenth century and ceased to exist as an independent state, remained under Russian domination after the Congress of Vienna, but was granted a constitutional government. Under this arrangement, the tsar was Poland's ruler. Both Alexander and Nicholas delegated their brother, the Grand Duke Constantine (1779–1831), to run Poland's government. Although both tsars frequently infringed on the constitution and quarreled with the Polish diet, this arrangement held through the 1820s. Nevertheless, Polish nationalists continued to agitate for change.

In late November 1830, after news of the French and Belgian revolutions of that summer had reached Poland, a small insurrection of soldiers and students broke out in Warsaw. Disturbances soon spread throughout the rest of the country. On December 18, the Polish diet declared the revolution to be a nationalist movement. Early the next month, the diet voted to depose Nicholas as ruler of Poland. The tsar reacted by sending troops into the country and firmly suppressing the revolt. In February 1832, Nicholas issued the Organic Statute, declaring Poland to be an integral part of the Russian Empire. (See "Russia Reasserts Its Authority in Poland.") Although this statute guaranteed certain Polish liberties, the guarantees were systematically ignored. The Polish uprising had confirmed all the tsar's worst fears. Henceforth Russia and Nicholas became the *gendarme* of Europe, ever ready to provide troops to suppress liberal and nationalist movements.

Revolution in France (1830)

The Polish revolt was the most distant of several disturbances that flowed from the overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty in France during July 1830. When Louis XVIII had died in 1824, his brother, the count of Artois, the leader of the ultraroyalist faction at

the time of the restoration, succeeded him as Charles X (r. 1824–1830). The new king was a firm believer in rule by divine right.

THE REACTIONARY POLICIES OF CHARLES X Charles X's first action was to have the Chamber of Deputies in 1824 and 1825 indemnify aristocrats who had lost their lands in the revolution. He did this by lowering the interest rates on government bonds to create a fund to pay an annual sum to the survivors of the *émigrés* who had forfeited land. Middle-class bondholders, who lost income, naturally resented this measure. In another action, Charles restored the rule of primogeniture, whereby only the eldest son of an aristocrat inherited the family domains. And, in support of the Roman Catholic Church, he enacted a law that punished sacrilege with imprisonment or death. Liberals disapproved of all of these measures.

In the elections of 1827, the liberals gained enough seats in the Chamber of Deputies to compel conciliatory actions from the king. He appointed a less conservative ministry. Laws against the press and those allowing the government to dominate education were eased. The liberals, however, wanted a genuinely constitutional regime and remained unsatisfied. In 1829, the king decided that his policy of accommodation had failed. He replaced his moderate ministry with an ultraroyalist ministry headed by the Prince de Polignac (1780–1847). The opposition, in desperation, opened negotiations with the liberal Orléanist branch of the royal family.

THE JULY REVOLUTION In 1830 Charles X called for new elections, in which the liberals scored a stunning victory. Instead of accommodating the new Chamber of Deputies, the king and his ministers decided to attempt a royalist seizure of power. In June and July 1830, Polignac had sent a naval expedition against Algeria. Reports of its victory and the founding of a French empire in North Africa reached Paris on July 9. Taking advantage of the euphoria created by this victory, Charles issued the Four Ordinances on July 25, 1830, staging what amounted to a royal coup d'état. These ordinances restricted freedom of the press, dissolved the recently elected Chamber of Deputies, restricted the franchise to the wealthiest people in the country, and called for new elections under the new royalist franchise.

The Four Ordinances provoked swift and decisive popular political reactions. Liberal newspapers called on the nation to reject the monarch's actions. The laboring populace of Paris, burdened since 1827 by an economic downturn, took to the streets and erected barricades. The king called out troops, and more than 1,800 people died during the ensuing battles in the city.

On August 2, Charles X abdicated and left France for exile in England. The Chamber of Deputies named a new ministry composed of constitutional monarchists. In an act that finally ended the Bourbon dynasty, it also proclaimed Louis Philippe (r. 1830–1848), the duke of Orléans, the new king of France.

In the Revolution of 1830, the liberals of the Chamber of Deputies had filled a power vacuum created by the popular Paris uprising and the failure of effective royal action. Had Charles X provided himself with sufficient troops in Paris, the outcome could have been quite different. Moreover, had the liberals, who favored constitutional monarchy, not acted quickly, the workers and shopkeepers of Paris might have attempted to form a republic. By seizing the moment, the middle class, the bureaucrats, and the moderate aristocratic liberals overthrew the restoration monarchy and still avoided a republic. These liberals feared a new popular revolution such as had swept France in 1792. They had no desire for another *sans-culottes* republic. A fundamental political and social tension thus underlay the new monarchy. The revolution had succeeded thanks to a temporary alliance between hard-pressed laborers and the prosperous middle class, but these two groups soon realized that their basic goals had been quite different.

MONARCHY UNDER LOUIS PHILIPPE Politically, the July Monarchy, as it was called, was more liberal than the restoration government. Louis Philippe was

called the “king of the French” rather than “king of France.” The tricolor flag of the revolution replaced the white flag of the Bourbons. The new constitution was regarded as a right of the people rather than as a concession of the monarch. Catholicism became the religion of a majority of the people rather than “the official religion.” The new government was strongly anticlerical. Censorship was abolished. The franchise became somewhat wider, but remained, on the whole, restricted. The king had to cooperate with the Chamber of Deputies; he could not dispense with laws on his own authority.

Socially, however, the Revolution of 1830 proved quite conservative. The hereditary peerage was abolished in 1831, but the everyday economic, political, and social influence of the landed oligarchy continued. Money was the path to power and influence in the government. There was much corruption.

Most important, the liberal monarchy displayed little or no sympathy for the lower and working classes. In 1830, the workers of Paris had called for the protection of jobs, better wages, and the preservation of the traditional crafts, rather than for the usual goals of political liberalism. The government of Louis Philippe ignored their demands and their plight. The laboring classes of Paris and the provincial cities seemed just one more possible source of disorder. In late 1831, troops suppressed a workers' revolt in Lyons. In July 1832, an uprising occurred in Paris during the funeral of a popular Napoleonic general. Again the govern-



Despite laws forbidding disrespect to the government, political cartoonists had a field day with Louis Philippe. Here, an artist emphasizes the king's resemblance to a pear and, in the process, attacks restrictions on freedom of the press. *Caricature*

ment called out troops, and more than 800 people were killed or wounded. In 1834, a very large strike of silkworkers in Lyons was crushed. Such discontent might be smothered for a time, but without attention to the social and economic conditions creating it, new turmoil would eventually erupt.

Belgium Becomes Independent (1830)

The July Revolution in Paris sent sparks to other political tinder on the Continent. The revolutionary fires first lighted in neighboring Belgium. The former Austrian Netherlands, Belgium had been merged with the kingdom of Holland in 1815. The two countries differed in language, religion, and economy; however, and the Belgian upper classes never reconciled themselves to Dutch rule.

On August 25, 1830, disturbances broke out in Brussels following the performance of an opera about a rebellion in Naples against Spanish rule. To end the rioting, the municipal authorities and people from the propertied classes formed a provisional national government. When compromise between the Belgians and the Dutch failed, William of Holland (r. 1815–1840) sent troops and ships against Belgium. By November 10, 1830, the Dutch had been defeated. A national congress then wrote a liberal Belgian constitution, which was promulgated in 1831.

Although the major powers saw the revolution in Belgium as upsetting the boundaries established by the Congress of Vienna, they were not inclined to intervene to reverse it. Russia was preoccupied with the Polish revolt. Prussia and the other German states were suppressing small uprisings in their own domains. The Austrians were busy putting down disturbances in Italy. France under Louis Philippe favored an independent Belgium and hoped to dominate it. Britain felt that it could tolerate a liberal Belgium, as long as it was free of foreign domination.

In December 1830, Lord Palmerston (1784–1865), the British foreign minister, gathered representatives of the powers in London. Through skillful negotiations he persuaded them to recognize Belgium as an independent and neutral state. In July 1831, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg (r. 1831–1865) became king of the Belgians. Belgian neutrality was guaranteed by the Convention of 1839 and remained an article of faith in European international relations for almost a century.

Both Belgium and Serbia gained independence in 1830, and ironically, diplomatic circumstances involving both led to World War I. The assassination of an Austrian archduke by a Serbian nationalist in Sarajevo triggered the war, and German violation of Belgian neutrality brought Britain into it.

The Great Reform Bill in Britain (1832)

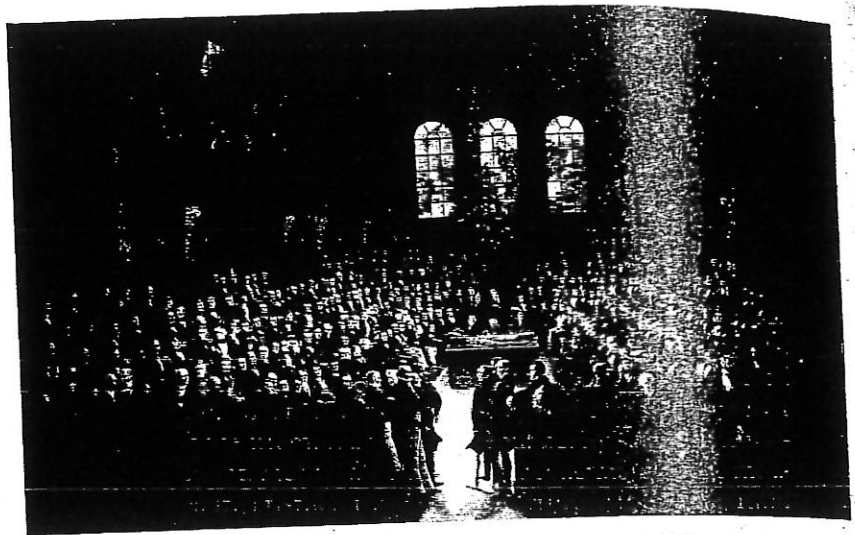
In Great Britain, the revolutionary year of 1830 saw the election of a House of Commons that debated the first major bill to reform parliament. The death of George IV (r. 1820–1830) and the accession of William IV (r. 1830–1837) required the calling of a parliamentary election, held in the summer of 1830. Historians once believed that the July revolution in France influenced voting in Britain, but close analysis of the time and character of individual county and borough elections has shown otherwise. The passage of the Great Reform Bill, which became law in 1832, was the result of a series of events very different from those that occurred on the Continent. In Britain, the forces of conservatism and reform made accommodations with each other.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM Several factors contributed to this spirit of accommodation. First, the commercial and industrial class was larger in Britain than in other countries. No matter what group might control the government, British prosperity required attention to their economic interests. Second, Britain's liberal Whig aristocrats, who regarded themselves as the protectors of constitutional liberty, represented a long tradition in favor of moderate reforms that would make revolutionary changes unnecessary. Early Whig sympathy for the French Revolution reduced their influence. After 1815, however, they reentered the political arena. Finally, British law, tradition, and public opinion all showed a strong respect for civil liberties.

In 1820, the year after the passage of the notorious Six Acts, Lord Liverpool shrewdly moved to change his cabinet. The new members continued to favor generally conservative policies, but they also believed that the government had to accommodate itself to the changing social and economic life of the nation. They favored policies of greater economic freedom and repealed the earlier Combination Acts that had prohibited labor organizations.

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION ACT Economic considerations had generally led to the British moderate reforms. English determination to maintain the union with Ireland brought about another key reform. England's relationship to Ireland was similar to that of Russia to Poland or Austria to its several national groups. In 1800, fearful that Irish nationalists might again rebel as they had in 1798 and perhaps turn Ireland into a base for a French invasion, William Pitt the Younger had persuaded Parliament to pass the Act of Union between Ireland and England. Ireland now sent 100 members to the House of Commons. Only Protestant Irishmen,

At the first meeting of the House of Commons following the passage of the Great Reform Bill, most seats were still filled by the gentry and the wealthy. But the elimination of "rotten boroughs" and the election of members from the new urban centers began to transform the House into a representative national body. National Portrait Gallery, London



however, could be elected to represent their overwhelmingly Roman Catholic nation.

During the 1820s, under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847), Irish nationalists organized the Catholic Association to agitate for Catholic emancipation. In 1828 O'Connell secured his own election to Parliament, where he could not legally take his seat. The British ministry of the duke of Wellington realized that henceforth an entirely Catholic delegation might be elected from Ireland. If they were not seated, civil war might erupt across the Irish Sea. Consequently, in 1829, Wellington and Robert Peel steered the Catholic Emancipation Act through Parliament. Roman Catholics could now become members of Parliament. This measure, together with the repeal in 1828 of restrictions against Protestant nonconformists, ended the Anglican monopoly on British political life.

Catholic emancipation was a liberal measure passed for the conservative purpose of preserving order in Ireland. It included a provision raising the franchise in Ireland so that only the wealthier Irish could vote. Nonetheless, this measure alienated many of Wellington's Anglican Tory supporters in the House of Commons. The election of 1830 returned many supporters of parliamentary reform to Parliament. Even some Tories supported reform, because they thought that Catholic emancipation could have been passed only by a corrupt House of Commons. The Tories, consequently, were badly divided, and the Wellington ministry soon fell. King William IV then turned to the leader of the Whigs, Earl Grey (1764–1845), to form a government.

LEGISLATING CHANGE The Whig ministry soon presented the House of Commons with a major reform bill that had two broad goals. The first was to abol-

ish "rotten boroughs," or boroughs that had very few voters, and to replace them with representatives for the previously unrepresented manufacturing districts and cities. Second, the number of voters in England and Wales was to be increased by about 50 percent through a series of new franchises. In 1831, the House of Commons narrowly defeated the bill. Grey called for a new election, in which a majority in favor of the bill was returned. The House of Commons

Events Associated with Liberal Reform and Revolution

1824	Charles X becomes king of France
1825	Decembrist Revolt in Russia
1828	Repeal of restrictions against British Protestant nonconformists
1829	Catholic Emancipation Act passed in Great Britain
1830 (July 9)	News of French colonial conquest in Algeria reaches Paris
1830 (July 25)	Charles X issues the Four Ordinances
1830 (August 2)	Charles X abdicates; Louis Philippe proclaimed king
1830 (August 25)	Belgian revolution
1830 (November 29)	Polish revolution
1832	Organic Statute makes Poland an integral part of Russian Empire
1832	Great Reform Bill passed in Great Britain

passed the reform bill, but the House of Lords rejected it. Mass meetings were held throughout the country. Riots broke out in several cities. Finally, William IV agreed to create enough new peers to give a third reform bill a majority in the House of Lords. Under this pressure, the House of Lords yielded, and in 1832 the measure became law.

The Great Reform Bill expanded the size of the English electorate, but it was not a democratic measure. It increased the number of voters by more than 200,000, or almost 50 percent, but it kept a property qualification for the franchise. (Gender was also a qualification. No thought was given to enfranchising women.) Some members of the working class actually lost the right to vote because of the abolition of certain old franchise rights. New urban boroughs were created to allow the growing cities to have a voice in the House of Commons. Yet the passage of the reform act did not, as was once thought, consti-

tute the triumph of middle-class interests in England. For every new urban electoral district, a new rural district was also drawn, and the aristocracy was expected to dominate rural elections. What the bill permitted was a wider variety of property to be represented in the House of Commons. (See "Thomas Babington Macaulay Defends the Great Reform Bill.")

The success of the reform bill was to reconcile previously unrepresented property owners and economic interests to the political institutions of the country. The act laid the groundwork for further orderly reforms of the church, municipal government, and commercial policy. By admitting into the political forum people who sought change and giving them access to the legislative process, it made revolution in Britain unnecessary. In this manner, Great Britain maintained its traditional institutions of government while allowing an increasingly diverse group of people to influence them. (See "Art & the West.")

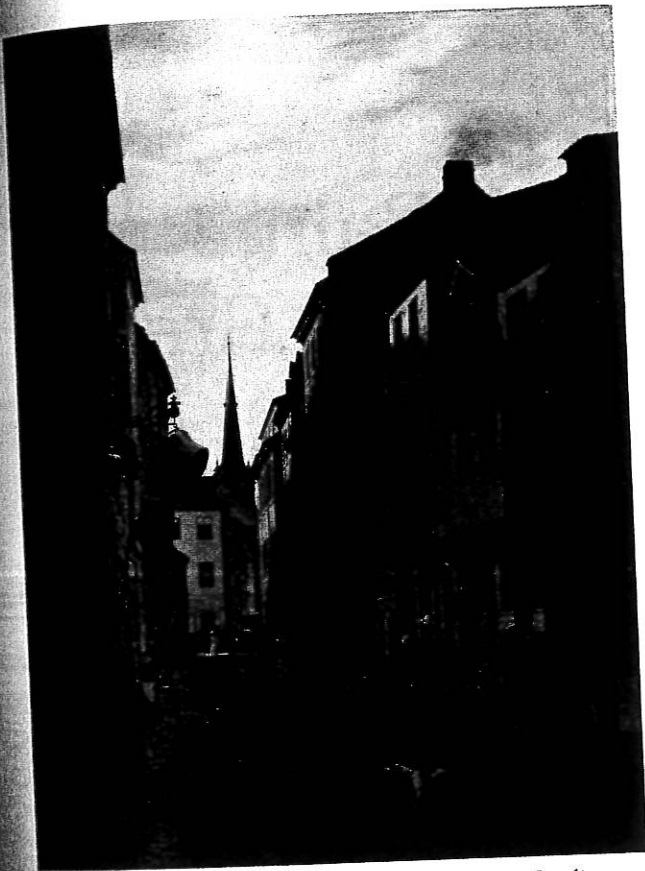
Thomas Babington Macaulay Defends the Great Reform Bill

Macaulay (1800–1859) was a member of the House of Commons, which passed the Great Reform Bill in 1831, only to have it rejected by the House of Lords before another measure was successfully enacted in 1832. His speeches in support of the bill reflect his views on the need for Parliament to give balanced representation to major elements in the population without embracing democracy. His arguments had wide appeal.

❖ Who does Macaulay think should be represented in Parliament? Why does he oppose universal suffrage? Why does he regard the Reform Bill as "a measure of conservation"? Why would Metternich have seen little or nothing conservative about the measure?

[The principle of the ministers] is plain, rational, and consistent. It is this,—to admit the middle class to a large and direct share in the Representation, without any violent shock to the institutions of our country.... I hold it to be clearly expedient, that in a country like this, the right of suffrage should depend on a pecuniary qualification. Every argument...which would induce me to oppose Universal Suffrage, induces me to support the measure which is now before us. I oppose Universal Suffrage, because I think that it would produce a destructive revolution. I support this measure, because I am sure that it is our best security against a revolution.... I...do entertain great apprehension for the fate of my country. I do in my conscience believe, that unless this measure, or some similar measure, be speedily adopted, great and terrible calamities will befall us.

Entertaining this opinion, I think myself bound to state it, not as a threat, but as a reason. I support this measure as a means of Reform: But I support it still more as a measure of conservation. That we may exclude those whom it is necessary to exclude, we must admit those whom it may be safe to admit.... All history is full of revolutions, produced by causes similar to those which are now operating in England. A portion of the community which had been of no account, expands and becomes strong. It demands a place in the system, suited, not to its former weakness, but to its present power. If this is granted, all is well. If this is refused, then comes the struggle between the young energy of one class, and the ancient privileges of another.... Such...is the struggle which the middle classes in England are maintaining against an aristocracy of mere locality.



Cities all across the continent grew during the first half of the nineteenth century. Some developed with little planning into bewildering places. Others—as this Berlin street scene suggests—developed in ways more congenial to their residents, with neighborhoods that continued to combine workshops, stores, and residences. Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

In Germany, eastern Europe, and Russia, such migration was difficult until after emancipation of the serfs. Even when emancipation did occur, as throughout Germany early in the century, it did not make migration simple. So from Germany eastward, the pace of industrialization was much slower in part because of the absence of a fluid market for free labor moving to the cities.

The specter of poor harvests still haunted Europe. The worst such experience of the century was the Irish famine of 1845–1847. Perhaps as many as half a million Irish peasants with no land or small plots simply starved when disease blighted the potato crop. Hundreds of thousands emigrated. By midcentury, the revolution in landholding had led to greater agricultural production. It also resulted in a vast uprooting of people from the countryside into cities and from Europe into the rest of the world. The countryside thus provided many of the workers for the new factories, as well as people with few economic skills who slowly emigrated to cities in hope of finding work.

Railways

Industrial advance itself had also contributed to this migration. The 1830s and 1840s were the great age of railway building. The Stockton and Darlington Line opened in England in 1825. By 1830 another major line had been built between Manchester and Liverpool and had several hundred passengers a day. Belgium had undertaken railway construction by 1835. The first French line opened in 1832, but serious construction came only in the 1840s. Germany entered the railway age in 1835. At midcentury, Britain had 9,797 kilometers of railway, France 2,915, and Germany 5,856.

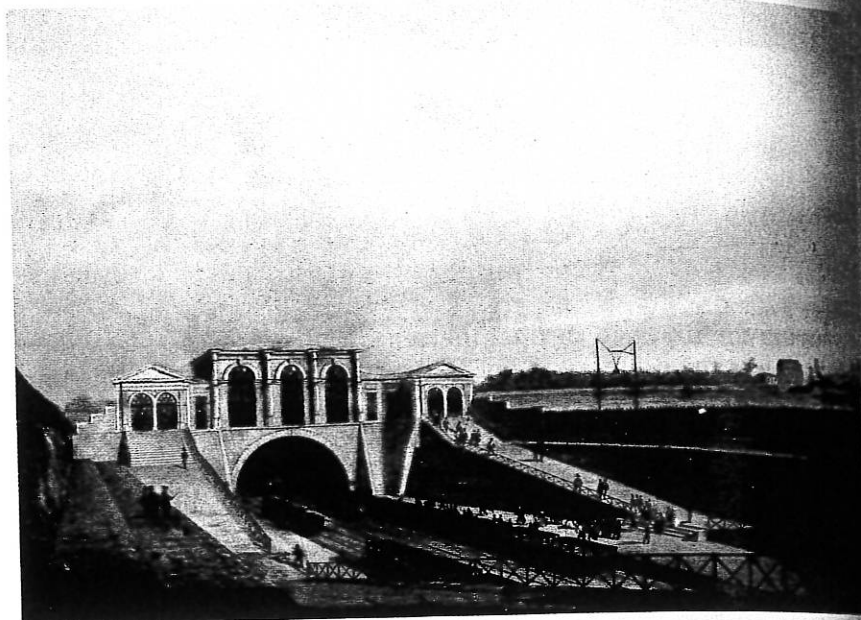
The railroads, plus canals and improved regular roads, meant that people could leave the place of their birth more easily than ever before. The improvement in transportation also allowed cheaper and more rapid passage of raw materials and finished products.

Railways epitomized the character of the industrial economy during the second quarter of the century. They represented investment in capital goods rather than in consumer goods. Consequently, there was a shortage of consumer goods at cheap prices. This favoring of capital over consumer production was one reason that the working class often found itself able to purchase so little for its wages. The railways in and of themselves also brought about still more industrialization. Embodying the most dramatic application of the steam engine, they created a sharply increased demand for iron and steel and then for a more skilled labor force. The new iron and steel capacity soon permitted the construction of ironclad ships and iron machinery rather than ships and machinery made of wood. These great capital industries led to the formation of vast industrial fortunes that would be invested in still newer enterprises. Industrialism had begun to grow on itself. (See “Art & the West.”)

The Labor Force

The composition and experience of the early nineteenth-century labor force was varied. No single description could include all the factory workers, urban artisans, domestic craftspeople, household servants, miners, countryside peddlers, farmworkers, or railroad navvies. The work force was composed of some persons who were reasonably well off, enjoying steady employment and decent wages. It also numbered the “laboring poor,” who held jobs, but who earned little more than subsistence wages. Then, there were others, such as the women and children who worked naked in the mines of Wales, whose conditions of life shocked all of Europe when a parliamentary report in the early

A view of one of the first French railways, the line between Paris and the suburb of Saint Germain. The line was built by Baron James de Rothschild of the famous banking family. Liaison Agency, Inc.



1840s publicized them. Furthermore, the conditions of workers varied from decade to decade and from industry to industry within any particular decade.

Although historians have traditionally emphasized the role and experience of industrial factory workers, only the textile-manufacturing industry became thoroughly mechanized and moved into the factory setting during the first half of the century. Far more of the nonrural, nonagricultural work force consisted of skilled artisans living in cities or small towns. They were attempting to maintain the value of their skills and control over their trades in the face of changing features of production. All these working people faced possible unemployment, with little or no provision for their security. During their lives, they confronted the dissolution of many of the traditional social ties of custom and community.

Proletarianization of Factory Workers and Urban Artisans

During the nineteenth century, both artisans and factory workers underwent a process of proletarianization. This term is used to indicate the entry of workers into a wage economy and their gradual loss of significant ownership of the means of production, such as tools and equipment, and of control over the conduct of their own trades. The process occurred rapidly wherever the factory system arose. The factory owner provided the financial capital to construct the factory, to purchase the machinery, and to secure the raw materials. The factory workers contributed their labor for a wage. The process could also occur

outside the factory setting if a new invention, such as a mechanical printing press, could do the work of several artisans within a workshop setting.

Factory workers also submitted to various kinds of factory discipline that was virtually always unpopular and difficult to impose. This discipline meant that the demands for smooth operation of the machinery largely determined working conditions. Closing of factory gates to late workers, fines for such lateness, dismissal for drunkenness, and public scolding of faulty laborers were attempts to create human discipline that would match the regularity of the cables, wheels, and pistons. The factory worker had no direct say about the quality of the product or its price.

For all the difficulties of factory conditions, however, the economic situation was often better than for the textile workers who resisted the factory mode of production. In particular, English handloom weavers, who continued to work in their homes, experienced decades of declining trade and growing poverty in their unsuccessful competition with power looms.

Urban artisans in the nineteenth century experienced proletarianization more slowly than factory workers, and machinery had little to do with the process. The emergence of factories in and of itself did not harm urban artisans. Many even prospered from the development. For example, the construction and maintenance of the new machines generated major demand for metalworkers, who consequently prospered. The actual erection of factories and the expansion of cities benefitted all craftspeople in the building trades, such as carpenters, roofers, joiners, and masons. The lower prices

for machine-made textiles aided artisans involved in the making of clothing, such as tailors and hat-makers, by reducing the costs of their raw materials. Where the urban artisans encountered difficulty and where they found their skills and livelihood threatened were in the organization of production.

In the eighteenth century, a European town or city workplace had usually consisted of a few artisans laboring for a master. They labored first as apprentices and then as journeymen, according to established guild regulations and practices. The master owned the workshop and the larger equipment, and the apprentices and journeymen owned their tools. The journeyman could expect to become a master. This guild system had allowed considerable worker control over labor recruitment and training, the pace of production, the quality of the product, and its price.

In the nineteenth century, it became increasingly difficult for artisans to continue to exercise corporate or guild direction and control over their trades. The legislation of the French Revolution had outlawed such organizations in France. Across Europe, political and economic liberals disapproved of labor and guild organizations and attempted to ban them.

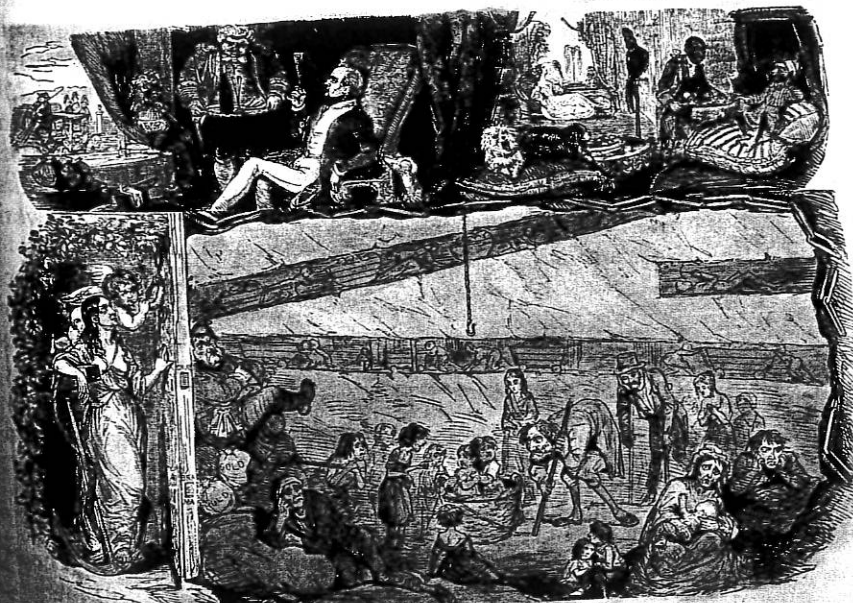
Other destructive forces were also at work. The masters often found themselves under increased competitive pressure from larger, more heavily capitalized establishments or from the introduction of machine production into a previously craft-dominated industry. In many workshops masters began to follow a practice, known in France as *confection*, whereby goods, such as shoes, clothing, and furniture, were produced in standard sizes and styles rather than by special orders for individual customers.

This practice increased the division of labor in the workshop. Each artisan produced a smaller part of the more-or-less uniform final product. Thus, less skill was required of each artisan, and the particular skills possessed by a worker became less valuable. Masters also tried to increase production and reduce costs by lowering the wages paid for piecework. Those attempts often led to work stoppages or strikes. Migrants from the countryside or small towns into the cities created, in some cases, a surplus of relatively unskilled workers. They were willing to work for lower wages or under less favorable and protected conditions than traditional artisans. This situation made it much more difficult for urban journeymen ever to hope to become masters with their own workshops in which they would be in charge. Increasingly, these artisans became lifetime wage laborers whose skills were simply bought and sold in the marketplace.

Working-Class Political Action: The Example of British Chartism

By the middle of the century, such artisans, proud of their skills and frustrated in their social expectations, became the most radical political element in the European working class. From at least the 1830s onward, these artisans took the lead in one country after another in attempting to formulate new ways of protecting their social and economic interests.

By the late 1830s, significant numbers of people in the British working class linked the solution of their economic plight to a program of political reform known as *Chartism*. In 1836, William Lovett (1800–1877) and other London radical artisans



CAPITAL AND LABOUR.

A parliamentary report in the early 1840s revealed the deplorable conditions of women and children working underground in Welsh mines. The report had published illustrations of those conditions. This contemporary political cartoon draws upon those illustrations by portraying the wealthy and comfortable classes living a life based on the foundation of the misery of workers. The Granger Collection, NY

formed the London Working Men's Association. In 1838 the group issued the Charter, demanding six specific reforms. The Six Points of the Charter included universal male suffrage, annual election of the House of Commons, the secret ballot, equal electoral districts, the abolition of property qualifications for members of the House of Commons, and payment of salaries to members of the House of Commons.

For more than ten years, the Chartists, who were never tightly organized, agitated for their reforms. On three occasions the Charter was presented to Parliament, which refused to pass it. Petitions with millions of signatures were presented to the House of Commons. Strikes were called. The Chartists published a newspaper, the *Northern Star*. Feargus O'Connor (1794–1855), the most important Chartist leader, made speeches across Britain. Despite this vast activity, Chartism as a national movement failed. Its ranks were split between those who favored violence and those who wanted to use peaceful tactics. On the local level, however, the Chartists scored several successes and controlled the city councils in Leeds and Sheffield.

As prosperity returned after the depression of the late 1830s and early 1840s, many working people abandoned the movement. Chartists' demonstrations in 1848 fizzled. Nevertheless, Chartism was the first large-scale European working-class political movement. It had specific goals and largely working-class leadership. Eventually, several of the Six Points were enacted into law. Continental working-class observers saw in Chartism the kind of mass movement that workers must eventually adopt if they were to improve their situation.

Family Structures and the Industrial Revolution

It is more difficult to generalize about the European working-class family structure in the age of early industrialism than under the Old Regime. Industrialism developed at such different rates across the Continent, and the impact of industrialism cannot be separated from that of migration and urbanization. Furthermore, industrialism did not touch all families directly; the structures and customs of many peasant families changed little for much of the nineteenth century.

Much more is known about the relationships of the new industry to the family in Great Britain than elsewhere. Many of the British developments foreshadowed those in other countries as the factory system spread.

The Family in the Early Factory System

Contrary to the opinion historians and other observers once held, the adoption of new machinery and factory production did not destroy the working-class family. Before the late-eighteenth-century revolution in textile production in England, the individual family involved in textiles was the chief unit of production. The earliest textile-related inventions, such as the spinning jenny, did not change that situation. As noted in Chapter 16, the new machine was initially simply brought into the home to spin the thread. It was the mechanization of weaving that led to the major change. The father who became a machine weaver was then employed in a factory. His work was thus separated from his home. Although one should not underestimate the changes and pressures in family life that occurred when the father left for the factory, the structure of early English factories allowed the father to preserve certain of his traditional family roles as they had existed before the factory system.

In the domestic system of the family economy, the father and mother had worked with their children in textile production as a family unit. They had trained and disciplined the children within the home setting. Their home life and their economic life were largely the same. Moreover, in the home setting, the wife who worked as a spinner might have earned as much or even more income than her husband. Early factory owners and supervisors permitted the father to employ his wife and children as his assistants. Thus, parental training and discipline could be transferred from the home into the early factory. In some cases, in both Britain and France, whole families would move near a new factory so that the family as a unit could work there. Those accommodations to family life nonetheless did not relieve any family members of having to face the new work discipline of the factory setting. Moreover, as will be discussed in a subsequent section, women assisting their husband in the factory often undertook less skilled work than they had pursued in their homes.

A major shift in this family and factory structure began in the mid-1820s in England and had been more or less completed by the mid-1830s. As spinning and weaving were put under one roof, the size of factories and of the machinery became larger. These newer machines required fewer skilled operators, but many relatively unskilled attendants. This relatively unskilled machine tending became the work of unmarried women and of children. Factory owners found that these workers would accept lower wages and were less likely than adult men to try to form worker or union organizations.

Major Works of Economic and Political Commentary

- 1776 Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*
- 1798 Thomas Malthus, *Essay on the Principle of Population*
- 1817 David Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy*
- 1830s Harriet Martineau, *Illustrations of Political Economy*
- 1839 Louis Blanc, *The Organization of Labor*
- 1845 Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*
- 1848 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*

time, the workers would organize the means of production through a dictatorship of the proletariat. This would eventually give way to a propertyless and classless communist society.

This proletarian revolution was inevitable, according to Marx and Engels. The structure of capitalism required competition and consolidation of enterprise. Although the class conflict involved in the contemporary process resembled that of the past, it differed in one major respect: The struggle between the capitalistic bourgeoisie and the industrial proletariat would culminate in a wholly new society that would be free of class conflict. The victorious proletariat, by its very nature, could not be a new oppressor class: "The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority."⁵ The result of the proletarian victory would be "an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."⁶ The victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie would represent the culmination of human history. For the first time in human history, one group of people would not be oppressing another.

The economic environment of the 1840s had conditioned Marx's analysis. The decade had seen much unemployment and deprivation. During the later part of the century, however, capitalism did not collapse as he had predicted, nor did the middle class become proletarianized. Rather, more and more people came to benefit from the industrial system. Nonetheless, within a generation Marxism had captured the imagination of many socialists, especially in Germany, and

large segments of the working class. Marxist doctrines appeared to be based on the empirical evidence of hard economic fact. This scientific claim of Marxism helped spread the ideology as science became more influential during the second half of the century. But at its core, the attraction of the ideology was its utopian vision of ultimate human liberation, no matter how illiberal or authoritarian the governments were that embraced that vision in the twentieth century.

1848: Year of Revolutions

In 1848, a series of liberal and nationalistic revolutions erupted across the Continent. No single factor caused this general revolutionary groundswell; rather, similar conditions existed in several countries. Severe food shortages had prevailed since 1846. Grain and potato harvests had been poor. The famine in Ireland was simply the worst example of a more widespread situation. The commercial and industrial economy was also depressed. Unemployment was widespread. All systems of poor relief were overburdened. These difficulties, added to the wretched living conditions in the cities, heightened the sense of frustration and discontent of the urban artisan and laboring classes.

The dynamic force for change in 1848 originated, however, not with the working classes, but with the political liberals, who were generally drawn from the middle classes. Throughout the Continent, liberals were pushing for their program of more representative government, civil liberty, and unregulated economic life. The repeal of the English Corn Laws and the example of peaceful agitation by the Anti-Corn Law League encouraged them. The liberals on the Continent wanted to pursue similar peaceful tactics. To put additional pressure on their governments, however, they began to appeal for the support of the urban working classes. The goals of the latter were improved working and economic conditions, rather than a liberal framework of government. Moreover, the tactics of the working classes were frequently violent rather than peaceful. The temporary alliance of liberals and workers in several states overthrew or severely shook the old order; then the allies began to fight each other.

Finally, outside France, nationalism was an important common factor in the uprisings. Germans, Hungarians, Italians, Czechs, and smaller national groups in eastern Europe sought to create national states that would reorganize or replace existing political entities. The Austrian Empire, as usual, was the state most profoundly endangered by nationalism. At the same time, however, various national groups clashed with each other during these revolutions.

The immediate results of the 1848 revolutions were stunning. Never in a single year had Europe

⁵Robert C. Tucker, ed., *The Marx-Engels Reader* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1972), p. 353.

⁶*Ibid.*

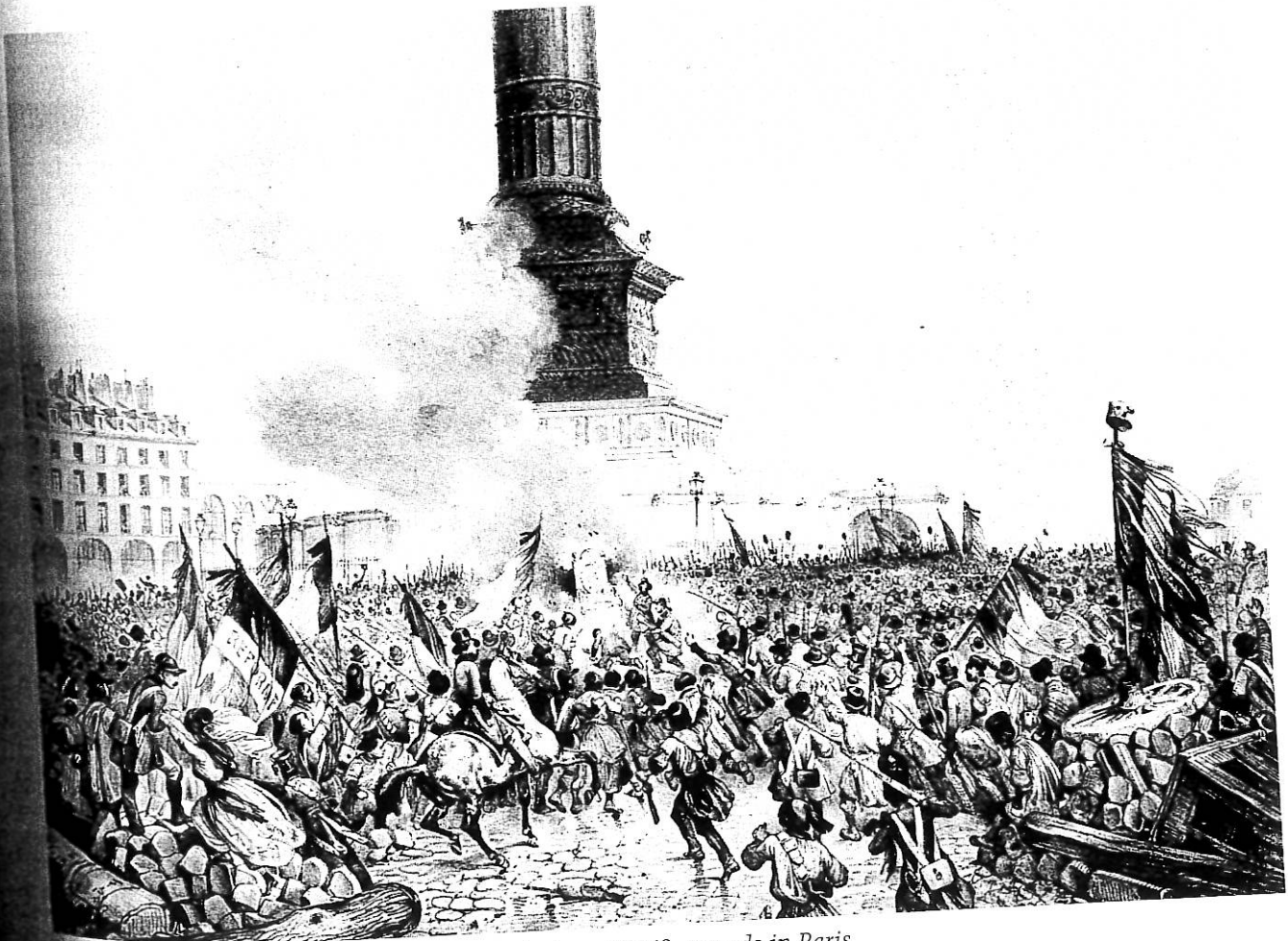
known so many major uprisings. The French monarchy fell, and many other thrones were badly shaken. Yet the revolutions proved a false spring for progressive Europeans. Without exception, the revolutions failed to establish genuinely liberal or national states. The conservative order proved stronger and more resilient than anyone had expected. Moreover, the liberal middle-class political activists in each country discovered that they could no longer push for political reform without also raising the social question. The liberals refused to follow political revolution with social reform and thus isolated themselves from the working classes. Once separated from potential mass support, the liberal revolutions became an easy prey to the armies of the reactionary classes.

France: The Second Republic and Louis Napoleon

As had happened twice before, the revolutionary tinder first blazed in Paris. The liberal political opponents of the corrupt regime of Louis Philippe and his

minister Guizot had organized a series of political banquets. These occasions were used to criticize the government and to demand further middle-class admission to the political process. The poor harvests of 1846 and 1847 and the resulting high food prices and unemployment brought working-class support to the liberal campaign. On February 21, 1848, the government forbade further banquets. A large one had been scheduled for the next day. On February 22, disgruntled Parisian workers paraded through the streets demanding reform and Guizot's ouster. The next morning the crowds grew, and by afternoon Guizot had resigned. The crowds had erected barricades, and numerous clashes had occurred between the citizenry and the municipal guard. On February 24, 1848, Louis Philippe abdicated and fled to England.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND PARIS WORKERS The liberal opposition, led by the poet Alphonse de Lamartine (1790–1869), organized a provisional government. The liberals intended to call an election



During the February days of the French Revolution of 1848, crowds in Paris burned the throne of Louis Philippe. Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Paris Workers Complain about the Actions of the Second Republic

In the late spring of 1848, the government of the recently formed Second French Republic abolished the national workshops that it had created a few weeks earlier to provide aid for the unemployed. The first selection presented illustrates the anger felt by the workers. The second selection describes the experience of a cabinet worker who, for a time, had enrolled in one of the workshops.

❖ *Each of these statements reflects political disillusionment, but how does each reflect a different kind of disillusionment? How does the first statement reflect a sense of an expected economic reward for political action? How does the second statement reflect a belief in a political philosophy of cooperation among different classes or social groups?*

To the Finance Minister of the Republic

Are you really the man who was the first finance minister of the Republic, of the Republic won at the cost of blood thanks to the workers' courage, of this Republic whose first vow was to provide bread every day for all its children by proclaiming the universal right to work. Work, who will give it to us if not the state at a time when industry has everywhere closed its workshops, shops and factories? Yesterday martyrs for the Republic out on the barricades, today its defenders in the ranks of the national guard, the workers might consider it owed them something....

Why do the national workshops so rouse your reprobation...? You are not asking for their reform, but for their total abolition. But what is to be done with this mass of 100,000 workers who are waiting each day for their modest pay, for the means of existence for themselves and their families? Are they to be left a prey to the evil influences of hunger and of the excesses that follow in the wake of despair?

From Roger Price, ed. and trans, *1848 in France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 103–104.

A Letter to a Newspaper Editor

I live in the *fauborg* [a working-class neighborhood]; by trade I am a cabinet-maker and I am enrolled in the national workshops, waiting for trade to pick up again.

I went into the workshops when I could no longer find bread elsewhere. Since then people have said we were given charity there. But when I went in I did not think that I was becoming a beggar. I believed that my brothers who were rich were giving me a little of what they had to spare simply because I was their brother.

I admit that I have not worked very hard in the national workshops, but then I have done what I could. I am too old now to change my trade easily—that is one explanation. But there is another: the fact is that, in the national workshops, there is absolutely nothing to do.

400 people were killed. Thereafter, troops hunted down another 3,000 persons in street fighting. The drive for social revolution had ended.

EMERGENCE OF LOUIS NAPOLEON The so-called June Days confirmed the political predominance of conservative property holders in French life. They wanted a state that was safe for small property. This search for social order received further confirmation late in 1848. The victor in the presidential election was Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (1808–1873), a nephew of the great emperor. For most of his life,

he had been an adventurer living outside France. Twice he had attempted to lead a coup against the July Monarchy. The disorder of 1848 gave him a new opportunity to enter French political life. After the corruption of Louis Philippe and the turmoil of the early months of the Second Republic, the voters turned to the name of Bonaparte as a source of stability and greatness.

The election of the "Little Napoleon" doomed the Second Republic. Louis Napoleon was dedicated to his own fame rather than to republican institutions. He was the first of the modern dictators who, by playing

on unstable politics and social insecurity, greatly changed European life. He constantly quarreled with the National Assembly and claimed that he, rather than they, represented the will of the nation. In 1851, the assembly refused to amend the constitution to allow the president to run for reelection. Consequently, on December 2, 1851, the anniversary of the great Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz, Louis Napoleon personally seized power. Troops dispersed the assembly, and the president called for new elections. More than 200 people died resisting the coup, and more than 26,000 persons were arrested throughout the country. Almost 10,000 persons who opposed the coup were transported to Algeria.

Yet, in the plebiscite of December 21, 1851, more than 7.5 million voters supported the actions of Louis Napoleon and approved a new constitution that consolidated his power. Only about 600,000 citizens dared to vote against him. A year later, in December 1852, an empire was proclaimed, and Louis Napoleon became Emperor Napoleon III. Again a plebiscite approved the action. For the second time in just over fifty years, France had turned from republicanism to Caesarism. (See "Karl Marx Ponders the Revolutionary History of France and Louis Napoleon's Coup.")

FRENCHWOMEN IN 1848 The years between the February Revolution of 1848 and the Napoleonic coup of 1852 saw major feminist activity on the part of Frenchwomen. Especially in Paris, women seized the opportunity of the collapse of the July Monarchy to voice demands for reform of their social conditions. They joined the wide variety of political clubs that emerged in the wake of the revolution. Some of these clubs particularly emphasized women's rights. Some women even tried unsuccessfully to vote in the various elections of 1848. Both middle-class and working-class women were involved in these activities. The most radical group of women called themselves the Vesuvians, after the volcano in Italy. They claimed it was time for the demands of women to come forth like pent-up lava. They demanded full domestic household equality between men and women, the right of women to serve in the military, and similarity in dress for both sexes. They also conducted street demonstrations. The radical character of their demands and actions lost them the support of more moderate women.

Certain Parisian women quickly attempted to use for their own cause the liberal freedoms that suddenly had become available. They organized the *Voix des femmes* (*The Women's Voice*), a daily newspaper that addressed issues of concern to women. The newspaper insisted that improving the lot of men would not necessarily improve the condition of women. They soon organized a society with the same name

as the newspaper. Many of the women involved in the newspaper and society had earlier been involved in Saint-Simonian or Fourierist groups. Members of the *Voix des femmes* group were relatively conservative feminists. They cooperated with male political groups, and they urged the integrity of the family and fidelity in marriage. They furthermore warmly embraced the maternal role for women, but tried to use that social function to raise the importance of women in society. Because motherhood and child rearing are so important to a society, they argued, women must receive better education, the right to work, economic security, equal civil rights, property rights, and the right to vote. The provisional government made no move to enact these rights, although some members of the assembly supported the women's groups. The emphasis on family and motherhood represented in part a defensive strategy to prevent conservative women and men from accusing the advocates of women's rights of seeking to destroy the family and traditional marriage.

The fate of French feminists in 1848 was similar to that of the radical workers. They were thoroughly defeated and their efforts wholly frustrated. Once the elections were held that spring, the new government expressed no sympathy for their causes. The closing of the national workshops adversely affected women workers as well as men and blocked one outlet that women had used to make their needs known. The conservative crackdown on political clubs closed another arena in which women had participated. Women were soon specifically forbidden to participate in political clubs either by themselves or with men. These repressive actions repeated what had happened to politically active Frenchwomen and their organizations in 1793.

At this point, women associated with the *Voix des femmes* attempted to organize workers' groups to improve the economic situation for working-class women. Two leaders of this effort, Jeanne Deroin (d. 1894) and Pauline Roland (1805–1852), were arrested, tried, and imprisoned for these activities. The former eventually went into exile from France; the latter was sent off to Algeria during the repression after the coup of Louis Napoleon. By 1852, the entire feminist movement that had sprung up in 1848 had been thoroughly eradicated.

The Habsburg Empire: Nationalism Resisted

The events of February 1848 in Paris immediately reverberated throughout the Habsburg domains. The empire was susceptible to revolutionary challenge on every score. Its government rejected liberal

When revolution broke out in Vienna, Metternich resigned his leadership of the government.
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz



institutions. Its borders cut across national lines. Its society perpetuated serfdom. During the 1840s, even Metternich had urged reform, but none was forthcoming. In 1848, the regime confronted major rebellions in Vienna, Prague, Hungary, and Italy. It was also intimately concerned about the disturbances that broke out in Germany.

THE VIENNA UPRISING The Habsburg troubles began on March 3, 1848, when Louis Kossuth (1802–1894), a Magyar nationalist and member of the Hungarian diet, attacked Austrian domination of Hungary, called for the independence of Hungary, and demanded a responsible ministry under the Habsburg dynasty. Ten days later, inspired by Kossuth's speeches, students led a series of major disturbances in Vienna. The army failed to restore order. Metternich resigned and fled the country. The feeble-minded Emperor Ferdinand (r. 1835–1848) promised a moderately liberal constitution. Unsatisfied, the radical students then formed democratic clubs to press the revolution further. On May 17, the emperor and the imperial court fled to Innsbruck. The government of Vienna at this point lay in the hands of a committee of more than 200 persons concerned primarily with alleviating the economic plight of Viennese workers.

What the Habsburg government actually most feared was not the urban rebellions but a potential uprising of the serfs in the countryside. Already there had been isolated instances of serfs invading manor houses and burning records. Consequently, almost immediately after the Vienna uprising, the imperial government had emancipated the serfs in

much of Austria. The Hungarian diet also abolished serfdom in March 1848. These actions smothered the most serious potential threat to order in the empire. The emancipated serfs now had little reason to support the revolutionary movement in the cities. These emancipations were one of the most important permanent results of the Revolutions of 1848.

THE MAGYAR REVOLT The Vienna revolt had further encouraged the Hungarians. The Magyar leaders of the Hungarian March Revolution were primarily liberals supported by nobles who wanted their aristocratic liberties guaranteed against the central government in Vienna. The Hungarian diet passed the March Laws, a series of laws that ensured equality of religion, jury trials, the election of a lower chamber, a relatively free press, and payment of taxes by the nobility. Emperor Ferdinand approved these measures because in the spring of 1848 he could do little else.

The Magyars also hoped to establish a separate Hungarian state within the Habsburg domains. They would retain considerable local autonomy while Ferdinand remained their emperor. As part of this scheme for a partially independent state, the Hungarians attempted to annex Transylvania, Croatia, and other eastern territories of the Habsburg Empire. That policy of annexation would have brought Romanians, Croats, and Serbs under Magyar government. These national groups resisted the drive toward Magyarization, the most important element of which was the imposition upon them of the Hungarian language. The national groups now being repressed by the Hungarians believed that they

had a better chance of maintaining their national or ethnic identity, their languages, and their economic self-interest under Habsburg control. In late March, the Vienna government sent Count Joseph Jellachich (1801–1859) to aid the national groups who were rebelling against the rebellious Hungarians. By early September 1848, he was leading an invasion force against Hungary with the strong support of the national groups who were resisting Magyarization. These events in Hungary represented a prime example of the clash between liberalism and nationalism. The state that the Hungarian March Laws would have governed was liberal in political structure, but it would not have allowed autonomy to the non-Magyar peoples within its borders.

CZECH NATIONALISM In the middle of March 1848, with Vienna and Budapest in revolt, Czech nationalists demanded that Bohemia and Moravia be permitted to constitute an autonomous Slavic state within the empire similar to that just constituted in Hungary. Conflict immediately developed, however, between the Czechs and the Germans living in these regions. The Czechs summoned a congress of Slavs, including Poles, Ruthenians, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Slovenes, and Serbs, which met in Prague during early June. Under the leadership of Francis Palacky (1798–1876), this first Pan-Slavic Congress issued a manifesto calling for the national equality of Slavs within the Habsburg Empire. The manifesto also protested the repression of all Slavic peoples under Habsburg, Hungarian, German, and Ottoman domination. The document raised the vision of a

vast East European Slavic nation or federation of Slavic states that would extend from Poland south and eastward through Ukraine and within which Russian interests would surely dominate. (See "The Pan-Slavic Congress Calls for the Liberation of Slavic Nationalities.") Although such a state never came into being, the prospect of a unified Slavic people freed from Ottoman and Habsburg control was an important political factor in later European history. Pan-slavism would become a tool that Russia would use in attempts to gain the support of nationalist minorities in eastern Europe and the Balkans and to bring pressure against both the Habsburg Empire and Germany.

On June 12, the day the Pan-Slavic Congress closed, a radical insurrection broke out in Prague. General Prince Alfred Windischgrätz (1787–1862), whose wife had been killed by a stray bullet, moved his troops against the uprising. The local middle class was happy to see the radicals suppressed, as they were by June 17. The Germans in the area approved the smothering of Czech nationalism. The policy of "divide and conquer" had succeeded.

REBELLION IN NORTHERN ITALY While repelling the Hungarian and Czech bids for autonomy, the Habsburg government also faced war in northern Italy. A revolution against Habsburg domination began in Milan on March 18. Five days later, the Austrian commander General Count Joseph Wenzel Radetzky (1766–1858) retreated from the city. King Charles Albert of Piedmont (r. 1831–1849), who wanted to expand the influence of his kingdom in



Louis Kossuth, a Magyar nationalist, seeking to raise troops to fight for Hungarian independence during the revolutionary disturbances of 1848.
Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz

The Pan-Slavic Congress Calls for the Liberation of Slavic Nationalities

The first Pan-Slavic Congress met in Prague in June 1848. It called for the reorganization of the Austrian Empire and the political reorganization of most of the rest of eastern Europe. Its calls for changes in the national standing of the various Slavic peoples would have touched the Russian, Austrian, and Ottoman empires, as well as some of the then disunited states of Germany. The national aspirations voiced in the manifesto of the Congress would affect Europe from that time to the present. Note that the authors recognize that the principle of nationality, as adapted to the political life of Slavic peoples, is relatively new in 1848.

❖ *How did the authors of the manifesto apply the individual freedoms associated with the French Revolution to the fate of individual nations? What are the specific areas of Europe that these demands would have changed? What potential national or ethnic differences among the Slavic peoples does the manifesto ignore or gloss over?*

The Slavic Congress in Prague is something unheard-of, in Europe as well as among the Slavs themselves. For the first time since our appearance in history, we, the scattered members of a great race, have gathered in great numbers from distant lands in order to become reacquainted as brothers and to deliberate our affairs peacefully. We have understood one another not only through our beautiful language, spoken by eighty millions, but also through the consonance of our hearts and the similarity of our spiritual qualities....

It is not only in behalf of the individual within the state that we raise our voices and make known our demands. The nation, with all its intellectual merit, is as sacred to us as are the rights of an individual under natural law....

In the belief that the powerful spiritual stream of today demands new political forms and that the state must be re-established upon altered principles, if not within new boundaries, we have suggested to the Austrian Emperor, under whose constitutional government we, the majority [of Slavic peoples] live, that he transform his imperial state into a union of equal nations....

From the "Manifesto of the First Pan-Slavic Congress," trans. by Max Riedlsperger from I. I. Udaltsov, *Aufzeichnungen über die Geschichte des nationalen und politischen Kampfes in Böhme im Jahre 1848* (Berlin: Rutten & Loening, 1953), pp. 223–226, as quoted in Stephen Fischer-Galati, ed., *Man, State, and Society in East European History* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), pp. 156–159. Copyright © 1970 by Praeger Publishers. Reproduced by permission of Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., Westport, CT.

...We raise our voices vigorously in behalf of our unfortunate brothers, the Poles, who were robbed of their national identity by insidious force. We call upon the governments to rectify this curse and these old onerous and hereditary sins in their administrative policy, and we trust in the compassion of all Europe....We demand that the Hungarian Ministry abolish without delay the use of inhuman and coercive means toward the Slavic races in Hungary, namely the Serbs, Croats, Slovaks, and Ruthenians, and that they promptly be completely assured of their national rights. Finally, we hope that the inconsiderate policies of the Porte will no longer hinder our Slavic brothers in Turkey from strongly claiming their nationality and developing it in a natural way. If, therefore, we formally express our opposition to such despicable deeds, we do so in the confidence that we are working for the good of freedom. Freedom makes the peoples who hitherto have ruled more just and makes them understand that injustice and arrogance bring disgrace not to those who must endure it but to those who act in such a manner.

Lombardy (the province of which Milan is the capital), aided the rebels. The Austrian forces fared badly until July, when Radetzky, reinforced by new troops, defeated Piedmont and suppressed the revolution. For the time being, Austria had held its position in northern Italy.

Vienna and Hungary remained to be recaptured. In midsummer, the emperor returned to the capital. A newly elected assembly was trying to write a constitution, while within the city the radicals continued to press for further concessions. The imperial government decided to reassert its con-

trol. When a new insurrection occurred in October, the imperial army bombarded Vienna and crushed the revolt. On December 2, Emperor Ferdinand, now clearly too feeble to govern, abdicated in favor of his young nephew Francis Joseph (r. 1848–1916). Real power now lay with Prince Felix Schwarzenberg (1800–1852), who intended to use the army with full force.

On January 5, 1849, troops occupied Budapest. By March the triumphant Austrian forces had imposed military rule over Hungary, and the new emperor repudiated the recent constitution. The Magyar nobles attempted one last revolt. In August, Austrian troops, reinforced by 200,000 soldiers happily furnished by Tsar Nicholas I of Russia (r. 1825–1855), finally crushed the Hungarian revolt. Croats and other nationalities that had resisted Magyarization welcomed the collapse of the revolt. The imperial Habsburg government had survived its gravest internal challenge because of the divisions among its enemies and its own willingness to use military force with a vengeance.

Italy: Republicanism Defeated

The brief Piedmont–Austrian war of 1848 marked only the first stage of the Italian revolution. Many Italians hoped that King Charles Albert of Piedmont would drive Austria from the peninsula and thus prepare the way for Italian unification. The defeat of Piedmont was a sharp disappointment to them. Liberal and nationalist hopes then shifted to the Pope. Pius IX (r. 1846–1878) had a liberal reputation. He had reformed the administration of the Papal States. Nationalists believed that some form of a united Italian state might emerge under the leadership of this pontiff.

In Rome, however, as in other cities, political radicalism was on the rise. On November 15, 1848, a democratic radical assassinated Count Pelligrino Rossi (r. 1787–1848), the liberal minister of the Papal States. The next day, popular demonstrations forced the Pope to appoint a radical ministry. Shortly thereafter, Pius IX fled to Naples for refuge. In February 1849, the radicals proclaimed the Roman Republic. Republican nationalists from all over Italy, including Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–1872) and Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–1882), two of the most prominent, flocked to Rome. They hoped to use the new republic as a base of operations to unite the rest of Italy under a republican government.

In March 1849, radicals in Piedmont forced Charles Albert to renew the patriotic war against Austria. After the almost immediate defeat of Piedmont at the Battle of Novara, the king abdicated in favor

of his son, Victor Emmanuel II (r. 1849–1878). The defeat meant that the Roman Republic must defend itself alone. The troops that attacked Rome and restored the Pope came from France. The French wanted to prevent the rise of a strong, unified state on their southern border. Moreover, protection of the Pope was good domestic politics for the French Republic and its president, Louis Napoleon. In early June 1849, 10,000 French soldiers laid siege to Rome. By the end of the month, the Roman Republic had dissolved. Garibaldi attempted to lead an army north against Austria, but was defeated. On July 3, Rome fell to the French forces, which stayed there to protect the Pope until 1870.

Pius IX returned, having renounced his previous liberalism. He became one of the archconservatives of the next quarter century. Leadership toward Italian unification would have to come from another direction.

Germany: Liberalism Frustrated

The revolutionary contagion had also spread rapidly through numerous states of Germany. Württemberg, Saxony, Hanover, and Bavaria all experienced insurrections calling for liberal government and greater German unity. The major revolution, however, occurred in Prussia.

REVOLUTION IN PRUSSIA By March 15, 1848, large popular disturbances had erupted in Berlin. Frederick William IV (r. 1840–1861), believing that the trouble stemmed from foreign conspirators, refused to turn his troops on the Berliners. He even announced certain limited reforms. Nevertheless, on March 18, several citizens were killed when troops cleared a square near the palace.

The monarch was still hesitant to use his troops forcefully, and there was much confusion in the government. The king also called for a Prussian constituent assembly to write a constitution. The next day, as angry Berliners crowded around the palace, Frederick William IV appeared on the balcony to salute the corpses of his slain subjects. He made further concessions and implied that henceforth Prussia would aid the movement toward German unification. For all practical purposes, the Prussian monarchy had capitulated.

Frederick William IV appointed a cabinet headed by David Hansemann (1790–1864), a widely respected moderate liberal. The Prussian constituent assembly, however, proved to be radical and democratic. As time passed, the king and his conservative supporters decided that they would ignore the assembly. The liberal ministry resigned and was replaced by a conservative one. In April

The Revolutionary Crisis of 1848–1851

1848			
February 22–24	Revolution in Paris forces the abdication of Louis Philippe	November 15	Papal minister Rossi is assassinated in Rome
February 26	National workshops established in Paris	November 16	Revolution in Rome
March 3	Kossuth attacks the Habsburg domination of Hungary	November 25	Pope Pius IX flees Rome
March 13	Revolution in Vienna	December 2	Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand abdicates and Francis Joseph becomes emperor
March 15	The Habsburg emperor accepts the Hungarian March Revolution	December 10	Louis Napoleon is elected president of the Second French Republic
	Laws in Berlin	1849	
March 18	Frederick William IV of Prussia promises a constitution; Revolution in Milan	January 5	General Windischgraetz occupies Budapest
March 19	Frederick William IV is forced to salute the corpses of slain revolutionaries in Berlin	February 2	The Roman Republic is proclaimed
March 22	Piedmont declares war on Austria	March 12	War is resumed between Piedmont and Austria
April 23	Election of the French National Assembly	March 23	Piedmont is defeated, and Charles Albert abdicates the crown of Piedmont in favor of Victor Emmanuel II
May 15	Worker protests in Paris lead the National Assembly to close the national workshops	March 27	The Frankfurt Parliament completes a constitution for Germany
May 17	Habsburg emperor Ferdinand flees from Vienna to Innsbruck	March 28	The Frankfurt Parliament elects Frederick William IV of Prussia to be emperor of Germany
May 18	The Frankfurt Assembly gathers to prepare a German constitution	April 21	Frederick William IV of Prussia rejects the crown offered by the Frankfurt Parliament
June 2	Pan-Slavic Congress gathers in Prague	June 18	The remaining members of the Frankfurt Parliament are dispersed by troops
June 17	A Czech revolution in Prague is suppressed	July 3	Collapse of the Roman Republic after invasion by French troops
June 23–26	A workers' insurrection in Paris is suppressed by the troops of the National Assembly	August 9–13	The Hungarian forces are defeated by Austria, aided by Russian troops
July 24	Austria defeats Piedmont	1851	
September 17	General Jellachich invades Hungary	December 2	Coup d'état of Louis Napoleon
October 31	Vienna falls to the bombardment of General Windischgraetz		

1849, the assembly was dissolved, and the monarch proclaimed his own constitution. One of its key elements was a system of three-class voting. All adult males were allowed to vote. They voted, however, according to three classes arranged by ability to pay taxes. Thus, the largest taxpayers, who constituted only about 5 percent of the population, elected one-third of the Prussian Parliament. This system prevailed in Prussia until 1918. In the finally revised Prussian constitution

of 1850, the ministry was responsible to the king alone. Moreover, the Prussian army and officer corps swore loyalty directly to the monarch.

THE FRANKFURT PARLIAMENT While Prussia was moving from revolution to reaction, other events were unfolding in Germany as a whole. On May 18, 1848, representatives from all the German states gathered in Saint Paul's Church in Frankfurt to revise the organization of the German Confederation. The

Frankfurt Parliament intended to write a moderately liberal constitution for a united Germany. The liberal character of the Frankfurt Parliament alienated both German conservatives and the German working class. The offense to the conservatives was simply the challenge to the existing political order. The Frankfurt Parliament lost the support of the industrial workers and artisans by refusing to restore the protection once afforded by the guilds. The liberals were too attached to the concept of a free labor market to offer meaningful legislation to workers. This failure marked the beginning of a profound split between German liberals and the German working class. For the rest of the century, German conservatives would be able to play on that division.

As if to demonstrate its disaffection from workers, in September 1848 the Frankfurt Parliament called in troops of the German Confederation to suppress a radical insurrection in the city. The liberals in the parliament wanted nothing to do with workers who erected barricades and threatened the safety of property.

The Frankfurt Parliament also floundered on the issue of unification. Members differed over whether to include Austria in the projected united Germany. The "large German [*grossdeutsch*] solution" favored inclusion, whereas the "small German [*kleindeutsch*] solution" advocated exclusion. The latter formula prevailed because Austria rejected the whole notion of German unification, which raised too many other nationality problems within the Habsburg domains. Consequently, the Frankfurt Parliament looked to Prussian rather than Austrian leadership.

On March 27, 1849, the parliament produced its constitution. Shortly thereafter, its delegates offered the crown of a united Germany to Frederick William IV of Prussia. He rejected the offer, asserting that kings ruled by the grace of God rather than by the permission of man-made constitutions. On his refusal, the Frankfurt Parliament began to dissolve. Not long afterward, troops drove off the remaining members.

German liberals never fully recovered from this defeat. The Frankfurt Parliament had alienated the artisans and the working class without gaining any compensating support from the conservatives. The liberals had proved themselves to be awkward, hesitant, unrealistic, and ultimately dependent on the armies of the monarchies. They had failed to unite Germany or to confront effectively the realities of political power in the German states. The various revolutions did achieve an extension of the franchise in some of the German states and the establishment of conservative constitutions. The gains were not negligible, but they were a far cry from the hopes of March 1848.

In Perspective

The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed enormous, unprecedented social change in Europe. The foundations of the industrial economy were laid. Virtually no existing institution was untouched by that emerging economy. Railways crossed the Continent. New consumer goods were available. Family patterns changed, as did the social and economic expectations of women. The crowding of cities presented new social and political problems. Issues of social order came to the fore with the new concern about crime and the establishment of police forces. An urban working class became one of the chief facts of both political and social life. The ebb and flow of the business cycle caused increased economic anxiety for workers and property owners alike.

While all these fundamental social changes took place, Europe was also experiencing continuing political strife. The turmoil of 1848 through 1850 ended the era of liberal revolution that had begun in 1789. Liberals and nationalists had discovered that rational argument and small insurrections would not achieve their goals. The political initiative passed for a time to the conservative political groups. Henceforth, nationalists were less romantic and more hard-headed. Railways, commerce, guns, soldiers, and devious diplomacy, rather than language and cultural heritage, became the future weapons of national unification. The working class also adopted new tactics and a new organization. The era of the riot and urban insurrection was ending; in the future, workers would turn to trade unions and political parties to achieve their political and social goals.

Perhaps most important after 1848, the European middle class ceased to be revolutionary. It became increasingly concerned about protecting its property against radical political and social movements associated with socialism and, increasingly, as the century passed, with Marxism. The middle class remained politically liberal only so long as liberalism seemed to promise economic stability and social security for its own style of life.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What inventions were particularly important in the development of industrialism? What changes did industrialism make in society? Why were the years covered in this chapter so difficult for artisans? What is meant by "the proletarianization of workers"?